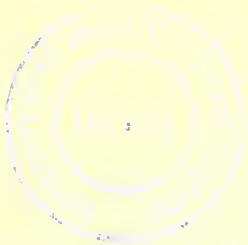


UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



3 1761 04336 0163



JOHN M. KELLY LIBRARY

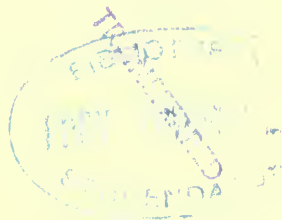
Donated by
**The Redemptorists of
the Toronto Province**
from the Library Collection of
Holy Redeemer College, Windsor

University of
St. Michael's College, Toronto

HOLY REDEEMER LIBRARY WINDSOE

XVII

10



IX-e-4

A GENERAL AND CRITICAL

INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF

HOLY SCRIPTURE

COPYRIGHT, 1897,

BY

A. E. BREEN.

A GENERAL AND CRITICAL

INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF

HOLY SCRIPTURE

BY

A. E. BREEN, D. D.

*Πᾶσα γραφή θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν,
πρὸς ἔλεγχον, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν
δικαιοσύνῃ. Ἵνα ἄρτιος ᾖ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος,
πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτισμένος.*

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
THE JOHN P. SMITH PRINTING HOUSE
1897

Nihil obstat

P. Liberty, S.T.B.

Censor deputatus.

Imprimatur

Bernard;
Bishop of Rochester.

Rochester, N.Y. Oct. 2. 1897.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

No man can speak much of himself or his own achievement without being vain. Therefore, I shall be brief. My justification for adding one more to the vast number of the world's books, is the need of an English Introduction to Holy Scripture. Many treatises on this subject exist in the languages of Europe, and in the Latin tongue; but when, in 1893, I was appointed to teach Holy Scripture in St. Bernard's Seminary, I was unable to find in the English language a work of this nature to place in the hands of our students. While the English language surpasses every other known language of the world in the vastness and excellence of its literary resources, it is deficient in scriptural science.

The works on Scriptural Introduction that we have in English are chiefly of protestant authors, and are inaccurate, filled with partisan hatred of Catholicity, and they have not kept pace with the progress of thought of this last half century.

Thereupon, I conceived the design of writing my book, and it is the result of four years' unremitting toil.

In this work, my aspirations have been very high. How far the achievement has come short of the aspirations, I leave to be decided by the judgment of the public.

I have tried to write justly, not having in mind to advance any cause save the cause of truth.

A chief feature of the present work is the arrangement of the traditional data favoring the deuterocanonical books in parallel columns with the scriptural passages therein quoted. This is the result of great labor, but I believe that the enhancement of the evidential value of such data thus arranged repays such labor.

Another feature of the work, which, I hope, will be grateful to students, is the wide margins of the pages, which render it possible to write thereon things of special importance heard from the teacher.

It would fill all my hopes of this present work to know that, in some degree, I had made the message of God more known and more loved.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Oct. 13, 1897.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER.	PAGE.
I.—THE EXISTENCE OF REVELATION AND THE CRITERION THEREOF, - - - - -	1
II.—NATURE OF INSPIRATION, - - - - -	17
III.—EXTENT OF INSPIRATION, - - - - -	21
IV.—THE CANON, - - - - -	37
V.—THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, - - - - -	38
VI.—EZRA AND HIS INFLUENCE, - - - - -	43
VII.—THE ALEXANDRIAN CANON, - - - - -	56
VIII.—THE CANON OF THE CHURCH, - - - - -	59
IX.—THE CANON OF THE FATHERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, AND FIRST YEARS OF FIFTH CENTURY, - - -	143
X.—THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY, - - - - -	218
XI.—THE CANON IN THE CHURCH FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO COUNCIL OF TRENT, - -	258
XII.—DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, - - - - -	270
XIII.—THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, - - - - -	282
XIV.—THE NEW TESTAMENT OF THE SECTS, - - - - -	348
XV.—THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF BOTH TESTAMENTS, - -	349
XVI.—THE LOST BOOKS OF BOTH TESTAMENTS, - - - - -	377
XVII.—THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, - -	379
XVIII.—THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, - - -	411
XIX.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE UNCIAL CODICES, - - - - -	441
XX.—THE SEPTUAGINT AND ITS VERSIONS, - - - - -	477
XXI.—VERSIONS DERIVED FROM SEPTUAGINT, - - - - -	491
XXII.—THE TARGUMS, - - - - -	495
XXIII.—THE SYRIAC VERSIONS, - - - - -	502
XXIV.—THE EGYPTIAN OR COPTIC VERSIONS, - - - - -	507
XXV.—THE ETHIOPIC VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE, - - - - -	513
XXVI.—THE GOTHIC VERSION, - - - - -	516
XXVII.—THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF SCRIPTURE, - - - - -	519
XXVIII.—JEROME AND THE VULGATE, - - - - -	525
XXIX.—THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE VULGATE BY THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, - - - - -	538
XXX.—THE CORRECTION OF THE VULGATE, - - - - -	550
XXXI.—MODERN ENGLISH VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE, - - -	559
XXXII.—BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS, - - - - -	577
XXXIII.—THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE, - - - - -	585
XXXIV.—JEWISH INTERPRETATION, - - - - -	588
APPENDIX, - - - - -	598

INDEX OF PLATES.

	PAGE.
THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, - - - - - - - -	409
SPECIMEN OF STICHOMETRY, CODEX BEZAE, - - - -	422
THE VATICAN CODEX, - - - - - - - -	445
THE SINAITIC CODEX, - - - - - - - -	453
THE CODEX OF ST. EPHREM, - - - - - - -	458
THE CODEX CLAROMONTANUS, - - - - - - -	469*
THE HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN, - - - - - -	486-487
EARLY ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE, - - -	576
APPENDIX.	
ORIGIN OF ALPHABET - - - - - - -	600-601
THE ROSETTA STONE, - - - - - -	603
THE MOABITIC STONE, - - - - - -	605

A General Introduction to Holy Scripture.

CHAPTER I.

THE EXISTENCE OF REVELATION AND THE CRITERION THEREOF.

Any scientific treatise should first fix its subject and its limitations, before beginning to deal therewith. The first step, therefore, in this Introduction will be to delineate clearly the subject matter.

The existence of inspired writings is a fact warranted by the most convincing data. The tradition of the Jews, the approbation of Christ, the traditions of Christians, the sublimity of the writings, the verification of prophecies, and the universal belief of civilized mankind are alone natural motives of credibility which logically produce certainty. Moreover, those who are incorporated in the organized economy of the New Law have the living voice of the Holy Ghost, declaring through the Church: "*And this supernatural revelation, according to the faith of the universal Church, declared in the Holy Tridentine Synod, is contained in the written books and unwritten traditions, which have come down to us.*" [Vat. Council, Cap. II, De Revelatione.]

There are those who deny the existence of inspired writings; but this mere denial, based upon arbitrary assertions, is no valid reason to doubt of the existence of that sacred deposit, whose marvelous nature and preservation are alone proofs of its supernatural character. Few are the higher truths that have not been attacked by those puny sophists, who fritter away their lives in creating systems, which a credulous unbelief readily embraces. Error is oft more specious than truth. Error loves the maxims of the vapid philosophy of the day. Error skims the surface; it is the easy acquisition of labor-hating, thoughtless souls: the pearl of truth of purest ray serene

lies hiding in the caves of deepest ocean, only found by the patient toil, the calm thoughtfulness, and the unbiased mind of the honest truth-seeker.

Having once placed as a basic position that there exist divinely inspired writings, the next step is to determine how we may infallibly discern and know what is inspired and what is not. We must establish an adequate criterion, which can discriminate, from all other books, the products of the authorship of God.

Inspiration, in its formal concept, is a supernatural psychological fact, wrought in the mind of the inspired agent by the First Cause. We might define it, using the conciseness and precision of the Latin idiom: *Illustratio mentis et motus efficax voluntatis a Deo, ad exprimendum infallibiliter sensum Dei, seu ad exprimenda ea omnia et sola quae Deus vult.* Now it is plainly evident that a fact of such nature can be immediately known but to two beings, God and the person inspired. The action takes place in that inner theatre of action, impervious to our sense, and is as barred from our cognition as the thought in its fount, before it is externalized by sensible medium. Neither is it necessary that it should always be known to the person inspired. Caiphas, Jo. XI, 49—52, prophesied, not knowing that he did so. Card. Newman seems to incline to the belief that the writer of the 2d book of Maccabees was not conscious of his inspiration; and, also, he would extend this to the writer of Ecclesiasticus.* I believe, however, that the in-

* "Nor is it *de fide* (for that alone with a view to Catholic Bibliicists I am considering) that inspired men, at the time when they speak from inspiration, should always know that the Divine Spirit is visiting them.

The Psalms are inspired; but, when David in the outpouring of his deep contrition, disburdened himself before his God in the words of the *Miserere*, could he, possibly, while uttering them, have been directly conscious that every word he uttered was not simply his, but another's? Did he not think that he was personally asking forgiveness and spiritual help?

Doubt again seems incompatible with a consciousness of being inspired. But Father Patrizi, while reconciling two Evangelists in a passage of their narratives, says, if I understand him rightly (ii. p. 405), that though we admit that there were some things about which inspired writers doubted, this does not imply that inspiration allowed them to state what is doubtful as certain, but only it did not hinder them from stating things with a doubt on their minds about them; but how can the All-knowing Spirit doubt? or how can an inspired man doubt, if he is conscious of his inspiration?

And again, how can a man whose hand is guided by the Holy Spirit, and who knows it, make apologies for his style of writing, as if deficient in literary exactness and finish? If then the writer of Ecclesiasticus, at the very time that he wrote his Prologue, was not only inspired but conscious of his inspiration, how could he have entreated his readers to 'come with

spired writers, properly so called, were conscious of their inspiration.

In relation to the prophets, we may not doubt, since they solemnly assert in their books: "Thus saith the Lord." From all the writers of the New Law breathes forth a subtle authoritative voice, telling us that the Spirit of God is back of what they say. Let us then assume that the fact of inspiration is known to God its author, and to the agent in whom he has wrought this effect. How may this knowledge be communicated to us? This leads us to the consideration of the CRITERION OF INSPIRATION.

An examination of the issue will convince us that the testimony of the inspired agent, unsupported by the corroborative attestation of God, is not sufficient. In the first place, this means would be subject to hallucination, error, and fraud. Long would be the list of those who, from one or other of these motives, claimed inspiration from God. It would suffice to mention Mohammed and the founder of Mormonism, to specify the weakness of this criterion. But granted that the inspired agent did, in any case, so testify as to merit credence, the faith that these motives of credibility would produce would not be *divine faith*, which has for its formal motive the *authority of God*; but, at most, it would be only *human faith*; for the effect cannot be greater than the cause, and, as the cause of this credibility was not divine but human, the faith, its effect, would be no more than human faith. Now it is exacted that we believe in the Scriptures with a divine faith. Hence, granted that the testimony of the inspired writer might be trustworthy of itself, it could never produce more than human credibility, which is not sufficient to form a basis for *absolute and divine faith*. No creature can be trusted infinitely, but, when we are dealing with "God's epistle to his creature", absolute trust and

benevolence,' and to make excuse for his 'coming short in the composition of words'? Surely, if at the very time he wrote he had known it, he would, like other inspired men, have said, 'Thus saith the Lord,' or what was equivalent to it. (XIX Century for 1884.)

The same remark applies to the writer of the second book of Machabees, who ends his narrative by saying, 'If I have done well, it is what I desired, but if not so perfectly, it must be pardoned me.' What a contrast to St. Paul, who, speaking of his inspiration (1 Cor. vii. 40) and of his 'weakness and fear' (*ibid* ii. 4), does so in order to *boast* that his 'speech was, not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the showing of the Spirit and of power.' The historian of the Maccabees, would have surely adopted a like tone of 'glorying,' had he had at the time a like consciousness of his divine gift." (*Ibid.*)

certainty are required. It was fitting that an all-provident God should provide man with this means of certitude, and we believe that he has done so, and these considerations are leading us to investigate and establish it. The Prophets and Apostles merited divine faith for what they taught, because they, by miracles, established their divine commission to teach. In such case, this faith was rendered divine by the corroborative attestation of God through these miracles. But how shall man always and in every case be able to discriminate between the divine writings and books of purely human origin? The Prophets are gone, the Apostles are gone; their writings have undergone great vicissitudes. "We live amid the dust of systems and of creeds." In this remote age, is there any adequate criterion, in virtue of which man can say, this book is of God, and this other is not? Were there not, God would not have sufficiently provided for man; he would no longer be the Heavenly Father. Men, who still believe in a personal God, and a definite form of religion, generally admit that some such criterion must exist, but differ widely in defining it.

The early Anglicans set up as a criterion, the sublimity of the doctrines, and the divine harmony of the elements in Holy Writ. We admit that such propriety does exist in the Holy Books, but we deny that it can form a criterion by which we may discern the effect of God's authorship always and infallibly from everything else. The mutilated gospel of Marcion, the Koran of Mohammed, the apocryphal gospels, all have more sublimity than the Books of Chronicles and the Book of Nehemias. Yet the Chronicles and Nehemias are divine; and the others are founded in error.

Luther and his followers place their criterion in the effect produced in one's soul by the reading of the book. Food, they say, is judged by its savour; so, also, Holy Scripture, by the soul's taste. That which feeds the heavenly hunger of the soul is of God; that which does not, is spurious. This system once received much favor, but it is now considered untenable by the protestants themselves. John David Michaëlis, the learned professor of Göttingen, [† 1791] speaks thus of this means: "This interior sensation of the effects of the Holy Ghost, and the conviction of the utility of these writings to better the heart and purify us are entirely *uncertain criterions*. As regards this interior sensation, I avow that I have never experienced it, and those who have felt it are not to be envied. It cannot evince the divine character of the book, since the Mohammedans feel it as well as christians, and pious sentiments

can be aroused by documents purely human, by the writings of philosophers, and even by doctrine founded in error."* Burnett also, in his Exposition of the XXXIX Articles, speaks thus of this subjective criterion: "This is only an argument to him that feels it, if it is one at all; and, therefore, it proves nothing to another person." No *subjective criterion* could ever be apt for such use, since it would depend on the subjective dispositions of individuals, and one and the same individual would, at different times, be differently affected by the same book. Moreover, this pious movement can come from other than inspired books. A man will feel more religious emotion from the reading of the Imitation of Christ than from the Book of Judges. But experience itself disproves this system. Honest men attest that they do not feel this pious movement, and the opinion may now be said to be obsolete.

The Calvinists and Presbyterians set up as a criterion, the particular inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the individual's soul. This system is cognate to the Calvinistic theory of the invisible church, and they both fall together. Once establish a visible authoritative Magisterium, and such means of interpreting Holy Scripture would be incompatible with it. It is evident that such a system of private inspiration can never be proven. There never can be any available data to establish such secret action. It must ever remain a gratuitous, groundless assumption. It is exactly opposite to the economy of God. When he would teach the world, he did it by means of divinely commissioned men, directly establishing that such mode of teaching truth would last always. This were absurd, were the evangelization of mankind to be effected by the sole direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost on the heart. To be sure, no man can be brought to Christ without that working of the Holy Ghost in his heart. "*Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi Pater traxerit eum.*" But the error of protestants is to believe that this energy of the Spirit in man's soul excludes the external authoritative Magisterium. The power of the Spirit and the Magisterium are two causes co-operating to produce one effect. All the texts of Scripture alleged by the protestants, in support of this system, simply prove that the Holy Ghost moves man to Christian belief and to Christian action; and the same power energizing in the Church vitalizes it, and renders it capable of its great mission to teach all mankind. We will leave the prosecution of this train of argument to the tract, *De Locis Theo-*

*Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes.

logicis, and content ourselves here with a few *a posteriori* arguments. In the first place, did the Holy Ghost exert such action, he would, doubtless, move to a unanimity of faith; but the exact contrary is in fact verified. The sect of presbyterians are split on some of the basic truths of Christianity. Can the Spirit of truth inspire them with doctrines directly opposed? The recent Briggs controversy has shown the lack of any religious harmony in the Presbyterian church.

I will here excerpt from Milner's *End of Controversy* a few examples of men who claimed this inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The instances are based upon incontrovertible historical data. Montanus and his sect first claimed this private inspiration; we may see what spirit led him on, since he and others of his sect hanged themselves. After the great Apostasy, commonly called the Reformation, had been inaugurated by Luther, there arose the sect of the Anabaptists, who professed that it had been commanded them by direct communication from God to kill all the wicked ones, and establish a kingdom of the just.* Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden was moved by the *private inspiration* of the Spirit to proclaim himself King of Sion. He married by the same impulse eleven wives, all of whom he put to death. He declared that God had given him Amsterdam, through whose streets his followers ran naked crying out; "Woe to Babylon! woe to the wicked!" Hermann, the Anabaptist was moved to proclaim himself the Messiah, and to order: "Kill the priests; kill all the magistrates in the world! Repent; your redemption is at hand."†

All these excesses were done upon the principle and under a full conviction of an individual inspiration. In England, Venner was *inspired* to rush from the meeting-house in Coleman St., proclaiming "that he would acknowledge no sovereign but King Jesus, and that he would not sheathe his sword, till he had made Babylon [which emblemized monarchy] a hissing and a curse, not only in England, but also in foreign countries; having assurance that one of them would put to flight a thousand, and two of them, ten thousand." On the scaffold, he protested that he was led by Jesus. The records of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, furnish abundant evidence of the abominable absurdities into which this supposed inspiration led the Friends. One woman rushed naked into Whitehall Chapel, when Cromwell was there. Another came into the

*Sleidan, *De Stat, et Reip.*

† *Hist. Abrégé, de la Réforme par Brandt.*

parliament house with a trencher, which she there broke in pieces, saying: "Thus shall he be broken in pieces." Swedenborg declared that he had received, at an eating house in London, the commission from Christ: "I am the Lord Jesus Christ, your Creator and Redeemer. I have chosen you to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of the Scriptures. I will dictate to you what you are to write." Here, in the very position of the system, he contradicts himself; for, if Christ gave him a command to teach men, they must needs pay heed to him. Mohammed, and the founder of the foul sect of Mormons claimed private inspiration. Guiteau claimed the moving of the Spirit in the slaying of President Garfield. Wherefore, we maintain that the system of private inspiration, which logically leads to such absurdities, is in itself absurd and untenable.

We have before adduced David Michælis' rejection of the subjective criterions. He substituted for these an objective criterion, but one entirely inadequate to effect the certitude of inspiration. I am not aware that Michælis invented a criterion for the Old Testament; his criterion for the books of the New Testament was that any book that was written by one who had received the "*Munus Apostolicum*" was divinely inspired. Of course, Michælis speaks only of such writings as the Apostles wrote on things in some way pertaining to religion. If, for instance, St. Peter bought a horse, and gave therefor a promissory note, that note would not be inspired. We fully admit, in its *affirmative sense*, the position of Michælis. If one who had received the apostolate wrote a book, it would be inspired. Yet, we deny that this *is a criterion*. In the first place, a criterion must tell me not only that, *if a book be written under certain conditions, it is inspired*, but it must tell me that certain definite books UNCONDITIONALLY ARE INSPIRED. What avails it, if a man tell me that, if the Second Epistle of Peter be written by him, it is inspired? What I must know is that it is the word of God. Again, although we admit the affirmative supposition of Michælis proposition to be true, we, by no means, admit it in the *exclusive sense*; that is, we do not admit that *only* those books written by the Apostles are inspired. It is quite certain that Michælis intended the exclusive sense of his criterion, but, thus, it becomes manifestly false. Any criterion that would exclude Mark and Luke from the Evangelists must be rejected, even for that alone. We have in series weighed these several criterions and found them wanting, we now turn to the CATHOLIC CRITERION.

This criterion is no other than the Catholic Church, into

whose custody the Holy Writings have been given. The Church as an organized body has various elements and agencies, which functionate to teach man that truth which the Redeemer promised should be taught by her to the end of time. One of these agencies is tradition, which is simply the solemn witness and testimony of what the Church taught and believed from her inception. We can see, at a glance, that the fountain source of our criterion is God himself, who, as the First Cause, wrought this effect in the mind of the writer. God through his living Magisterium of truth tells us what is Holy Scripture, and what is not, and those who refuse to hear that authoritative voice have come to reject even the Scriptures themselves. Such rejection must logically follow from disbelief in the Church. Augustine was never truer than when he said: "Were it not that the Authority of the Church moved me, I would not believe the Gospels." Rejecting the authority of the Church, the protestants have passed through a wondrous transition. Beginning by adoring even the Masoretic points, they have gradually lapsed to such a point, where those who believe in the Bible as the infallible Word of God are the exceptions. It excited no great surprise among protestants, when Dr. Francis L. Patton of Princeton University, at the session of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1895, gave utterance to the following views: "It is enough when we are assured that the Bible is the infallible rule of faith and practice, and that it is given by inspiration of God. *This question can not be adequately handled by quoting proof texts out of the Bible to prove its inspiration.* It involves a great deal more than some suppose. Men are handling a very large topic when, under the conditions of modern thought, they ask, What is the Bible? What does it mean? How did this great literature step into the place it holds, and by what right does it claim to rule the hearts and consciences of men? I have great faith in the outcome of this discussion. I believe that we shall know the Bible, and value it and reverence it as we never did before. *But I am not, I can not be, blind to the fact that the discussion is a broad one and a deep one; that it involves history and philosophy and literary criticism; that it was inevitable; that it is irrepressible; that it could not have come earlier; that it could not be postponed. The attitude which men are taking in science, philosophy, and criticism makes it a foregone conclusion that the Bible must be subjected to the critical handling that is the subject of to-day.*"

The literature of the day abounds in expressions of defec-

tion in faith in protestant thought. We quote the following:

Some time ago Prof. Samuel Ives Curtis of the Congregational Seminary at Chicago read a paper before a ministers' meeting in that city in which he called in question the accuracy of the generally accepted interpretation of certain passages in Isaiah and other parts of the Bible, in which these passages have been taken to prefigure the coming of the Messiah. More recently Professor Curtis has published an article in *The Biblical World*, a periodical conducted under the auspices of Chicago University, setting forth the same views.

The Interior excerpts the following paragraph from Prof. Ives' article, with the statement that it had been "absolutely incredulous of the charge that such views were held by any school of Christian teaching," and would have "resented the imputation as a slander."

"The Jews in the times of the writers of the New Testament held erroneous views of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. It was next to impossible for the New-Testament writers to free themselves from these errors, and they did not succeed in doing so. Even if they could have done so, they had a motive against the truth. It was to their advantage to employ false premises in order to make a popular argument. They even went beyond this and employed false etymology, by which they could mislead the unlearned into the acceptance of Christ by twisting a passage out of its meaning to make it prophetic."

The appointment of Dr. Frederick Temple as Archbishop of Canterbury is taken by a writer in *The Catholic World* (January) as a total surrender by the Anglican Church to the spirit of rationalism. This writer, Jesse Albert Locke, reviews Dr. Temple's views as expressed years ago in his writings, and makes from them quotations that will just now be of much interest to those who have had no opportunity to examine the writings for themselves. Mr. Locke concedes that the new archbishop is "a man conspicuous for ability and force of character," that "there are many things about him which we must all admire"—naming especially his consistent advocacy of temperance and total abstinence, and his assault upon the possession by private persons [as private property] of the presentation to livings in the Church of England. But Mr. Locke has no words of approval for the archbishop's theology. We quote from his article as follows:

"What sort of theology has been enthroned at Canterbury?

What idea of religion does he hold and teach who now occupies what Anglicans like to call 'the chair of St. Augustine'? Fortunately for our inquiry Dr. Temple's views on religion are easily accessible. He was the first essayist in a volume published in 1861 and entitled 'Essays and Reviews.' This book was the signal for a blaze of controversy. Its authors were clergymen of the Church of England, and its teaching was the frankest, boldest rationalism, which emasculated religion of the supernatural and reduced it to a purely humanitarian basis. Orthodox, evangelical protestants—pious but illogical—were deeply shocked. A few quotations will give an idea of what the essayist taught on some important subjects.

"Dr. Temple, in his opening essay, 'The Education of the World,' plants himself squarely on that fundamental protestant principle of which rationalism is the necessary and legitimate fruit. The ultimate basis for religion, he claims, is to be found only in that 'inner voice' which should guide every man. There is nothing external which can be an authority; neither is the church. 'The Bible,' he says, 'in fact is hindered by its form from exercising a despotism over the human spirit. . . . This it does by the principle of private judgment which puts conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter, whom it may be a duty to enlighten, but whom it can never be a duty to disobey 'Essays and Reviews,' p. 53). Again: 'When conscience and the Bible appear to differ, the pious Christian immediately concludes that he has not really understood the Bible.' That is, his private judgment is certainly right and the Bible must be made to conform to it! This reduces religion to the purest individualism; makes as many different religions as there are individuals to hold them. And all are equally right! Suppose this principle applied to the law of the land, each man assuming that the law had no other interpreter than his own 'inner voice'!"

Mr. Locke then gives us a number of quotations from the essays of other writers in the same volume of "Essays and Reviews," and tho' the "usual statement" was found in the preface, to the effect that each essayist was responsible for his own essay alone, Dr. Temple has, in the writer's judgment, made himself responsible for the views of these other writers by his failure to repudiate them. Some of these other essayists spoke of the doctrine of inspiration as "absurd," explained away the Messianic prophecies, characterizing as "distortion" the application of Isaiah's prophecies to the Messiah, and upheld the idea of a true national church as one that should

include all the people of the nation, who should be born into membership in the church as they are born into civil rights. "These are the views," *The Catholic World* writer assumes, "for which the new archbishop stands." He then proceeds to quote further from the archbishop's later writings. Referring to his Bampton lectures, 1884, Mr. Locke writes :

"As to miracles, those of the Old Testament, he tells us, could never be proved. 'The times are remote ; the date and authorship of the books are not established with certainty ; the mixture of poetry with history is no longer capable of any sure separation into its parts' (p. 206). In the New Testament, he adds, we must admit that some unusual occurrences took place which struck the disciples and other observers as miracles, tho' they need not necessarily have been miracles 'in the scientific sense.' 'For instance, the miraculous healing of the sick may be no miracle in the strictest sense at all. It may be but an instance of the power of mind over body, a power which is undeniably not yet brought within the range of science, and which nevertheless may be really within its domain' (p. 195). Our Lord's miracles of healing may have been simply the result of this power and 'due to a superiority in his mental power to the similar power possessed by other men. Men seem to possess this power over their own bodies and over the bodies of others in different degrees' (p. 201). Even our Lord's resurrection from the dead is reached by this destructive criticism. 'Thus, for instance, it is quite possible that our Lord's resurrection may be found hereafter to be no miracle at all in the scientific sense. It foreshadows and begins the general resurrection ; when that general resurrection comes we may find that it is, after all, the natural issue of physical laws always at work' (p. 196).

"If we ask, What, then, can be the object of miracles? Dr. Temple has his answer ready. If these events, tho' not really miraculous, have 'served their purpose, if they have arrested attention which would not otherwise have been arrested, if they have compelled belief,' then they have accomplished their true end. In other words, they were 'pious frauds' impressing a people naturally credulous and easily deceived, as the best way of conveying ethical truth to them. The protestant tradition persists in giving to the Society of Jesus the possession of 'The end justifies the means' as a principle of conduct, but Dr. Temple goes farther still and carries the charge back from His faithful servants to the great Master Himself!"

For these views of the new archbishop, says Mr. Locke, the Anglican Church must be held responsible, since it has twice passed in review of them and refused to condemn either him or them, and has now received him as its head.

In a paraphrase on the Book of Jonah, Dr. Lyman Abbott of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, resumes:

"This is, in brief, the story of Jonah. Such scholars as Ewald and Driver regard it as fiction, not because of the miracle of the great fish. That is not a greater miracle than others, not so great as some. But, in the whole scope and spirit and structure of the story, this book reads to these scholars like a product, not merely of imagination, but of Oriental imagination, not merely like a satire but almost like a caricature. Outside of ecclesiastical circles this story invariably produces a smile. Might not this suggest that it was intended by the author to produce a smile? That he wrote it to smite with ridicule that narrowness of spirit, that religious provincialism, which is more amenable to ridicule than to any other weapon? That the prophet of Jehovah should think to escape from his God by fleeing from the province of Palestine is the first point in this satire; that he who would not preach to pagans is compelled to mingle his prayer with pagans is a second satire; that pagan sailors should do their utmost to save a prophet of Jehovah from the consequence of his own misdoing is a third satire; that he should be angry with the Lord because the Lord is gracious to Nineveh is a fourth satire; that he should care for his gourd and himself, and not for Nineveh and its thousands of inhabitants, is a fifth satire. And over against this picture of ecclesiastical narrowness is set the portrayal of God—who saves the sailors, saves Jonah, saves Nineveh, and compels even this provincial prophet to declare of Him that He is 'a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest him of the evil.'"

Rev. Samuel Eliot, of the First Unitarian Church of Brooklyn, criticizes Dr. Abbott from a different standpoint. He personally agrees with Dr. Abbott, and honors him for his insight and candor, but does not think he is justified, as a Congregational minister, in an effort to overthrow doctrines for which Congregationalism has always stood. He says:

"I can not help thinking that straightforward methods demand that the men of the liberal orthodoxy no longer remain within the orthodox church. They are in a false position, opening the gates of the citadel to all forms of new thought, while apparently defending it. Having really broken with the old

tradition, they ought to be brave enough to break also with the old associations. A position outside of the orthodoxy to which they still outwardly conform would vastly increase their power for good, improve their reputation for honesty, and make them worthier champions of the truth that makes men free. I think that unconscions insincerity in church connections is one of the most serious perils of the Christian Church. The pressing need of our time is absolute intellectual honesty that uses no ambiguous phrases, that makes no mental reservations, but dares to think freely and to speak openly. Having frankly outgrown the dogmas of the old theology, is my dear friend and neighbor, Dr. Abbott, justified in remaining within an organization which still nominally supports the declarations of the ancient creeds? I have not the slightest sympathy with bigotry or heresy-hunting. Old-fashioned orthodoxy seems to me a monster intellectual error, but this modern liberal orthodoxy may contain a moral error. Therefore I believe that the ministers of the Manhattan Association are honorable and consistent in the action taken by them at their meeting yesterday."

The religious journals are having some amusement at the expense of the secular press over the serious treatment given by the latter to the report of Dr. James M. Buckley's "heresy." At a recent meeting of the Methodist preachers in and around New York city, Dr. Buckley (editor of *The Christian Advocate*), in discussing a paper read by Dr. Curtis, took occasion to say that there were not four men in the room who believed in the infallibility of the *English version* of the Scriptures. The statement being challenged, he called for a vote; but the meeting adjourned without its being taken.

Prof. Charles A. Briggs, D. D., whose inaugural address a few years ago, when installed in the chair which he still fills in the Union Theological Seminary, had such an important bearing on the affairs both of the Seminary and the Presbyterian Church, handles the Old Testament with at least as much freedom as that displayed by Dr. Lyman Abbott in his recent course of sermons. Professor Briggs writes in the latest number of *The North American Review* on "Works of the Imagination in the Old Testament," and six pages of the article are devoted to the book of Jonah, the conclusions reached being almost, if not quite, identical with those for which Dr. Abbott has been so severely criticised in the last few weeks.

Professor Briggs begins his article as follows:

"It is not so much the supernatural power in the miracle that troubles us as the character of the miracle. There is in it,

whatever way we interpret it, the element of the extravagant and the grotesque. The divine simplicity, the holy sublimity, and the overpowering grace which characterize the miracles of Biblical history are conspicuously absent. We feel that there is no sufficient reason for such a miracle, and we instinctively shrink from it, not because of lack of faith in the supernatural divine power of working miracles, but because we have such a faith in God's grace and holiness and majesty that we find it difficult to believe that He would work such a grotesque and extravagant miracle as that described in the story of the great fish."

The wholesale and sudden repentance of Nineveh is still more marvelous. Nothing like it meets us in the history of Israel or of the church. Jesus uses it for illustration because there was no historic repentance so well suited to his purpose. The prayer in the story is not appropriate unless the story be considered ideal. This prayer is a mosaic from several more ancient psalms and prophecies, used by the author as appropriate to his story.

As for the reference made to the story by Jesus, Professor Briggs speaks as follows:

"It is objected that Jesus in his use of Jonah gives sanction to the historicity of the story. But this objection has little weight; for we have seen that his method of instruction was in the use of stories of his own composition. We ought not to be surprised, therefore, that he should use such stories from the Old Testament likewise.

"It is urged that Jesus makes such a realistic use of it that it compels us to think that he regarded it as real. But in fact he does not make a more realistic use of Jonah than he does of the story of Dives and Lazarus.

"Paul makes just as realistic a use of the story of Jannes and Jambres withstanding Moses; and compares them with the foes of Jesus in his times (2 Tim. iii. 8.)

"And Jude makes just as realistic a use of Michael, the archangel, contending with the devil, and disputing about the body of Moses, and compares this dispute with the railers of his time (Jude 9).

"These stories by Paul and Jude are from the Jewish Haggada, and not from the Old Testament. No scholar regards them as historic events. If apostles could use the stories of the Jewish Haggada in this way, why should not Jesus use stories from the Old Testament? Jesus uses the story of Jonah just as the author of the book used it, to point import-

ant religious instruction to the men of his time. Indeed Jesus's use of it rather favors the interpretation of it as symbolic. For it is just this symbolism that the fish represents Sheol, the swallowing up death, the casting forth, resurrection, that we have seen in the story of Jonah interpreted by the prayer, which makes the story appropriate to symbolize the death and resurrection of Jesus."

Speaking of the lesson of the book—the triumph of divine grace, in the salvation of Nineveh, over the sentence of judgment uttered by Jonah—Professor Briggs has this to say :

"Jonah represents only too well the Jew of Nehemiah's time, the Jew of the New Testament times, and also the Christian Church in its prevailing attitude to the heathen world. If the Roman Catholic Church had learned the lesson of Jonah, its theologians would not so generally have consigned the unbaptized heathen world to hell-fire. If the Reformers had understood Jonah there would have been more of them than Zwingli and Cœlus Secundus Curio, who thought that there were some redeemed heathen. If the Westminster divines had understood Jonah they never would have coined those remarkable statements of the tenth chapter of their Confession, in which the entire heathen world and their babes are left out of the election of grace. The present century, brought face to face with the heathen world, is beginning to learn the lesson of Jonah. Jonah is the book for our times. Tho' written many centuries ago as a beautiful ideal of the imagination to teach the wonderful grace of God in the salvation of repenting heathen and their babes, it has been reserved for the present age to apprehend and apply its wonderful lessons. The repentance of Nineveh is a prophetic ideal."

The affinity between protestant and rationalist daily grows closer.

Although tradition would be worthless as a motive of credibility, if separated from the Church's infallible authority; in her hands, and under her guidance, it becomes an important factor in her means of teaching. The testimonies of the Fathers are not so much valuable for their *critical authority*, as for their *simple witness of what the Church believed in their time*. The Fathers are, in the Church, what the arteries are in the human organism, avenues whither the blood is propelled from the great centre to vitalize every part.

Many writers on Holy Scripture adduce the testimonies of the New Testament as a means of certitude of the deposit of Holy Scripture. The chief text brought forth to substantiate

such position is from the second epistle of St. Paul to Timothy III, 16. The passage, according to the Greek is as follows: "Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος, καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἔλεγχον, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ."

The Vulgate renders the passage: "Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in justitia." The Roman Catholic version is in accord with the vulgate: "All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice." It is evident from a scrutiny of the Greek text that the Vulgate does not adequately reproduce it. No account is taken in such version of the καὶ, which however appears in all the best codices. The Vulgate expunging καὶ, would virtually insert the elliptical ἔστι after ὠφέλιμος, thus making θεόπνευστος a qualifying characteristic, warranting the predication of ὠφέλιμος, of πᾶσα γραφὴ. By the expunging of the important particle καὶ, such sense can be gleaned from this passage; but, retaining such conjunction, whose presence rests upon the best data, I am at a loss to understand how they gather the meaning. Moreover, the context and parallel passages demand the sense which results from the retaining of the particle.

Of all the versions, the Ethiopic comes closest to the original. According to the Latin translation of the Ethiopic text by Walton, it is as follows: "Et tota scriptura per Spiritum Dei est, et prodest in omni doctrina et eruditione ad corrigendum et instruendum in veritate." Although this ancient and valued text departs somewhat from the verbally literal translation, it reproduces the full sense. We could perhaps literally translate the Greek: "All Scripture *is* divinely inspired *and* useful to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in righteousness." Thus it is in conformity with the Greek reading, with the Ethiopic, with the context, with other parallel passages, and with some of the best of the Fathers. We may instance one parallel passage: II Pet. I, 20—21.

We think then that this sense is sufficiently evidenced so as to become practically certain. The passage thus becomes a direct testimony for the influence of God on Holy Scripture. Indeed, Paul's motive is to induce Timothy to entertain a divine regard for the Holy Writ, and, for this reason, brings forward, as the Causal *ratio*, the divine element in all Scripture. It is not then a discriminative, conditional proposition, but a plain assertion of the Authorship of God in the Holy Scrip-

ture. But this clear text may not be adduced with any profit as a criterion ; because, first of all, it is, as Perrone says, begging the question to prove the divinity of the Holy Books from their own testimony. It is the *circulus vitiosus*. Again, even to those who grant the divine authority of the Epistle to Timothy, it only avails to prove the impress of the hand of God on Holy Scripture *in a general way*, but does not distinguish book from book, or form any judgment concerning an official Catalogue. We grant then that the text, as well as others of a similar nature, operates to prove the divine impulse of the Holy Ghost on Scripture in general, provided we once have received as granted that these books are of God, but we deny to all such texts any value to discern canonical from uncanonical books.

There remains then one means, and one means only, to teach man not only the *truths of Scripture*, but also the *Scripture of truths*. This means is the voice of God through the Church. The Church must teach us two things ; what books are of God ; and what influence God had in such books. We shall treat first of God's influence upon the Holy Books ; and, secondly, of the official list of those books. As it is well to know the nature of the thing sought, before going in quest of it, so we believe that we shall be aided in constructing the list of books of Holy Scripture by a knowledge of the distinguishing element required in them, before admitting them to such list. Our treatise will deal first, therefore, with the NATURE AND EXTENT OF INSPIRATION, and secondly, with THE CANON.

CHAPTER II.

NATURE OF INSPIRATION.

In common parlance, revelation and inspiration are convertible terms, but, in reality, they differ greatly. Revelation, from *revelare*, means to uncover, unveil, disclose to the view something hidden, and, in the present instance, to make known to the mind a concept not before known. This took place with the Prophets, and in every portion of the Holy Writings where the truths enunciated were impervious to the human understanding, or depended on the free will of God ; in fact, wherever the idea portrayed was not acquired by the industry and labor of the writer. When, therefore, the writer gives forth truths which he had acquired by the ordinary method of human research and observation, there is no revelation from God requisite or given. Thus St. Luke tells us that, "it had seemed

good to him, who had followed studiously all things from the beginning, to write in order these things." Thus the author of the II. Book of Maccabees testifies, Cap. II. 24—27: "And thus the things that were comprised by Jason the Cyrenean in five volumes, we have attempted to compendiate in one volume. We who have undertaken to compendiate this work, have taken upon ourselves a task abounding in vigils and sweat." This book then is not, properly speaking, revealed. But usage has prevailed and prevails to speak of the whole body of the Scriptures as revealed writings, and we do not wish to correct this usage, but only to define and fix our terms for the greater facility of our treatise. Inspiration then pervades the whole structure of Scripture: it is its formal principle, its soul; revelation is only called in, as we have said, where the writer could not, or, *de facto*, did not acquire his knowledge in the ordinary manner.

This distinction is of great moment, as many difficulties are solved by the same. The neglect of this distinction gave rise to a censure of one of the propositions of the famous Leon Lessius, which, had it been couched in precise terms, would have challenged contradiction. The Holy Ghost, then, is the directing and impelling agent in all the Scripture, but not in the same manner. He discloses the truths unknown before in revelation; he impels to write infallibly the things which God would communicate to man in inspiration. We have defined above the concept of inspiration; we shall now scrutinize more closely its object and extent. The Vatican Council has given us a definition which will serve as our guide in dealing with the present subject, for, as we have proven above, the Church can be the only guide in such a question.

In Cap. II, *De Revel.* we find:

"Qui quidem veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ejusdem Concilii decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiæ traditi sunt." And in Canon IV, *De Revelatione*:

"Si quis sacræ Scripturæ libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit; anathema sit."

Hence it is of faith that God is the *AUTHOR* of the Sacred Scriptures, and of the *integral books* with *all their parts*. It is not here asserted that God with his own hand wrote the books materially, but that he is the *auctor principalis per conscriptores suos*. Now, we will bear in mind the relation of the author to his work, in weighing and judging of the correctness or falseness of opinions which deal with this subject.

Inspirare is the Latin equivalent for the Greek *θεοπνεύειν*, which word S. Paul uses in his II Epist. to Tim. III, 16., “*πάντα γραφή θεόπνευστος*”. It signifies that one is impelled by God, that the Spirit of God is in him, moving him to action and guiding him in that action. Hence, God is the principal author, the principal cause; and the inspired agent is the instrumental cause.

In every action wrought by a creature, there is a concursus of two causes, the *causa prima*, and the *causa secunda*; the Creator and the Creature. We exist by reflected existence, as the moon shines by reflected light. The same act, which brought us into being at our creation, preserves us in that being, and this is what is called the *conservatio in esse*; and the conservative act is all that prevents us from relapsing into the primal absolute chaos. God must then cooperate with his creature in every act, for the second cause must depend on the First Cause *essentially*, and, therefore, in every act, it must be upheld by the conservative power of God. This cooperation of the First Cause is called the Concursus Generalis, and is found even in acts which are morally bad. The murderer and the incestuous receives the *conservatio in esse* in his act, without thereby making the crime imputable to God, for man's will is free; God preserves him in his being, but gives him the free will to do right or wrong; nay more, God calls, assists, urges to do right; but, if the second agent wishes to do wrong, God does not withdraw his “*conservatio in esse*”. He does not necessitate virtue nor eliminate vice; for he made his creature free. This then is the concursus of the First and second cause in every act. But there are certain acts where this concursus is more marked and potent on the part of the Creator, and Inspiration is one of these acts.

It is declared in the definition of the Vatican Council that God is the *Author* of the books of the Old and New Testaments with all their parts. We also assert and prove that the various inspired writers were *authors* of the respective books which history and tradition attribute to them. Therefore, there is a

concursus of two causes here, of two authors. A book may be defined to be a "Contextus Sententiarum seu sensuum scripto consignatus". We here denominate *book*, every complete component factor of the Old or New Testaments, even though it consist of but a few sentences, as for instance the Epistle to Philemon, consisting of but 25 verses, comprised in one chapter. In every book or writing, there are two elements, the material and the formal element. The formal element comprises the "Complexus" of ideas and judgments signified by the words and propositions in the book. These by some are called the "res et sententiæ"; by others, the "sensa"; by Franzelin, the "Veritates". The material element of the book, "*in fieri*," is the consigning of these veritates to writing. The author of a book needs not necessarily consign the *veritates* to writing. St. Paul employed an amanuensis to commit his teachings to writing in his Epistles, and, yet, he is their author. It is the creations of the soul reflected in a work that denominate an agent an author. Any hand may do the material work, but the mind back of the truths is the factor to which is rightly attributable the authorship.

When we, therefore, assert for God the authorship of the Scriptures, we do not mean to say that he consigned the ideas to writing with his own hand, but that he was the formal cause of the "res et sententiæ," of the "sensa," of the "veritates." Now the relation of an author to his work is to be measured by the object of the work. In a rhetorical or poetical work, the words and style would be "*per se intenta*." They would be in the formal *ratio* of the work, and, consequently, the work could not be called the creation of any certain author, unless he had *per se* produced such beauty of diction. But in a book whose scope was to convey truth to the mind, and naught else, the style or the selection of the words would not necessarily need be the effect of the author *principalis*. Provided they be adequate and fitting to convey the truths which he might wish to impart, the book can attain its end, even though the principal cause have no special influence in the selection of words or the style. Now, it is evident that no being can be termed the author of a book, unless he produces the formal element of the book. God is the author of all the books of Scripture, and, therefore, he produced all the "veritates," or "res et sententiæ" therein contained. These are true and inspired; the other part may be defective. God produced these "res et sententiæ" either by revelation or by inspiration; by revelation, if the truths were impervious to human reason, such

as *futura contingentia*, mysteries, or any other truth which the writer could not acquire by natural means: by inspiration always, illumining the mind and moving the will to write all those things and only those things which God wished to communicate to his creature, whether those things were then for the first time known by revelation, or were the acquisitions of human industry and observation. For even in this latter case, the special action of God is necessary to impel the writer to write all and only the things which God wishes written, and to write them infallibly, without mixture of error.

We see thus that there is always a greater concursus than the concursus generalis in inspiration. God does for the inspired writer more than "conservare in esse." He is the impelling power within him. Sometimes, as was the case with the Prophets, the second agent is thrown into an ecstasy, and his mind is imbued with ideas, in the creation of which he is only the passive agent. The inspired writer is ὑπὸ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου φερόμενος, borne on, impelled by the Holy Ghost. Not always is this impelling force active in the same way. It is different in prophecy than it is in the inspiration which guided the Evangelists in infallibly committing to writing things to which they had been eye-witnesses. Inspiration does not preclude the examining of existing documents, the patient toil and research which always accompanies the natural acquisition of knowledge. Moses may have made use of existing documents, when giving an account of Creation. But the certainty of inspiration is not measured by the certainty of these existing documents, nor by the certainty of fallible human observation and research. Always the hand of God is there, guiding, and positively influencing the agent to write all those things, and only those things which God would have written; and this assistance is not merely a negative one, but a positive act exercised in every concept of Holy Writ. Such is the relation of an author to his work, and we know by divine faith that God is the *Author* of the Holy Scriptures.

Having thus established this relation of God to the Holy Scriptures, we pass to consider the effect of this relation on the Holy Writ, that is, we consider here the EXTENT OF INSPIRATION.

CHAPTER III.

EXTENT OF INSPIRATION.

On this subject there have been many different opinions. Up to the time of Lessius (born 1554), Verbal Inspiration was

quite generally admitted. This opinion sustained that the material words were the work of the Holy Ghost, and some extended it even to the dotting of the letters, and other such minutiae. Lessius having entered the Jesuit Order, and having been appointed Professor of Theology at Louvain from 1585 to 1605; he, in concert with Du Hamel, his confrere, published certain theses, among which were the three following:

1.—“*Inspiratio non se extendit ad omnia verba divinæ Scripturæ.*”

2.—“*Divina Inspiratio non se extendit ad omnes sententias divinæ Scripturæ, sed Auctor inspiratus potest scribere ea quæ aliunde noverit.*”

3.—“*Liber aliquis, qualis est fortasse secundus Maccabæorum, humana industria, sine assistentia Spiritus Sancti scriptus, si Spiritus Sanctus postea, testatur ibi nihil esse falsum, efficitur Scriptura sacra.*”

Lessius was condemned by the Universities of Louvain and Douay, but Stapleton the famous professor of Louvain defended him. Called to defend himself, Lessius explained his doctrine, in relation to the second and third proposition. He declared that he did not exclude the positive influence of the Holy Ghost in the writings, but wished to assert that the *inspiring power* so acted on the second agent, as to leave him the free use of his memory and other intellectual powers, whose use the Holy Ghost presupposed. In relation to the third proposition, he defended that he did not wish to assert such action of any particular book; neither did he mention the 2nd of Maccabees as an example of such action; but, simply, he meant theoretically to assert such *possibility*. Pace tanti viri, I would call this a subterfuge. However, we are not dealing with *possibilities*, but with *realities*. To assert that such were the inspiration which actuated any of the books of our Holy Scriptures is condemned by the Vatican Council; while, of the possibility, the council says nothing. We shall now examine every one of these propositions in detail. The first marks a new era in theological opinion, in relation to Holy Scripture. As we have said, up to this time, verbal inspiration had been generally held by all. From Lessius' time, there was a gradual abandonment of this idea, a gradual trend to the opposite, until now verbal inspiration is held by none who merits aught for his authority. And, indeed, it is patent to him who considers, that verbal inspiration could not have taken place.

1.—God does not operate out of the ordinary course of nature, unless for necessary or useful reasons. Now the choice

of words and the style of the discourse needed not the direct intervention of God, but could be adequately accomplished by the ordinary faculties of the writer. In the words of Marchini, *De Div. et Can. Sac. Bibliorum*, pag. 84: "Dici nequit a Spiritu Sancto ademptum fuisse Apostolis aut Prophetis, rationis, memoriæ, iudicii usum; hæc igitur omnia scribendo adhibuerunt." Another proof for the thesis under consideration is found in the variety of style prevailing among the different authors. Isaiah is polished and cultured in his diction; Jeremias, on the contrary, and Amos are less polished and coarser in their style. Isaias was in high social rank, while Jeremias was a burgher from Anathoth, and Amos, a cowherd.* And differences of style exist among all the inspired writers, due to their different characteristics. No one can fail to detect the sublimity of conception in St. John over the other Evangelists; and the massive genius of St. Paul gleams forth in those inimitable Epistles, which have been and are the great treasure of the Christian religion. Now, if the Holy Ghost had inspired the very words, such differences could not exist.

2.—Moreover, in the Original text of the new Testament barbarisms and violations against the Greek language exist. Can we, for a moment believe that the Holy Spirit, inspired these also?

3.—In the Scriptures, sometimes the same fact is related by different writers in different ways. For instance, the consecration of the chalice is related in four different ways by St. Math., XXVI, 28; St. Mark, XIV, 24; St. Luke, XXII, 20, and St. Paul, I. Cor. XI., 25. These speak of the same words of Christ, as he used them once for all at the Last Supper. If the Holy Ghost had inspired the words, how could we account for these divergencies? Here applies aptly what St. Augustine said of the inspired writers: "Ut quisque meminerat eos explicasse manifestum est."

4.—Again, the author of the second book of Maccabees dates certain events differently from the manner in which they are dated by the author of the first book: II. Maccab. XI, 21, 33, 38; XII, 1; XIV, 4, date certain events in the 148th, 149th

*Very little that is certain is known of the life of Isaiah. According to the Rabbis he was of the tribe of Juda, and of the gens Davidica. They make Amos the father of Isaiah, the brother of Amasia, the King of Juda. Some of the fathers have received this opinion from the Rabbis; and Jerome himself calls Isaiah a *vir nobilis*. But there is nothing trustworthy to prove that he was of the royal line. His style gives evidence of his liberal education and may well be called regal, but we have nothing to warrant that his blood was of the kingly line.

and 150th year of the era of the Seleucidæ: while the author of the first book places the events, I. Maccab. VI, 16, 20; VII, 1, in the 149th, 150th, 151th year, one year later. There is no contradiction: but the inspired writers, making use of the liberty which God allows them, depart from a different point of departure.

5.—The writers of the New Testament rarely or never quote the Old Testament literally, but only the sense. In the words of St. Jerome: “Hoc in omnibus pene testimoniis quæ de veteribus libris in novo assumpta sunt Testamento observare debemus, quod memoriæ crediderint Evangelistæ vel Apostoli, et tantum, sensu explicato, sæpe ordinem commutaverint, nonnunquam vel detraxerint verba vel addiderint.” Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas.

6.—The inspired writers themselves disclaim verbal inspiration, asserting that their compositions had been the result of toil, observation and research. The text of II. Maccab. already quoted is an example of this. Also the preface of the Gospel of St. Luke, and various other passages. Now, if the inspiration had been verbal, this labor and research would be inconceivable. Again, the writer of the second book of Maccab. XV, 39, in closing his work, speaks thus of his work: “I also with these things, will draw my discourse to an end. And if (I have written) well, and as is befitting history, this I would wish; if only weakly and commonly, *μετρίως*. mediocriter, (not above the average) this is all I could achieve, etc.” No such apology for shortcomings were necessary, had the Holy Ghost inspired the words.

7.—Furthermore, if the inspiration extended to the words, either of two things must be true; either the translations of the original texts would be also verbally inspired, or we, who do not make use of the original texts, would not have the true word of God. The first hypothesis is absurd, and broached by none; the second is false, for the Church, with unerring judgment, proclaims that she has the word of God in the Vulgate. Therefore, the inspiration consists in the sense not in the material word; in the *res et veritates*, not in the sound; and the word of God becomes the patrimony of the whole Church, through the different versions, of whose correctness the Church judges.

In general, the greater part of the Fathers spoke of the Scriptures as verbally inspired, but this was owing to the fact that the question was not studied *ex professo*, and they spoke oratorically. St. John Chrysostome, with his characteristic

acuteness, distinguished between the inspired sense and the material word. In his work *Contra Judæos* II, XLVIII, he says: "When thou hearest Paul crying out and saying: 'behold, I Paul say to you, if you be circumcised, Christ profits you nothing,' the voice, *φωνή*, only recognize to be that of Paul, but the sense and the dogma recognize to be of Christ by whom he was interiorly taught." Salmeron, Maldonatus, Bannes, Billuart, Calmet, and others defended verbal inspiration; but, as to the opinion of St. Thomas, though it is not very clear, still some claim to find in his *Summa*, 2. 2, Q. 176, art. 1, ad 1., a defense of the doctrine just promulgated. Be that as it may, it is certain that, in those times, the question was not so well understood as in later times, when men have studied these questions "ex professo."

The reasonableness of the doctrine just enunciated can be seen from a commonplace example. A professor delivers his lecture to his auditors, and they may for instance, commit the sense of his discourse to writing, each in a different manner. Provided they referred faithfully the sense of what he said, they might all be said to have his lecture; though the words differ, the sense remains the same, and the sense is the proper result of inspiration.

Is there then no influence of the Holy Ghost on the *words* of Holy Scripture. Verily there is an influence. Though he does not directly inspire the words, still he preserves the sacred writer from expressions which would be inadequate to convey the meaning intended. God, then, "*qui suaviter omnia disponit*", assists the inspired writer to convey his inspired thoughts in apt and adequate terms, at the same time leaving him free in his style and diction. Again, there are times when it is necessary to admit the verbal inspiration. This takes place *whenever it is necessary for the sense of the dogma or truth enunciated*. Such was the case in the revelation of the name of Jahve to Moses, *Exod.* III, 14. Similarly, when God imposes a name of mystic signification, or whose signification reveals some truth which God wishes to make known, as the name of "Abraham," "Sara," "Israel." Also, when the word is essential to the strict formula of the *forma* of the Sacraments, as the word *corpus* and *est*, *Sanguis*, etc., in the Eucharist.

Corollaries: 1. Verbal inspiration is neither required nor given, when the verbal expression does not determine the sense intended to be conveyed, hence the inspired writer is free in the choice of words of synonymous import to convey the in-

spired concept, and may even use a less fitting expression, provided it be not incapable of conveying the truth intended.

2. When the inspired writer makes use of expressions according to the ordinary signification of the words, it is not affirmed that the import that these words have in common usage is inspired. Thus, when it is stated that there is a *firmamentum* above the earth, dividing the waters above from those below, it is not intended to be an inspired truth that the firmament is a solid body, although the first signification of *στερέωμα* is a solid body. Thus in the celebrated passage, Josue X, 13., it is not intended by the Holy Ghost to assert that the sun and moon actually stood still, but to assert that the day was lengthened, until the Lord had taken vengeance on the Amorites; and the writer simply uses an expression which the people could understand to express such fact. If one were to speak in inspired language of the close of the day, in our day, he would say: the sun set; the sun sank to rest; because these expressions are warranted by the common language of all peoples.

If the object of the Holy Spirit were to teach the people science, then the wording of these passages might be different, but the object was to convey higher truths, and this object was attained without correcting their erroneous scientific opinions. Thus St. Luke in the second chapter of his Gospel, Vers. 1., tells us that an edict went out from Cæsar Augustus that the *whole world* should be enrolled. Now it was only the Roman world that was really enrolled, but that was the whole world for the Jews at that time. Now here difficulty often arises; and, on this line, the conflict between science and religion is fought. A thorough knowledge of the position of the Church, and the defined extent of inspiration, and a calm, conservative judgment must be brought to bear on this conflict, which waxes so fiercely. In our special exegesis of the different books of Holy Writ, we shall apply our principles to the disputed passages.

Of the second proposition of Lessius, this only can be said, that, having confounded *revelation* with *inspiration*, his expression, as it stands, can not be admitted, but what he meant is probably what we have already defended, that inspiration does not necessarily imply that the Holy Ghost then for the first time disclose these truths to the writer, but is compatible with the ordinary acquisition of the truths enunciated; which truths the Holy Ghost afterwards impels the writer to infallibly give forth in writing.

Of the third proposition, it must be said, that, if it is asserted of any of the existing books of the Holy Scripture, it is false and heretical, and condemned in express terms in the definition of the Vatican Council; if it only deals with a possibility, then it is false and absurd; for a *subsequent inspiration* is a contradiction in terms. As Cornely rightly says: "repugnat in adjecto." For to constitute inspiration, we must have this supernatural psychological action in the mind of the writer, and if this be not verified, no subsequent action can supply it. "Factum infectum fieri non potest." But one might say, God is free to approve a book in such way, and if he were to do so, would not the book be made inspired Scripture? We answer, no. It would be an infallibly true writing, rendered infallible by its subsequent approbation, but not *inspired Scripture*; for the essential element required for inspiration never was there. Wherefore, that such was the origin of any of our Holy Books is denied by the Council of the Vatican; the possibility of such origin is disproved by a consideration of the essential elements of inspiration.

Bonfrere the disciple of Lessius taught a doctrine nearly identical with that taught by Lessius. He defended a three-fold relation of the Holy Ghost to the inspired writings; antecedent, concomitant, and consequent. According to Bonfrere, the antecedent relation had actuated the Prophets, who committed to writing the things revealed, without any part in their conception except a passive action, simply as an amanuensis writes down the dictated ideas, always, of course, in their own terms, as we have just seen. This coincides with the Catholic idea of revelation just now treated.

The concomitant relation directed the writer as one would direct another in writing a human document, not permitting him to fall into error. Bonfrere even admitted in this mode a vague general impulse of the Holy Spirit to write such a history. He also admitted a sort of prompting influence, in case the writer's memory failed him, according to that passage in St. Matthew: "He (the Holy Ghost) will suggest all things to you, whatever I shall have said to you." This mode Bonfrere asserted had taken place with all the books, except the prophetic works and the Pentateuch. The subsequent relation coincides with the third opinion of Lessius, except that Bonfrere expressly denied that such had been the origin of any of the books now possessed by the Church, but asserted the non-repugnance of such action, and the possibility that such might have been the origin of some of the inspired works which

the Church has lost. This opinion falls under the same censure as that of Lessius. The Church simply infallibly declares a book to be inspired which the Holy Ghost, as principal author, has produced; but it does not, by its definition make inspired that which antecedently had been by only human industry. We have only to deal therefore with the second opinion, which constitutes inspiration to be something negative, a protecting influence, that protects the writer from error, and we assert that such action is not sufficient to constitute God the *author of the book*.

Inspiration is an *active, positive influence in every part of the Holy Scripture*. No other relation can constitute God the *author* of the Holy Writ. If, indeed, we were to defend that God only preserved from error, as Calmet asserted, it would follow, that if the writer were exempt from error of himself, unaided by any other cause, God would not be the *author* of the book so written; and, as this would doubtless have happened in many passages and whole chapters, there would thus be parts of which God could not be said to be the author, as He would have had no part except a general supervision in their production. This the definition of the Vatican Council forbids to assert. Moreover, if the Holy Ghost did not move positively and impel to write what God wished to give forth to man, many useless details would be intermingled in the Scriptures, and no means would be forthcoming to warrant that the truths which God wished to communicate to us were all delivered to us. For the preservation from error would never bring about that "*ea omnia et sola quæ Deus communicare vult*" would be transmitted to us. The dispensation of God would depend on the fallible judgment of man, which is inadmissible. Again, there would be no difference, in such case, between the definitions of œcumenical councils and of the Pope's "*ex cathedra*," and the Holy Scriptures; for, in these definitions, there is the *negative assistance* of the Holy Ghost. But we know that the dignity and rank of such documents are far below that of the Holy Writ; for these are human documents, infallible in their truth, but they can not be said to have God for their *author*.

Jahn departed farther from the truth than Benfrere had gone, asserting inspiration to be, in general, only a negative assistance protecting from error; and he defended that such was the general origin of our books. Logical in his opinion, and recognizing that *inspiration* imported something positive, he boldly proclaimed that inspiration was a misapplied term; but, as it was consecrated by usage, was difficult to change.

Here therefore, as in other things, "in medio stat virtus." The Fathers and the older theologians exaggerated inspiration, extending it to the utmost minutiae; the later protestants, rationalists, and some Catholic writers have derogated in such manner from inspiration, as to reduce it almost to a mere general supervision of the Holy Ghost, which might take place with any pious writer. The Fathers sometimes compared the inspired writer to a musical instrument played on by the Holy Spirit. (St. Justin, Cohort. ad Græcos, VIII; St. Athanasius, Legat. pro Christo, IX.) These comparisons admit of a benign interpretation, as they were written in the ages of the simplicity of faith, before the terrible conflict with error and heresy had necessitated the use of precise concepts. This general remark applies to the writings of the Fathers in every department of knowledge.

The second agent is an instrument but not an *inanimate* one. He is a sentient rational instrument, making use, in the very act of inspiration, of all his faculties. In our treatise on inspiration, we must not disguise the fact, that many deny that we are held by the definition of the Councils of Trent and Vatican to extend the decree to all the *res et sententiæ*; and even some Catholics hold that we are bound to believe "*fide divina*" only that the dogmatic and moral parts and those others which directly refer to these are inspired. They allege as ground for their assertion, that the Vatican Council did not add anything to the definition of the Council of Trent, in relation to the extent of inspiration, and the Council of Trent did not define what it meant by a part. It would seem at times, that there was no medium in human language to so define a concept as to preclude different opinions regarding it.

Holden, the English professor at the Sorbonne († 1662), was the first among Catholics to distinguish between the doctrinal parts of Scripture, which, he asserted, were to be believed *fide divina*, and the historical and other parts, which he held to be written without any special influence of the Holy Ghost. Thus in his Analysis of Faith, V.: "The special divine assistance given to the author of whatever book the church receives as the Word of God, extends only to those things which are *doctrinal*, or have a proximate or necessary bearing on doctrine; but, in these things which are not of the primary intent of the writer, or are relating to other things, we believe him to have received from God only that assistance which is common to other pious writers"; and II, 3: "Although it is not licit to impeach as false aught contained in the Holy Code, neverthe-

less, the things which do not relate to religion do not constitute articles of Catholic faith." His doctrine was examined by the Sorbonne and condemned; but, still, this condemnation does not end the controversy, for this condemnation was of several theologians, but not of the Church. Chrismann asserts nearly the same doctrine. Newman, in the 19th Century for 1884, excludes from the *fide divina credenda* "*obiter dicta*"; such as, for instance, that Nabuchodonosor was king of Niniveh, Judith I, 7; or that Paul left his cloak at Troas, or that Tobias' dog wagged his tail. Tob. XI, 9: "And here I am led on to inquire whether *obiter dicta* are conceivable in an inspired document. We know that they are held to exist and even required in treating of the dogmatic utterances of Popes, but are they compatible with inspiration? The common opinion is that they are not. Professor Lamy thus writes about them, in the form of an objection: 'Many minute matters occur in the sacred writers which have regard only to human feebleness and the natural necessities of life, and by no means require inspiration, since they can otherwise be perfectly well known, and seem scarcely worthy of the Holy Spirit, as for instance what is said of the dog of Tobias, St. Paul's *penula*, and the salutations at the end of the Epistles.' Neither he nor Fr. Patrizi allow of these exceptions; but Fr. Patrizi, as Lamy quotes him, '*damnare non audet eos qui hæc tenerent*,' viz., exceptions, and he himself, by keeping silence, seems unable to condemn them either.

By *obiter dicta* in Scripture I also mean such statements as we find in the Book of Judith, that Nabuchodonosor was king of Nineveh. Now it is in favour of there being such unauthoritative *obiter dicta*, that unlike those which occur in dogmatic utterances of Popes and Councils, they are, in Scripture, not doctrinal, but mere unimportant statements of fact; whereas those of Popes and Councils may relate to faith and morals, and are said to be uttered *obiter*, because they are not contained within the scope of the formal definition, and imply no intention of binding the consciences of the faithful. There does not then seem any serious difficulty in admitting their existence in Scripture. Let it be observed, its miracles are doctrinal facts, and in no sense of the phrase can be considered *obiter dicta*.

It may be questioned, too, whether the absence of chronological sequence might not be represented as an infringement of plenary inspiration, more serious than the *obiter dicta* of which I have been speaking. Yet St. Matthew is admitted

by approved commentators to be unsolicitous as to order of time. So says Fr. Patrizi (*De Evang.* lib. ii. p. 1), viz., 'Matthæum de observando temporis ordine minime sollicitum esse'. He gives instances, and then repeats 'Matthew did not observe order of time.' If such absence of order is compatible with inspiration in St. Matthew, as it is, it might be consistent with inspiration in parts of the Old Testament, supposing they are open to re-arrangement in chronology. Does not this teach us to fall back upon the decision of the Councils that 'faith and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine' are the scope, the true scope, of inspiration? And is not the Holy See the judge given us for determining what is for edification and what is not?"

Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orient.*, Paris, 1880, pref., pag. VI, denies that any of the historic parts of the Bible are inspired, and believes that Genesis is largely made up of myths. Rohling in "*Die Inspiration der Bibel*", Münster, 1872, rejects inspiration in these things which pertain to science and natural history. This work has been ably refuted by Franzelin in his work *De Tradit. et Sac. Script.*

Now it is not, I believe, in the province of any private individual to term these opinions heretical, but we hold them, if we except that of Card. Newman alone, to be theologically false. Newman's opinion we do not embrace, but still it were too much to term it false. The protestants began by asserting inspiration for the Masoretic points, with which the Hebrew text was adorned in the ninth century, A. D.; they now limit inspiration to a few truths of dogma or morals, and daily drift farther and farther from the old faith regarding the Scriptures, and embrace more and more the tenets of rationalistic criticism.

The opinions above quoted have for their chief basis, that the scope of the Holy Books is to teach us faith and morals, and as the Holy Ghost protects the Pope only in the affairs of faith and morals, so they say, He protected inspired writers only in that which was necessary; secondly, they assert that it were unworthy of the Holy Ghost to inspire these minute details. We answer briefly, that the influence of the Holy Ghost is far more potent in the inspired writer than in the Pope, as we have already explained: for God is not the *Author* of pontifical definitions "*ex cathedra*." But God is the *author* of all the parts of the Scripture; therefore, an error in the work [I speak of the *res et Sententiæ*, not of a defective word made use of by the writer] would be imputable to God, an hypo-

thesis which we can not admit. The Vatican Council has defined that the Scriptures contain the inspired truth, without admixture of error. This could not be said, if historic, chronological, geographical, or scientific error were there found. Moreover, grant that such error may be found in the Holy Scripture, and the bases of Scripture are shattered, for it will then be uncertain, what is inspired, and what is not; and, "in æstu passionum," men will interpret the Holy Writ always favorably to their own preconceived ideas; and, thus, the certitude of the Scriptures is destroyed. Again, such opinion is contrary to the unanimous voice of tradition. "I believe," says St. Augustine, "that no Sacred writer has been deceived in anything." (Epist. 72 ad Hieron.) S. J. Chryst., Hom. XV, in Gen., says that every word is to be pondered, as they are the words of the Holy Ghost (*i. e.* the sense of the words.) So, St. Jerome reproaches, for the same reason, those who do not receive the Epistle to Philemon. St. Thomas, Summa Theol. I. Q. 1, art. 10, ad. 3.: "It is evident that there never can be falsehood contained in the literal sense", and Q. 32, art. 4: "A thing pertains to faith in two ways. In one way, directly, as those things which are principally consigned to us; as for instance, that God is triune. Things pertain indirectly to faith, from whose contrary would follow something pernicious to faith; as, for instance, if one were to say that Samuel were not the son of Helcana; for from this it would follow that the Scriptures were false."

When Erasmus, in the XVI. century, hinted that the Evangelists, in quoting from the Old Testament, had relied on their memory, and had been faulty in some respects, he was so hotly attacked by the theologians that he abandoned his position and apologized. St. Liguori in his Tract Contra Hereticos, IV, 5—28, in speaking of the opinion of those who separated truth from truth in the Holy Scriptures, maintaining that some things were from the Holy Ghost, and others from the human mind, calls their opinion *false* and *impious*. We have seen what the result has been of private interpretation in the protestant church! A similar result would be verified in the Catholic Church, should we make such distinction as regards Holy Scripture, for all would be free to say that this or that passage did not pertain to Holy Scripture. Finally, if inspiration did not extend beyond the questions of faith and morals, or what is related thereto, a great part of the Holy Scriptures would not be inspired; for the books, for instance, of Josue, Judges

and a great part of the Pentateuch pertain in no wise to faith or morals, but are a history of events of the people of God.

The question of the inspiration of *Obiter Dicta* is a celebrated one in Biblical Criticism. *Obiter Dicta* may be called those details of minor moment related in Holy Writ, which are inserted "en passant", not seemingly comprised in the main scope and intention of the writer. The passage in Tobias XI, 9. relating to the wagging of the tail of Tobias' dog: "Blandimento suæ caudæ gaudebat", and the passage in St. Paul's letter to Timothy, II Tim. IV, 13. relating to the cloak left at Troas: "Penulam, quam reliqui Troade apud Carpum, veniens affer tecum", are ordinarily quoted as examples of *Obiter Dicta*. Concerning these, two questions may be raised: 1. Are the *Obiter Dicta* inspired? 2. Is it of faith that these are inspired? Catholic theologians generally answer the first question in the affirmative. And, in truth, such must be defended, for the same danger would menace us as before mentioned, were we to reject the inspiration of these passages, namely, that of gradually widening the circle of these, and inducing uncertainty into the Scripture, by the freedom with which men might reject these details.

Card. Newman asserted that, in his opinion these were not of faith. Patrizi, quoted by Lamy, and by him followed, does not dare condemn the opinion of those who deny that the *Obiter Dicta* are of faith. Schmidt, a recent writer quoted by Vigouroux, says: "*Credimus doctrinam quam proposuimus quoad illam specialem assertionem quæ immunitatem ab errore, divinam auctoritatem, et inspirationem ipsam ad res indifferentes etiam minimas extendit non esse de fide, et contrariam non esse hæresim. Nihilominus, persuasum nobis est doctrinam nostram omnino certam esse, nec contrariam ullo modo probabilem aut tolerabilem judicamus.*" This is a succinct statement of the Catholic position; hence, we are introduced to the answer to the first question: are those details inspired? This we answer in the affirmative.

The theologians, Newman excepted, quoted above, generally, while denying that there was any dogma to force us to admit the inspiration of these details, defend, at the same time, that they are inspired, and that an error in these can not be admitted in the Sacred Scriptures, as they came forth from the inspired writers' pen. Schmidt openly and explicitly teaches such to be the case. And, indeed, there is danger in the opposite views. Newman in the 19th Cent. for 1884 seems to minimize this danger, and claims that similar danger would come

from the admission of accidental variations in the text, through the ravages of time, which all admit; but such is not the case, for in relation to the obiter dictum, we are *directly attacking the influence which the Holy Ghost had on the books*; while, in the other case, we are only bringing to bear on documents, the light of critics, to determine whether or not the document has been preserved through the vicissitudes of time. St. Jerome, whom no one will accuse of excessive conservatism, held expressly that these details were inspired, and cited the instance of Paul's cloak. (Prol. in Phil. Tom. XXVI, col. 600.) The Fathers are unanimous in proclaiming for the Scriptures exemption from all error. The objection is made that these details are too minute for an inspiration, which, as we have stated, is a special influence of the Holy Ghost in the mind of the inspired writer; and that it would be unworthy of God to inspire such minutiae; but we must remember that "Deus creavit Angelos in cœlis; vermiculos in terris, nec major fuit in illis, nec minor in istis." (St. Augustine, quoted by St. Jerome, *ibid.*) These details have their utility also. For instance, the description in Tobias is a vivid pen picture of the return of one to his home, after a protracted absence. St. Paul shows his simple and tender confidence in Timothy by bidding him bring his cloak from Troas. But what we assert for the obiter dicta as they came from the hand of the inspired writer, we do not, in any wise, assert for them, as they exist to-day. As the object of the Holy Scripture could be obtained without a stupendous miracle, wrought on the part of God, to preserve these from error, we admit that in these, owing to the various vicissitudes through which our Holy Books have passed, accidental errors may have occurred. In another treatise, we shall defend that the text of the Holy Scripture, as we have it to-day is *substantially* correct, but admits of accidental errors. Here we might quote the golden words of St. Augustine: "If, in the Holy Scriptures, we find aught that seems incredible, it is not to be said that the author of this book has not known the truth; but we should say: the manuscript is defective, or the transcriber erred, *or we do not understand.*" Many of these errors are the result of the ignorance or inexactness of the transcribers; as, for instance, St. Jerome translates the No-Amon, Nahum III, 8. to be Alexandria, whereas Alexandria was not built by Alexander M. till three centuries later, and then was not the site of No-Amon, which was the city of Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt. (Bible et Découverts Modernes, Volume, IV. 259—262.) Also St. Jerome confesses

that he rendered the קִיָּין, of Jonas, by "hedera", ivy, as he thought his readers unacquainted with the plant which is really signified, the ricinus, or Castor plant.

Moreover, as has already been stated, the Sacred writers make use of the common parlance of the people: "secundum opinionem populi loquitur Scriptura." (S. Th. I. 2. 198.) A question of vital importance, in our days, is the relation of Scripture to Science. Men's minds have been active ever since the writing of Scripture itself, and have found many things unknown at the time of the writing of the Holy Books. They have delved down deep into the mysterious storehouse of nature, have discovered her treasures, have imprisoned her mighty forces to do their will, and serve them in the affairs of their civil and domestic life. They have penetrated the heavens, and investigated the secrets of the vast expanse which men call the firmament. Many truths, and many more or less reasonable hypotheses have been thus found out. But science, proud of her achievements, and restless under restraint, too oft turns her powers against the God-given truths of the Sacred Text, and here the warfare waxes bitter indeed, and many there are who incline too much to the side of science, even of those of the household of faith. The question, then, is asked: does inspiration extend to the scientific details of the Bible? God has not *directly* revealed the scientific truths of the Bible. This all admit, but, nevertheless, he could have *indirectly* revealed these, as they form a component factor in a narrative, the object of which is to teach men their relations to the Author of their being. The majority of Catholic interpreters hold that the scientific truths in Genesis are *indirectly revealed*. However, all scientific truths are *inspired*, in the sense that God impelled the Sacred writer to write those truths with infallible veracity and certainty. Hence, we join our voices with the voice of all the learned in asserting that the scope of the Holy Books was not to teach men science, while we demand immunity from error for those scientific assertions in this sense, that the truth intended to be conveyed by every sentence and proposition in the Bible, *as it came from the pen of the writer, is inspired*. Galileo, in a letter to the Grand Duchess of Milan, quoted a celebrated saying of Baronius: "Spiritus Sancto mentem fuisse nos docere quomodo ad cœlum eatur, non quomodo cœlum gradiatur." Since the time of Galileo, men have conceded that the Scripture spoke according to the common opinions of the people, and attributed significations to words, which the vulgar speech of the day warranted. For God made

use of a human medium to convey his message to man, and he did not startle the people by strange expressions, which would have been unintelligible to all people at that stage of human development. Men speak thus to-day, and are not accused of inexactness or with combating science. Hence, with this in mind, we can reconcile the assertions of true science with the inspired Word of God, for there can be no combat between truth and truth; for the Author of both human and divine science is the "Essential and Infinite Truth." For although faith is above reason, no real discussion, no real conflict can be found between them since both arise from one and the same fount of immutable and eternal truth, the great and good God. (Pius IX., Encyc. of Nov. 9, 1846.) Some hypotheses broached by the incredulous and shallow dabbler in science may conflict with the truths of Scripture, but this imports nothing. The Church blesses scientific research, and fears nothing therefrom. She invites investigation into every field of human thought, and only good to herself can come therefrom. The greatest astronomer of this century, Father Secchi, S. J., was one of her faithful children. The Vatican Council approved of scientific research explicitly, even when all the resources of science were brought to bear to oppose the Church. It leaves science free to use its own methods. "Neither does the Church forbid that these sciences should, in their own domain, use their own principles and method." (Conc. Vat. De Fide, IV.)

Hence we should guard against attributing to a passage of Scripture a signification, which *in se* it has not, but which may have been given to it by some interpreter. When we find by incontestable evidence that science has demonstrated a truth, which is in seeming opposition to what has by some been held to be the opinion gleaned from the Holy Scriptures, we should seek some other interpretation, which the text must bear, as truth and truth can not conflict, and we can thus reconcile these two truths coming from different sources. In this manner, we may reconcile Gen. I. 14: "And God said let there be luminaries in the firmament of heaven. . . . And God made two great luminaries, a greater luminary to rule the day and a lesser luminary to rule the night, and the stars." Now it would seem from this that the stars were less in magnitude than the moon. As science has indisputably proven the contrary, what must we admit? That the inspired writer spoke according to the appearance of things, and for us the moon is a greater luminary than the stars. Hence, even the Sun is not necessarily asserted to be a greater luminary in fact than the stars, but only in appearance.

In relation to the inspiration of “dicta aliorum”, no definite rule can be given. The character of the person, the circumstances in which such saying is uttered, the mode of quoting, and the nature of the proposition must be weighed. For instance, the sayings which the inspired writers make their own by their approbation are inspired. St. Peter was inspired, when he confessed the divinity of Christ, not when he denied Christ. The words of impious men sometimes are quoted, but “in persona illorum,” not intending them to be as truths. In regard to these, although no prior rule can be laid down, still there is no difficulty in distinguishing the true from the false.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CANON.

Canon, from Greek κανών, originally meant any straight rod or bar. From this basal signification were formed the cognate meanings of the amussis or carpenter’s rule, the beam or tongue of the balance, and then, like norma, any rule or standard, whether in the physical or moral order. Hence, it came to be generally applied as a rule or measure of anything. It is much controverted and quite uncertain, just what particular shade of the general meaning the old writers had in mind, when they first applied this word to the official list of the Holy Books. Such question is, in fact, of no real value to any man, and yet writers quibble and haggle about it, as though upon it depended some great question. Some contend that, in predicting the term of the Holy Books, the early writers passed from the active signification of the term to its effect, and used the measure for the thing measured; thus the canon would be the list officially ruled and measured by the Church. Others hold that the said writers had in mind that the Holy Books formed *a rule of faith and morals*. I can not entertain as probable this second opinion; it seems far-fetched, and not well founded in what the early writers have written. I am of the persuasion that the term was applied to the collection of Scriptures to signify that such list formed the *criterion and measure of a book’s divine origin*. The list was thus a *rule*; for only the books which satisfied its requirements, by being incorporated in it, were of divine authority. At all events, the signification of an official list of things or persons dates back to a great antiquity. Thus, in the Councils of Nice and Antioch, the catalogue of the sacred persons attached to any particular

Church was called the *canon*. Thus, to-day, those who constitute the chapter are called Canons. The appositeness of the term, all must concede, for such sanctioned catalogue forms a measure of inspiration, and we receive only as inspired that which conforms to its measurement.

The canon of Holy Scripture then is *the official catalogue of the Books that the Church authoritatively promulgates as the product of the Authorship of God*.

This official list is found in the Council of Trent, Sess. 4, De Can. Script.: "The synod has thought good to subjoin to the decree an index of the Holy Books, lest to any man there should arise a doubt as to which are the books that are received by the said Synod. These are the following: Of the Old Testament, the five books of Moses, to wit: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Josue, Judges, Ruth, the four Books of Kings, the two Books of Paralipomenon, the First Book of Esdras and the Second, which is called that of Nehemias, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, the Davidic Psalter of 150 Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias with Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, The Twelve Minor Prophets, to wit: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Michæas, Nahum, Habukuk, Sophonias, Haggæus, Zachary, Malachy, and The First and Second of Maccabees. Of the New Testament: The Four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the Acts of The Apostles, the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul, to wit: The Epistle to the Romans, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Epistle to the Philippians, the Epistle to the Colossians, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the two Epistles to Timothy, the Epistle to Titus, the Epistle to Philemon, the Epistle to the Hebrews; the two Epistles of St. Peter, the three Epistles of the Apostle John, one Epistle of the Apostle James, one Epistle of the Apostle Jude, and the Apocalypse of the Apostle John." In this catalogue, there are recorded forty-five books of the Old Testament, and twenty-seven of the New.

As the Holy Books are divided into two great classes, the Old and New Testament, so we must treat separately of the canons of these two Testaments.

CHAPTER V.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The books containing God's covenant to man are designated by three equivalent terms in the three great Scriptural

tongues. In Hebrew it is בְּרִית; in Greek, Διαθήκη; and in Latin, Testamentum. Although the etymological construction of these terms is not exactly identical, still, in fact, their accepted sense in this predication is the same, that of a pact, treaty or covenant; and they designate the written instruments of God's solemn covenant with mankind.

A fundamental variation took place in God's dealings with his creature in the mission of the Messiah, and, as the Greek language became at that time the principle medium of religious thought, the changed and better economy was called in that language the Καινή Διαθήκη, in contradistinction to the Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη; hence in Latin, which later preponderated as the vehicle of religious thought, the terms were rendered by Vetus and Novum Testamentum, whence come our equivalent English terms.

The books of the Old Testament can, from their very nature, be easily divided into three great classes: The Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. Such division, in fact, existed among the Jews from the very earliest times, but their arbitrary, ill founded ranging of the different books under each particular class renders their data worthless. By their division, we must include Daniel among the Hagiographa, while Josue, Judges, Samuel, and Kings are enrolled among the Prophets. Of course the Law remained ever and with all a unique element, admitting no other book to be classified with itself. Many try to assign reasons for the classification of the Jews. We are not minded to do this. It is to us a groundless, worthless division, never adopted by any writer of modern times. There was also in vogue among the Jews a well known liturgical section of Holy Scripture, the חֲמִשָּׁה מְגִלּוֹת, or five volumes: The Canticle of Canticles, Ruth, the Lamentations of Jeremias, Ecclesiastes and Esther. These formed a collection which was wont to be read on certain festal days of the year.

Our Saviour and the Apostles oft divided the Old Testament in two great divisions, the Law and the Prophets; thus, in a general way, designating all that was subsequent to the Law as the Prophets.

The Jews were wont also to divide the Pentateuch into liturgical divisions which they call פְּרָשָׁה, from root פָּרַשׁ, to expound. These were first arranged so that every third year the Pentateuch was totally read in the synagogues. Now, however, the Babylonian mode prevails in all the synagogues, which divides the Pentateuch in fifty-four parashas, so arranged that,

by reading them on every Saturday, they finish the Pentateuch within the course of the year. To this usage St. James alludes, Acts XV, 21: "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him in the synagogues, where he is read every Sabbath." These parashas are designated in the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch by three פ or three ס. They are designated by פ if the section begins on the beginning of the line; by ס if it begins in the middle of the line. The פ is initial for פתוחות, *open*; to signify that the section is an open one, as it begins with the line; while ס is initial for סתומות, *closed*; implying that the section is shut up, as it were, beginning in the middle of the line. Thus, for instance, the first parasha, Gen. I, 1—VI, 8 inclusively, is open; so also the second, extending from VI, 9—XI, inclusively, is open and designated by three פ. The parasha, enclosed from Gen. XXVIII, 11—XXXII, 3, inclusively, is closed, and designated by three ס. The parashas were subdivided into minor sections, designated in the Hebrew text by single פ or ס as they respectively began either in the beginning or middle of a line. Later, they conjoined the reading of select portions of the Prophets to the sections of the Law. They called these הפטרה, from root פטר, to dismiss; because, after they were read, the people were dismissed. It was in accordance with this usage, that Jesus Christ at Nazareth read in the synagogue the passage from Isaias, Luke IV, 16—19. This haftara is not now found among those assigned for synagogical readings. The antimessianic tendency of the Jews has probably expunged it.

Setting aside, therefore, Rabbinical opinions, we can easily arrange all the books under the three great heads. First, the Law, comprising the five books of Moses; second, the Prophets, comprising the four great Prophets and the twelve minor Prophets, and lastly, the Hagiographa, composed of all the remaining books. However, modern writers find it commodious to divide the books in still another way, to facilitate their treatment. In this modern division, the motive of classification is the nature of the theme of the book. They thus divide them into Historical, Sapiential, Poetic, and Prophetic books. We shall employ this division in our Special Introduction to the different books.

The well known division of both Testaments into the protocanonical and deuterocanonical books seems to have first been employed by Sixtus Sennensis (1520—1569). In his Biblio-

theca Sancta, Book I, Sec. I, he writes thus: "The Canonical books of the first order we may call *protocanonical*; the Canonical books of the second order were formerly called ecclesiastical, but are now by us termed *deuterocanonical*." Although retaining and making use of this nomenclature, we in no wise attribute an inferior degree of dignity to the books of the second canon; they are in such respect equal as God is the author of all of them. We designate by the name of *protocanonical*, the books concerning whose divine origin no doubts ever existed; while the deuterocanonical books are those concerning which greater or less doubts were entertained for a time by some, till finally the genuinity of the books was acknowledged, and they were solemnly approved by the Church.

The *deuterocanonical* books of the Old Testament are seven: Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch and the two books of Maccabees. Together with these, there are deuterocanonical fragments of Esther, (from the 4th verse of 10 to 24 verse of 16 chapter, and Daniel III, 24—90; XIII, XIV). The deuterocanonical books of the New Testament are also seven in number: The Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Second and Third Epistle of St. John, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse of St. John. There are also deuterocanonical fragments of Mark, XVI, 9—20; Luke XXII, 43—44; and John VII, 53—VIII, 12. Many of the protestants reject all the deuterocanonical books, and apply to them the term Apocryphal. It shall be a part of our labors to defend the equal authority of these books.

The Jewish mode of enumeration of their Holy Books was as arbitrary and as worthless as was their system of division. Taking twenty-two, the number of the letters of their alphabet, as a number of mystic signification, they violently made the number of the Books of Holy Scripture conform thereto. Josephus makes use of this mode of enumeration. In his defense against Apion, he says: "For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us (*as the Greeks have*), disagreeing from and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all past times; which are justly believed to be divine." [Contra Apion I, 8]. St. Jerome also, in his famous Prologus Galeatus to the Books of Kings, testifies of the existence of such number, and explains its mystic foundation: "As there are twenty-two elements, by which we write in Hebrew all that which we speak, so twenty-two volumes are computed by which, as by letters and

rudiments, the tender and suckling infancy of the just man is trained in the doctrine of God." "And thus there are of the Old Law twenty-two books; five of Moses, eight of the Prophets, and nine of the Hagiographa. Some, however, reckon Ruth and the Lamentations among the Hagiographa, and consider that these are to be numbered in their individual number, and thus they think to be of the Old Law twenty-four books, which John personifies in the number of the twenty-four Ancients who adore the Lamb." We see then that there were two modes of enumeration, and the Fathers mixed these modes in trying to conform their enumeration with the Jewish tradition. We can not tell who was the first to find a mystic relation between the Greek alphabet of twenty-four letters and the twenty-four books, but it must have been done after the preponderance of the Hellenistic influence. The appended schema will more vividly illustrate the Jewish mode of enumeration of the Holy Books:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------|---|
| 1. | בְּרֵאשִׁית יָא | - - - - - | Genesis. |
| 2. | וְאַלֶּה שְׁמוֹת יב | - - - - - | Exodus. |
| 3. | וַיִּקְרָא יג | - - - - - | Leviticus. |
| 4. | וַיִּדְבֵּר יד | - - - - - | Numbers. |
| 5. | אַלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים יה | - - - - - | Deuteronomy. |
| 6. | יְהוֹשֻׁעַ יז | - - - - - | Jehoshua. |
| 7. | שֹׁפְטִים וְרוּת יז | - - - - - | Judges and Ruth. |
| 8. | שְׁמוּאֵל יח | - - | { Samuel I and II, commonly
called I and II Kings. |
| 9. | מְלָכִים יט | - - | { Kings I and II, commonly
called III and IV Kings. |
| 10. | יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ י | - - - - - | Isaias. |
| 11. | יֵרֵמְיָהוּ וְקִנּוּת יכ | - - | { Jeremias and The
Lamentations. |
| 12. | יְחִזְקִאל יל | - - - - - | Ezechiel. |
| 13. | נְבִיאִים תְּרֵי עֶשֶׂר | - - | { Hosea, Joel, Amos,
Obadia, Jona, Micha,
Nahum, Habakuk,
Zephania, Haggai,
Zacharia, Malachia. |

Literally the twelve Prophets, whom we designate as the twelve minor Prophets. These, by the Jews, were computed as one book

14. סֵפֶר הַתְּהִלִּים י - Liber Laudum, or The Psalms.
15. מִשְׁלֵי ים - - - The Proverbs of Solomon.
16. אִיּוֹב יע - - - - - Job.
17. דָּנִיֵּאל יפ - - - - - Daniel.
18. עֵזְרָא יצ - - - - - Ezra I and II.
19. דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים יק - - - Chronicles, I and II.
20. אֶסְתֵּר יר - - - - - Esther.
21. קוֹהֶלֶת יש - - - - - Ecclesiastes.
22. שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים ית - The Canticle of Canticles.

By separating Ruth from Judges, and the Lamentations from Jeremiah, twenty-four books resulted, and these are the books of the Jewish Canon, or as it is commonly called the Canon of Ezra, from his supposed influence upon it. As no doubts have ever arisen concerning these books, they have been called the protocanonical works or books of the First Canon. Which mode of computation is prior, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty. Loisy believes the number twenty-four to be prior, as it seems to be the Talmudic number. Against this is the authority of Josephus, who speaks of the number twenty-two as the sole traditional one. A question of so little importance may well be left in its uncertainty.

CHAPTER VI.

EZRA AND HIS INFLUENCE.

The History of the Canon of the Old Testament is obscure and difficult, through default of reliable documents. In tracing it through its remote antiquity, we shall endeavor to bring forth in their clearest light the certain data, filling up the lacunas by the best warranted conjectures.

The nucleus of the Old Law was the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses. Around this centre of development was aggregated all the Sacred writings of the Jews. It was the תּוֹרָה, the Law, par excellence, the divine book. The subsequent books, even though by them considered divine, were never held equal in dignity to "the Law by the hand of Moses". They were but adjuncts, participating in the great

fount. As less reverence was entertained for these later works, so less care was taken in their preservation.

The Pentateuch was kept in the temple; it was the warrant of Israel's preeminence over all the nations of the earth. It needed no authority to canonize it; the character of its author, and the nature of its contents were all sufficient. No other book in Israel was equal to it.

The other books came into being by degrees. Most of them were first written as detached chronicles, annals, or diaries, and subsequently compiled into their respective volumes. The Jews revered them, and acknowledged their divinity, but there was not, at least before Ezra's time, any central authority charged with the office of fixing the canon. Neither was there, before his time, any official list of the books of Holy Scripture. This is clearly proven by many proofs. 1. The Samaritan Codex contains only the Pentateuch.* Had the other books been placed in a canon with the Pentateuch the existence here of the isolated Pentateuch would be inexplicable. We may not say with certainty at what date the Samaritan Codex was written, but the most probable opinion would fix such date soon after the Schism of the ten tribes. (975 B. C.) Cornely, in his *Introduction in Libros Veteris Testamenti* maintains that, even before the time of Ezra, there existed a collection of sacred books, conjoined to the books of Moses. His argument to prove this is that there is evidence that the subsequent books were known and revered by the Jews, and that the preceding Prophets influenced the later ones. Loisy, in refuting this, rightly says that it is quite another thing to assert that an official collection had been constituted and to say that divers books existed, were known, and were revered. We hold that these books as they came into being were received by the Jews, but that no list was made of them and the sole motive of their inspired character was the nature of the writing, and the authority of their authors. There is no convincing data that the Prophets were commissioned by God to determine the canon of Scripture. There seems to be sufficient evidence to conclude that, previous to the time of Ezra, the five books of Moses occupied a unique place in the literature of the Jews. It was the written Constitution of Israel's Jahvistic polity. At times of great defection in religion, even the Torah fell into disuse and oblivion. Thus

*The Samaritan Codex contains a spurious text of the book of Josue, but it is evident that it is a later interpolation.

the passage in II Kings XXII, 8: "And Helcias the high priest said to Saphan the scribe: 'I have found the book of the Law in the house of the Lord'; and Helcias gave the book to Saphan, and he read it", implies a preexisting period of neglect and disuse of the Torah. In those fierce idolatrous upheavals in Israel, a stiff necked people, led by an impious king, soon reduced all to religious anarchy. In the restoration of the divine worship by Josias, no mention is made of any other book than the Law. Had the other books formed a collection with the Pentateuch, they could hardly be passed over in such complete silence.

The Pentateuch then from the beginning was always the basis and directing principle of the religious and national life of the Jewish people. It suffered some vicissitudes in the various religious defections of that people, but in their return to Jahve's Law, the Pentateuch was the centre of their reorganization.

The other books came into being by gradual growth. Most of these contained data that by living tradition was well known to the people. The books formed a *scattered sacred literature*. The writings of the Prophets gradually were collected by their disciples and by the learned in Israel. Thus copies of the books subsequent to the Pentateuch existed in many places through the nation, but they were not united with the Torah, nor considered of equal dignity with it.

We come now to deal with Ezra and his influence on Scripture. The Babylonian Captivity, wrought by Nabuchadnezzar, had overthrown all the institutions of Israel. The temple was destroyed; the priests dispersed and led into captivity; the Holy Books in a state of disorder, and Jahve's altars demolished. To bring Israel out of her religious disorder, Ezra was sent with full power from Artaxerxes. His fitness for his commission may be inferred from I. Ezra VII, 6: "וְהוּא סוֹפֵר" "and he was a ready scribe in the Law of Moses." Of Ezra's work as the restorer of Jahve's worship, and the reorganizer of Israel's polity, we have certain data. Concerning, however, the nature and extent of his labors on the Divine Books, we can only form, at most, probable judgments, and, full oft, but conjectural opinions.

Up to our days, the belief has been almost general that Ezra revised the sacred books, and fixed the Canon. That he wrought some important effects on the Sacred Books, we may not reasonably doubt. But to determine the *exact nature and*

extent of his influence is impossible, through defect of documents. In all questions of this nature, the judgments of men will be divergent. And so in this question men have thought differently. The preponderance of Catholic thought has been that Ezra compiled and fixed the Canon. Prominent among those who have held this opinion are Serarius, Bellarmine, Bonfrere, Huet, Frassen; and more recently Welte, Herbst, Glaire, Scholz, Himpel, Ubaldi, and Cornely. The most eminent Catholic writers who reject, in whole or part, the old theory of the constitution of the Canon by Ezra are Richard Simon, Movers, Nickes, Malou, Danko, and Loisy.

As rationalistic principles have thoroughly pervaded the protestant scriptural thought currents, I think that it will not aid in our investigation to bring forth and classify the protestant opinions concerning the influence of Ezra on the Jewish Canon.

The Talmud furnishes us some curious data on the Canon. The treatise of the Mischna called פֶּרֶק אֲבוֹת (The Chapters of The Fathers) opens with a testimony concerning Holy Scripture: "Moses received the Law on Sinai and delivered it to Jehoshua. Jehoshua delivered it to the Elders. The Elders delivered it to the Prophets. The Prophets delivered it to the men of the *Great Synagogue*. The Talmudic treatise בְּבֵרַת פֶּתַח (The Last Gate) of the Babylonian Gemara is more explicit.* In folios 14 *b* and 15 *a*, it is written: "Who wrote the Holy Books? Moses wrote his book, the section concerning Bileam and Job. Jehoshua wrote his book and eight verses in the Law. Samuel wrote his book, the book of Judges and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms by means of ten Ancients, Adam, the first, Melchisedech, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Iduthun, Asaph and the three sons of Kore. Jeremias wrote his book, the Book of Kings and the Lamentations. Ezechias and his colleagues wrote Isaías, Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, and Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezechiel, the twelve Prophets, Daniel, and the volume of Esther. Ezra wrote his book, and continued the genealogies of the Chronicles up to his time.

In this testimony properly understood, there is nothing impossible. The presence there of the names Adam, Melchisedech, Abraham, and Moses as contemporaries of David

*The commentatorial treatises of the Gemara were called *gates*, since they *opened the way* for the intelligence of the different truths.

has caused much discussion among those who thought these to be the original patriarchs. Such is evidently not the case. By these names the talmudists meant not the patriarchs but contemporaries of David, who bore the names of Israel's ancestral patriarchs. Thus we have among the Rabbis of the middle ages Solomon, Moses, David, etc. This point is so evident that I shall not dwell more upon it. Thus understood, the testimony is, at least, not impossible, and shows us that, at its writing, the Jewish canon, comprising the protocanonical books was fixed. The attribution of the Authorship of Isaías to Ezechias most probably means that he compiled into a volume the disconnected documents and diaries left by the prophet. We say this simply to show the possibility of the testimony, not to advocate its opinion.

We now join with these testimonies, that of the apocryphal fourth book of Ezra, IV Ezra XIV, 22—26: "For if I have found favor in thee, send in me the Holy Spirit, and I will write all that which was done in time since the beginning, the things that were written in thy law, that men might find the path; and let those who would live in the last days live. And he made answer to me and said: 'Go and summon thy people, and say to them that they shall not seek thee for forty days, and do thou prepare for thyself many writing tablets, and take with thee Sarea, Dabrea, Salemia, Echan and Asiel, those five, who are able to write quickly, and come hither, and I will enkindle in thy heart the light of intellect, which shall not be extinguished until thou wilt have finished the things thou shalt have begun to write. And then, a part thou shall openly manifest to the perfect, and a part thou shalt deliver secretly to the wise; on the morrow, at this hour, thou shalt begin to write." Ibidem, 38—47. "And I was brought to the morrow; and, behold, a voice called me saying: 'Ezra, open thy mouth and drink that which I will give thee to drink.' And I opened my mouth, and behold a full cup was held out to me. This was filled with water, and the color thereof as of fire. And I took and drank; and when I had drunk, my heart was exceedingly filled with knowledge, and in my bosom wisdom grew. For the memory of my spirit was strengthened. And my mouth was opened, and was no more closed. The Most High gave understanding to the five men, and they wrote the visions of the night which were told them, and which they knew not. And at night they ate bread. But I spoke through the day, and through the night I was not silent. And there were written, during forty days, 204 books. And it came to

pass, after forty days, the Most High spoke saying: 'The first things thou hast written make openly manifest, and let the worthy and the unworthy read; but the latter seventy preserve, that thou mayest give them to the wise men of thy people. For in these is the vein of understanding, and the fount of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge.' And I did so."

Up to the eighteenth century, the Latin of the Vulgate was the only text preserved to us of IV Ezra. Since then, there have been discovered the Arabic, Æthiopian, Syriac, and Armenian versions. In these the whole number of books is placed at ninety-four instead of 204; whence, if we subtract the seventy which were to remain hidden for the sole use of the wise men, we shall have the traditional number, twenty-four, of the Jewish Canon.

Cornely makes much of this testimony as being built upon the true basis of Jewish tradition. I confess, though admitting some basis of truth, I can not find anything in it that would convince the intellect that Ezra fixed the Canon. The role of Ezra as second promulgator of the Law would be sufficient basis for the rabbinical fable.

We have not adduced these testimonies as peremptory proofs of anything. They are all more or less imbued with rabbinic fable. But, perhaps, there may be some slight truth in these, which has been distorted by the vagaries of the Rabbis, till it is hard to glean it from the composite mass.

I believe that the tradition of the Christian Fathers will give us small help in this investigation. As it was merely a critical question, and, in no wise, connected with faith, the authority of the Fathers could only be considered in its critical character. Now it is evident to the tyro of patrology that the Fathers are least valuable as critics. As simple witnesses of the faith, they are beacon lights; but when we turn to their critical character, we find little of value. Most of those who have delivered to us that Ezra fixed the Canon, based their assertions on the IV Book of Ezra, a book filled with rabbinic fable, impossible superstition, and erroneous dogma. St. Irenæus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, St. Basil, Theodoret, St. Optatus and others have relied implicitly on the testimony of IV Ezra. Some, as St. Chrysostom, St. Isidore of Seville, St. Bede, have tried to make the passage of IV Ezra credible by restricting the character of Ezra within somewhat narrower bounds. See Loisy, *Hist. du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*.

Having brought forth these preliminary testimonies, we now proceed to more closely examine the question of Ezra's influence on the Scripture. Ezra restored the Jahvistic worship, and promulgated the Law. This rests on the clear testimony of an inspired book. The 8th and 9th Chapters of the II Book of Ezra firmly establish the character of Ezra as reorganizer of Israel and promulgator of the Law; but when we would extend his influence on the Scripture further than this, we are unsustained by certain data. In view of these facts, it is well to first set forth what Ezra did not do, and, secondly, proceed to establish the most reasonable probable judgments concerning what he did do. We place, therefore, as a thesis, that there are no adequate data to establish that Ezra promulgated an official list of the Holy Books of the Jews; but, on the contrary, probable data seem to warrant that no such official list was ever promulgated among the Jews by any authority.

To prove this thesis, we find one convincing proof in the fact that there is not a testimony in the patrimony of scriptural science which asserts any such fact. Men, it is true, have asserted such fact; but they lacked one requisite element of a faithful witness, knowledge of the fact. The Fathers followed the pseudo Ezra; hence, their authority is no greater than his, which is nothing. The Babba Bathra of the Talmud, quoted above, speaks of the Scripture as though reduced to definite list, but its authority, even though believed implicitly, would prove nothing for the supposed character of Ezra. The Babba Bathra does not antedate the second century of the Christian era, and, at that time, the list of the Jewish Canon was complete, not by definite authority, but by the common consent of the Jewish people and its teachers. The Babba Bathra does not attribute the fixing of the Canon to Ezra, and no other document worthy of faith does so. I think that a fact of such importance would not be passed over in silence, while so many others of much less importance are detailed to us in the books of Ezra, Nehemias, and the Maccabees.

The Talmud records many disputes concerning the canonicity of some of the books of the Old Testament. Behold an example: "Rabbi Juda has said that the Canticle of Canticles defiles the hands; but Ecclesiastes is contested.* Rabbi Joseph said: "Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands." Rabbi

*To render the hands impure was the rabbinic expression to express that a book was inspired, as they must needs wash their hands after touching an inspired book.

Simon said: "The disciples of Schammai judged more unfavorably of Ecclesiastes than the disciples of Hillel." Rabbi Simeon, son of Azai, said: "I have learned from every one of the mouths of the seventy ancients that this question was settled when Rabbi Eleazar, son of Azarias, was installed in office." Rabbi Akiba said: "May it please God, no Israelite has ever doubted that the Canticle of Canticles defiles the hands. The world has nothing more precious than the day on which the Canticle of Canticles was given to Israel. All the Hagiographa are holy, but the Canticle of Canticles is most holy. If discussion has existed, it was concerning Ecclesiastes." Rabbi Jochanan, son of Josue, son of the father-in-law of Rabbi Akiba, said: "It was discussed and decided as has said the son of Azai." Tr. *Jadaim* III, 5. Again: "The doctors wished to place in obscurity the Book of Ecclesiastes, for reason that its discourses were contrary to the Law. Why did they not place it apart? Because it begins and ends with the words of the Law." Tr. *Sabbath* 30.

These contentions among the Talmudists give evidence of doubts concerning various books of Scripture. If the Canon had been made out and promulgated by Ezra, would not his authority have been cited here to decide concerning these books? If, as our opponents assert, the fixing of the Canon by Ezra rests on talmudic tradition, we ought certainly to hear some word of him in these disputes. On the contrary, he is only mentioned as the author of his book and the continuator of Chronicles.

The book of Ecclesiasticus, written very probably about the year 180, B. C., in Chapters XLIV to XLIX inclusively, speaks of Israel's heroes and sages, and, although it exhorts that Nehemias be a long time remembered, it has no word of Ezra. This would seem incomprehensible, had Ezra collected and authoritatively promulgated the Canon. Moreover, Daniel and Esther are not mentioned among the illustrious ones of Israel, and there seems to be no other credible reason than that these books had not, at that date, entered the Jewish Canon, and, consequently, were unknown to the author of Ecclesiasticus.

The Jews of Palestine, in their second letter to their confreres of Alexandria, make offer to send them the books that Nehemias and Judas had collected: "And these same things were set down in the memoirs and commentaries of Nehemias, and how he made a library, and gathered the writings concerning the kings, and the Prophets and the (writings) of David,

τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ, and the letters of the kings treating of the oblations. And in like manner Judas also gathered together all such things as were lost by the war we had, and they are in our possession." Cornely would distort this text till it would be made to comprise the whole Canon [Introduction I, 45—46.] His attempts are too arbitrary to merit an extended notice. No book would suffice to include all we should write, if we set out to refute every arbitrary assertion that has been made concerning the Holy Scriptures. With Loisy, we see in this testimony a description of a collection of books of national importance to Israel, partly sacred and partly profane. It is quite probable that the sacred books therein included were the first and later Prophets, according to the Jewish mode of enumeration, and the Psalms of David. The other works were, doubtless, epistles of the Persian Kings, of importance in the government of a country, now a vassalage of Persia. It is plainly evident that Nehemias did not collect the Canon of Scripture but a collection of important books sacred and profane, which, joined to the later collection of Judas Maccabæus, formed a sort of national library, to a participation of which, the Jews of Palestine invited their brothers of Alexandria. This testimony also is a factor to refute the generally received opinion that Ezra closed the Canon. Most probably, he cooperated with Nehemias in this enterprise; but the very fact of a collection of certain sacred books into the national library presupposes that no complete authentic list of the Scriptures was in possession of Israel. Had it been made subsequently, some trace of it would have been left in the records of the Jews. We believe, therefore, that the opinion which attributes to Ezra the collection and closing of the Canon to be devoid of historical basis and untenable.

We now pass to consider what influence Ezra did exert upon the Holy Books. The selection of him, "a scribe able in the Law", implies that there was some reconstruction of Holy Scripture for him to do. We have before said that he promulgated the Law to the returned exiles. What revision he wrought on the Thorah, it is impossible to say, but we are ready to believe that he revised in some respects Israel's great code. He also evidently explained this Law to the people, and put into execution its enactments. This is Ezra's distinguishing function in history. As reorganizer of Israel's polity, I am ready to believe that he did collect and revise Israel's sacred literature, and that many books came under his influence. How many, we can not say. We must here simply rely on

conjecture. But, from the fact of the collection by Nehemias, one may see that the reconstructive spirit of Nehemias and Ezra tended to bring together Israel's sacred deposit of writings. They did this without any *ex professo* declaration of promulgating a Canon; and it is highly probable that not all the Holy Books of the first Canon were collected into a body of writings at their epoch. Gradually the sacred collection was made up, and, at the time of Christ, the Jews considered the list of Holy Books as complete and fixed. The nucleus of the collection was the Torah. Around this centre, the Holy Books formed themselves into a recognized collection by the concurrence of various causes, and their warranty for entrance into the sacred collection was not any decree or order of canonization by any authority, but the fact that their contents were conformable to the living traditions of the people, and reflected the things which a tenacious Eastern memory had learned from Law and Prophet.

Ezra may have revised many of the Holy Books; he may have collected all those attainable at that time; we are ready to admit his influence upon Scripture to have extended even to the correcting of the Pentateuch; but we deny him an official promulgation of an incomplete Canon of Scripture, at the very time when other books of divine origin were in actual existence, although not in his possession. In the talmudic testimonies adduced above, mention is made of a great synagogue, **בְּנֵי־הַגָּדוֹלָה**, organized by Ezra. Much that is fabulous has been written concerning this great synagogue. Many reject it in toto as a rabbinic fable. Here again historical data are wanting. Besides the talmudic authority already quoted, the Jews of the middle age, Abarbanel, Abraham ben David and Maimonides recount that the Great Synagogue was composed of 120 members. Ezra was president, and the Prophets Haggai, Zachary and Malachi were among its members. It endured from the year 444, B. C., down to the time of Simon the Just, about the year 200 of the Christian era. The writings of the middle age are characterized by the same spirit of extravagant fable which robs the talmud of all historic worth, hence we can not treat these assertions as historic data. At most, there may be in them a basic thread of true tradition, which is well nigh lost amid a web of fable. Even those who have credulously accepted the legend of Ezra's Canon have rejected the story of the Great Synagogue. No convincing data are at hand to establish the existence of such a body organized by Ezra, and yet such an organization, though not of such propor-

tions as the rabbis assert, may have been created by him. That a body of men called the Synedrion or Sanhedrim existed at the opening of the Christian era is not doubted. It is quite certain that Christ referred to this body in Math. V, 22: "But I say to you, that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of the judgment, and whosoever shall say to his brother, רָקָא (cerebro vacuus), shall be in danger of the council." It is impossible to fix the date of origin of this assembly. Many Jews refer it back to the origin of their polity under Moses. Of course this is a vagary. Christian writers diverge widely in their opinions concerning it. Nothing certain is available. Without admitting the fables of the Rabbis, might it not be the evolution of a legislative body organized by Ezra to aid in administering the civil and religious affairs of reorganized Israel? The question, like many others of a like nature, only admits of a conjectural answer.

It is certain that the Providence of God entered as chief factor in preserving the Holy Books through so many vicissitudes. He, as ever, did this *suaviter et fortiter*. As he was back of the collection, they were safe, and there is no need of bringing the unsubstantial legend of Ezra's Canon to protect a collection of books which the Providence of God protected in his own way. But in the accessions to the central nucleus of the Jewish Canon, after the fourth century, a distinction was made, whence has sprung a leading question in the history of the Canon. Malachi closes the series of the Hebrew prophets. Nothing certain is known of the identity of this Prophet. Some have believed the Hebrew name מְלָאכִי (angelus meus) to be an appellative of Ezra, or of another Jew of that period, designating the particular function of the last of the Prophets. Cornely sustains by probable arguments, that Malachi is the proper name of an individual. The Jews recognized in him the last of the Prophets, and termed him חֹתֶמ הַנְּבִיאִים (sigillum Prophetarum). Whatever view we adopt, Malachi's period must have been about four hundred years B. C. The accessions to the Palestinian Canon subsequent to Malachi were accorded a secondary rank. They were by no means considered as mere profane creations, but from the fact that the series of the Prophets was closed, the effusion of the Holy Ghost was not believed to be so directly reflected in these books as in the others. This secondary influence of the Holy Ghost they denominated the כֶּתֶב הַקֹּל

(*filia vocis*). We find in no place an explicit enumeration of the several books whose writers were supposed to be actuated by the *bath kol*, but all indications seem to evince that they were the deuterocanonical works of the Old Testament.

From the first, these books existed in the Alexandrian Canon, which was totally derived from the sacred books of the Jews of Palestine, and the celebrated testimony of Josephus Flavius, now to be adduced, clearly asserts the existence and preservation of certain semi-divine books, which had been collected after the close of prophecy in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Now these books can be naught else than the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. The testimony of Josephus exists in his *Defense against Apion*, Bk. I, Parag. 8: "For we have not an innumerable multitude of books disagreeing from and contradicting one another, as the Greeks have, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine. And of them, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time embraces nearly three thousand years. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, who reigned after Xerxes, the Prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes *very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of Prophets since that time*: and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one hath been so bold as either to add anything to them, or take anything from them, or make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them."

Although some of the deuterocanonical books contain history that must have antedated Artaxerxes, nevertheless, as the date of their accession to the Hebrew Canon was subsequent to Artaxerxes, Josephus confounds the date of their accession with the date of their origin. These books, then, existed in the Palestinian collection as *secondarily divine* books. The Talmuds of Jerusalem and Babylon contain quotations from Ecclesiasti-

cus. Josephus, who was an apt expounder of Pharasaic traditions, makes use of the deuterocanonical fragments of Esther and the second book of Maccabees.

Eusebius, in the VI book of his Ecclesiastical History, Chapter 25, recording the catalogue of Scriptures, after enumerating the protocanonical works, says: "There are also the Maccabees which are inscribed *Sarbeth Sarbanceel*." St. Hilary in Prol. in Psalter, testifies that Tobias was read among the Hagiographa of Jews. St. Epiphanius Haer. VIII. No. 6, testifies that Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were in honor among the Jews, and distinguished from the apocryphal works. St. Isidore says of Wisdom: "As a certain one of those who know has recorded, the Hebrews received this work (Wisdom) among the Canonical Scriptures. But after they had seized and killed the Christ, remembering the most evident testimonies concerning Christ in that same book, in which it is written: 'The impious said among themselves, let us seize the just, etc.,' taking counsel, lest we might lay upon them such an evident sacrilege, they cut it off from the prophetic volumes, and prohibited its reading to their people." The Apostolical Constitutions testify that Baruch was read in the Jewish synagogues.* St. Jerome testifies in his preface to the book of Judith that among the Hebrews Judith is read "among the Hagiographa." "Its authority," he continues, "is considered less apt to decide things about which there is dispute. It is written in Chaldaic, and reckoned among the historical books." I think it to be a position admitting of no reasonable doubt that the deuterocanonical works of the Old Testament primarily existed in the collection of the Jews of Palestine. The narrow, nugatory, reactionary, spirit of the latter day Jews, exemplified in the Pharisees, denied to these books canonicity, as we understand the term; but we can find no evidence that they denied them a divine origin. They are not found in the Hebrew collection of books to-day, but this can be readily explained. The same spirit which moved the Jews of Palestine to deny these books equal rank with the others, impelled them later to entirely exclude them. It would be

*The Constitutiones Apost. are apocryphal writings dating back to the second century of the Christian era. It seems quite probable that they originated in Syria. The only relation that they bear to the Apostles is that they reflect the Apostolical traditions of the times. They were declared apocryphal by the decree of Gelasius, but still are of value inasmuch as they preserve for us the traditions of the first ages of Christianity.

hard to fix the date of this exclusion. It is probable that they gradually died out of the different codices, till, at last, all trace of them disappeared in the Palestinian Canon.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ALEXANDRIAN CANON.

Opposite causes effected the preservation of these books in the Alexandrian Canon. The Jews of Egypt depended in matters of religion on the Jews of Palestine. Abundant data prove that they received their collection of Holy Books from Palestine. This was not accomplished all at once. It began with the translation of the Law, made under Ptolemy Philadelphus in the third century B. C., and continued down to the first Century B. C. The influence of Greek thought and customs on the Hellenistic Jews modified the narrow national spirit of that nation. Later, in the time of the Maccabees, the pagan Greek customs were readily adopted by the Jewish youth. This liberal trend of religious thought effected that the deuterocanonical books were received and *intermingled promiscuously with the other books*. It is quite probable that there was always a certain degree of uncertainty and indecision in the synagogues of Alexandria. The minute, sharply drawn, pharasaic distinctions did not obtain there. They had left home and home traditions, and blending with a highly cultivated nation, even those who clung to the substance of the Mosaic covenant, lost much of their conservative spirit. As they read the Scriptures in Greek, the deuterocanonical books were not distinguishable by difference of tongue from the books of the first canon. On the contrary, in Palestine the Scriptures were inseparably cast in the mould of the Hebrew mother tongue. The strong love of the Hebrews for their mother tongue would naturally incline the Jews of Palestine to look with less favor on a sacred book not written in the Hebrew language. Now some of the deuterocanonical books such as Wisdom and II Maccabees were of Greek origin. It is quite probable that some of the others were already translated into Greek before their aggregation to the sacred collection, hence is explained their secondary place among the sacred books, and also why they are not found in the Hebrew Canon of to-day. It seems also quite certain that the Hellenistic Jews made no distinction between the protocanonical and the deuterocanonical books. Had such distinction been made, the books of secondary importance would have been relegated to the post of an

appendage. Now the direct opposite is found to have prevailed. Protocanonical and deuterocanonical works are indiscriminately intermingled in the Alexandrian Canon. This indiscriminate adoption of the deuterocanonical books was not the canonizing of these by the Alexandrians. It was a mere fact, which its authors had never taken thought to explain. Had they formally rendered equal these various books by an explicit declaration, it would have led to controversy between the Hellenists and the Jews of Palestine. No trace of any such controversy is found in the records and traditions of antiquity. The Jews of Palestine were not hostile to the deuterocanonical works, but, from the causes already enumerated, refused to accord them equal rank with the others. The Jews of Alexandria without deciding the issue, received and revered them all, and intermingled them in the sacred collection.

There is plainly evident in this fact the workings of the Providence of God. The Almighty had decreed to effect the transition from the old to the new covenant through the medium of Greek language and culture. Israel was to receive the Christ in fulfillment of Jahve's promises, but the great gentile world was to be the chosen people of the New Covenant. Under the Providence of God, Alexander the Great brought the known world under Greek influence, and gave it the Greek language as the medium of thought. The Romans reduced this vast extent of territory to peace, without changing the language. Thus two conditions favorable for the evangelization of the world were accomplished, peace and a uniform adequate vehicle of thought. It is easy to see how these two factors aided in the spread of the Gospel. Now, it was also expedient that the existing Scriptures should be in the universal tongue of the civilized world. We can see how the teachers of the New Covenant availed themselves of this element, since, with a few exceptions, they always make use of the Greek text of Scripture when quoting the Old Testament. Hence, the Providence of God brought it about that in the Greek there should exist a complete body of Scriptures. God was less solicitous about the Palestinian collection, because that was not to be the medium of grafting the new scion on the old stock. Thus the Alexandrians were instruments in the hands of God in collecting a complete body of Scriptures, which that same Providence has ever protected as the great basic element in the deposit of faith. The first real canonization of the deuterocanonical books was the approbation of the Alexandrine collection of books by the teachers of the New Law.

We have hitherto assumed that the deuterocanonical books were indiscriminately intermingled with the other books in the Alexandrine collection. That we may not be thought to assume unproven things, we shall adduce a few proofs for this well warranted fact. In the first place, we may remark that the only ones who would be likely to deny this would be the protestants. Now Davidson, a protestant, in his *Canon of the Bible* admits this as an obvious fact. "The very way," he says, "in which apocryphal (deuterocanonical) are inserted among canonical books in the Alexandrian Canon shows the equal rank assigned to both." We may consider a first proof, the presence of these books in the Christian Canon of the first ages. Now certainly they received their collection of the Old Testament from the Greek Canon. Though the codices whence they took their Canon have perished, yet the exemplars now existing were faithfully reproduced from them. The translation known as the *Vetus Itala*, which dates back to the 2nd century of the Christian era, had all the deuterocanonical works, and this was certainly made from the Alexandrian collection. The great codices of the Vatican and Mt. Sinai, going back probably to the fourth century, contain these works. The Jewish sect of the Falashas, who have been in Abyssinia since before the coming of Christ have a version of Scripture in Ethiopæan in which no discrimination is made between the protocanonical and deuterocanonical works. The early Fathers were as conversant with the deuterocanonical works as with the rest of Holy Scripture. The subjects of the art of the Catacombs are largely taken from the deuterocanonical works. Such early and universal approbation could not be effected, had not these books been delivered to the Messianic church by the Old Covenant through the medium of the Greek.

It should not appear strange that all our attention is now centering upon the deuterocanonical books. This is the great issue between the protestants and us. The protocanonical works need no defender, except against the rationalists. Our defense against them will appear later in our work. Those who reject the protocanonical works attack the whole basis of religious belief. But those who reject the deuterocanonical works profess still to accept God's word to man. With them, is the first issue. We shall first endeavor to prove that the writers of the New Law, by accepting and employing the Alexandrian text of Holy Scripture, in which were the deuterocanonical books, virtually canonized that collection of Scriptures.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CANON OF THE CHURCH.

There is no trace in writing or tradition of any formal decision rendered by Jesus Christ or his Apostles concerning the canon of the Old Testament. However, their use of the Alexandrian text of Scripture is equivalent to an express decree. It were incompatible with the characters of the teachers of mankind and organizers of the Church, to make use of a collection of Scripture in which profane and inspired books were commingled. That they formulated no decree concerning the canon of Scripture, proves that the Scriptures are subordinate to the Church. They, in virtue of the power given by the Master, were to found a living teaching body. The institutions of men exist by force of the fixed decrees and constitutions upon which their stability is based. The institution of Christ exists by virtue of the perpetual living vigor that energizes within her. She may pay small heed to human enactments, even though of infallible agents, for her warranty is in her living constitution, which is the almighty power of the Holy Ghost, her vital principle. Hence the Scriptures are only an instrument in the hands of the Church. Christ and his Apostles founded the teaching body, which should guard the Scriptures, and at the proper time fix the canon. In all our investigations concerning the canon, it is the authority of the Church in the background which forms the great complement of the motive of credibility. No man can go securely through the dim vista of those remote times without the beacon light of the Church. It is not by the sole force of historical data, that I believe that the deuterocanonical works have God for their author. I receive them on the authority of the Church, and then trace the conformity between the book's history and the dogma of the Church. A man would defeat his own purpose, should he attempt to convert one to Catholicity by proving that the deuterocanonical works had equal title to canonicity. Prove first that there is a God; then that there is a Christ; then that there is a Church; and lastly exhort him to humbly ask Christ's teacher what to believe.

St. Jerome after much hedging was forced to admit that the Alexandrian collection was approved by the Apostles. He would, indeed, have us believe that, where the Septuagint differed from the Hebrew, the Apostles made use of the Hebrew. This is contradicted by the other Fathers, and is disproven by an examination and comparison of the two texts. St. Irenæus'

authority is explicit in favor of our thesis. "The Apostles, being older than all these, (Aquila and the other Greek interpreters) are in accord with the aforesaid (Septuagint) translation, and the translation corresponds with the tradition of the Apostles. For Peter and John and Matthew and Paul and the others and their followers announced the prophetic things *according to the Septuagint*." [Contra Haer. III, 21, 3]. Origen testifies that Paul, in Epist. to Romans, follows the Septuagint in everything, except, perchance, things of minor moment. [Orig. in Rom. VIII, 6]. The Syrian Jacobites, by the testimony of their primate Barhebraeus preferred the Syrian version of Scripture that had been made from the Septuagint to the earlier one made from the Hebrew, because the one made from the Septuagint was more in consonance with the discourses of Our Lord and his Apostles.

From the sixteenth century down, critical collation has been made of the passages of the Old Testament, quoted in the New. From the labors of Serarius, Morini, Capelli, Kautzsch, and others, it results that, of three hundred and fifty passages of the Old Testament quoted in the New, more than three hundred so agree with the Septuagint that it is evident that the writer was using that text as a source. Sts. Peter, James, Mark, Luke, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews *always quote from the Septuagint*; St. Paul, *almost always*; and Sts. Matthew and John very often quote from it. The reason for such course of action is evident. They were to convert a Greek world. By the Providence of God, a version of Scripture existed in Greek. They were but following out the great plan of Salvation, by employing the resources of this existing text of Scripture in the evangelization of the world. Had such text been interspersed with spurious books and fragments, such line of action would ill fit the teachers of the world. Our adversaries endeavor to enfeeble the force of this argument by alleging that no deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament is expressly quoted in the New. This fact we admit; but we deny that it weakens our position. Davidson, in Canon of the Bible, though not in the least friendly to Catholic opinions rejects this argument against the deuterocanonical books. On page 77: "When Bishop Cosius says that in all the New Testament we find no passage of the apocryphal (deuterocanonical) books to have been alleged either by Christ or his Apostles for the confirmation of his doctrine, the argument, though based on a fact, is scarcely conclusive; else, Esther, Canticles, and other works might be equally dis-

credited." In the New Testament Abdias, Nahum, the Canticle of Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemias are neither quoted from nor alluded to. It needs not an explicit quotation to approve a book. The approbation of the version which recognized these books was a sufficient warranty for their inspiration. Express quotations in the New Testament are generally taken from the Law or the Prophets; the other books are more oft *implicitly* cited, and it is only by the general similarity between the passages that we may detect that the writer of the New Testament had in mind any particular book of the Old Testament. Now there are many passages in the New Testament, which, when closely examined, bear evidence that the writer had in mind some book of the deuterocanonical collection. As this identity of thought appears to better advantage from the Greek, we collate a few texts in that tongue.*

Σοφία Σεираχ κεφ. Ε. 11.

Γίνου ταχύς ἐν ἀκροάσει σου,
καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ φθέγγου
ἀπόκρισιν.

Ecclesiasticus V. 11.

Esto velox in auscultatione tua,
et in longanimitate profer respon-
sum.

Σοφία Σεираχ κεφ. ΚΗ. 2.

Ἀφες ἀδίκημα τῷ πλησίον σου,
καὶ τότε δεηθέντος σου αἱ ἁμαρ-
τίαι σου λυθήσονται.

Eccli. XXVIII. 2.

Remitte injuriam proximo tuo,
et tunc deprecanti tibi peccata
solvuntur.

Σοφία Σαλωμών κεφ. Γ. 5, 6.

Καὶ ὀλίγα, παιδευθέντες μεγά-
λα εὐεργετηθήσονται ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς
ἐπείρασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εὗρεν ἀξίους
ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ
ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτούς καὶ ὡς ὀλοκά-
ρπωμα θυσίας προσεδέξατο αὐ-
τούς.

Ἰακώβου Ἐπιστολή κεφ. Α.

19.—ἔστω δὲ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος
ταχύς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι, βραδὺς εἰς
τὸ λαλῆσαι, βραδὺς εἰς ὀργήν.

Jas. I. 19.

Sit omnis homo velox ad audi-
endum, tardus ad loquendum,
tardus ad iram.

Ἐναγ. κατὰ Μαθ. VI. 14.

Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
ποις τα παραπτώματα αὐτῶν,
ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν
ὁ οὐράνιος.

Math. VI. 14.

Nam si dimiseritis hominibus
delicta sua, dimittet et vobis pater
vester cœlestis,

Πέτρου Α. κεφ. Α. 6—7.

Ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε ὀλίγον ἄρτι
εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις
πειρασμοῖς, ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν
τῆς πίστεως πολὺν τειμώτερον
χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου διὰ
πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου εὐρεθῇ
εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τειμὴν
ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

* The parallelism would be scarcely traceable in English.

Wisdom III. 5-6.

Et in paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur. Quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit eos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit eos; quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos.

Κεφ. Ζ'. 26.

Ἀπαύγασμα γὰρ ἐστὶ φῶτος αἰδίου καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ.

Ibidem VII. 26.

Etenim lucis æternæ splendor est, atque speculum virtutis Dei nulla macula aspersum, ejusque imago bonitatis.

I Pet. I. 6—7.

In quo exultatis, nunc ad breve tempus afflicti variis tentationibus, si opus sit: ut probatio fidei vestræ multo pretiosior auro quod perditur, et tamen per ignem probatur, reperiatur in laudem et gloriam et honorem in revelatione Jesu Christi.

Πρὸς Ἑβραίους κεφ. Α. 3.

Ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, κτλ.

Epist. ad Hebræos I. 3.

Qui quum sit splendor gloriæ et impressa imago substantiæ illius, etc.

Many more texts of this character may be collected from a comparison of the deuterocanonical books with the New Testament. See Huet, *Demonst. Evang. Prop.* IV. and Vincenzi, *Sessio IV. Conc. Trid. Vindicata*.

The Fathers of the Church continued the approbation of the Apostles, and made no distinction in their frequent citations from Scripture between protocanonical and deuterocanonical works. None of the Apostolical Fathers has drawn up a Canon of Scripture. The injury of time has robbed us of much of their writings, but, in the few preserved to us, most frequent passages are found from the deuterocanonical works, of such mode of quotation that it is evident that they recognized these books as divine Scripture. St. Clement of Rome, who holds a high place in the primitive church, in his *Epist.* to the Corinthians, employs the book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. He made an analysis of the book of Judith and the Greek version of Esther with its deuterocanonical fragments.*

His use of the deuterocanonical books, may be seen from a comparison of the following collated passages :

*St. Clement of Rome, was a disciple of St. Peter, from whom, according to Tertullian, he received ordination. He succeeded Anacletus in the Roman See in the year 91 of the Christian era. He is mentioned by St. Paul in the *Epist.* to the Philippians. His death is placed about the year 100. Although some have controverted his martyrdom, he is placed among the martyrs in the Canon of the Mass.

Sap. IV. 24.

"Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum."

Sap. XI. 22.

"Virtuti brachii tui quis resistet?"

Sap. XII. 12.

"Quis enim dicet tibi: Quid fecisti?"

Judith VIII. 30, et seqq.

Clem. I. ad Cor. III.

"Sed secundum pravas ipsius concupiscentias incedit, iniquam et impiam invidiam resumendo per quam et mors in mundum intravit."

Clem. I. Cor. XXVII.

"Quis resistet virtuti fortitudinis ejus?"

Ibid.

"Quis dicet ei: Quid fecisti?"

Clem. I. Cor. LV

"Beata Judith, cum urbs obsideretur, rogavit seniores ut sibi liceret in alienigenarum castra transire, ac seipsam periculo tradens propter caritatem patriæ populique obsessi egressa est; et Dominus tradidit Olophernem in manu feminæ.

Nec minus perfecta secundum fidem Esther periculo se objecit."

Esther V. XIV. XV.

Among the genuine works of Clement of Rome, are rightly reckoned the two Epistles ad Virgines.*

Ecclesiasticus V. 14.

"Si est tibi intellectus, responde proximo; sin autem, sit manus tua super os tuum."

Ecclesiasticus IX. 8.

"Averte faciem tuam a muliere compta, et ne circumspicias speciem alienam. Propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt, et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit."

Ibid. 12.

"Cum aliena muliere ne sedeas omnino, nec accumbas cum ea, super cubitum."

Clem. I. ad Virg. XI.

"Si est tibi intellectus, responde proximo; sin autem, sit manus tua super os tuum."

Clem. II. ad Virg. XIII.

"Ne circumspicias speciem alienam. Propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt."

Clem. Ibid.

"Cum muliere aliena ne sedeas omnino."

*Funk in his *Patr. Apost.* rejects the genuinity of these two Epistles, but his chief argument is that in them the texts from Scripture are more literally quoted than in the *Epist. ad Corinthios*. Beelen and others have defended the authenticity of these Epistles, and we see no reason why a sane criticism should reject them. They have come down to us through the Syriac, and have been translated into Latin by Wetstein, and later by Villecourt.

Ibid. IX. 4.

"Cum saltatrice ne assiduus sis, nec audias illam, ne forte pereas in efficacia illius."

Dan. XIII. 8.

"Et videbant eam senes quottidie ingredientem, et deambulantem: et exarserunt in concupiscentiam ejus."

Ibid. 42—44.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeternae, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant, tu scis quoniam falsum testimonium tulerunt contra me: et ecce morior, cum nihil horum fecerim, quae isti malitiose composuerunt adversum me. Exaudivit autem Dominus vocem ejus."

Clement. Ibid.

"Cum saltatrice ne assiduus sis, nec audias illam, ne pereas in efficacia illius."

Ibid. XIII.

"Nonne ex iisdem Scripturis notum tibi est quid, ad tempora Susannae, narretur de senibus illis qui, cum frequenter starent inter mulieres, contemplati pulchritudinem alienam, in concupiscentiae barathrum praecipites deriderunt sese. Castitatis quidem pretium noverunt, sed ipsius jugum fregerunt. Hinc appetitui perverso venundati, in beatam Susannam conspirarunt ut eam constuprarent. At illa turpe ipsorum desiderium frustrata est. Innocentiae suae testem invocavit Deum, qui de manibus impiorum senum eam liberavit."

The document of the first century, commonly known as the Epistle of St. Barnabas, also employs the deuterocanonical books.*

Ecclesiasticus IV. 36.

"Non sit porrecta manus tua ad accipiendum et ad dandum collecta."

Epist. S. Barnabae XIX. 19.

"Noli porrigere manus tuas ad accipiendum, ad dandum vero contrahere."

The Pastor of Hermas, a document that goes back to the 1st or 2d century, makes use of deuterocanonical works. It is impossible to fix the identity of the author of Pastor. Some believed him to be the Hermas mentioned by Paul to the Romans XVI. 14: "Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas", hence the book was regarded by some as canonical Scripture. It is conjoined to the other Scriptures in Codex \mathfrak{B} of Mt. Sinai. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen reputed

*St. Barnabas was a Cyprian Jew of the tribe of Levi. Having embraced christianity, he was associated with Paul in the Evangelization of the Gentiles. Tradition places his death to have occurred in Cyprus, at the hands of the Jews. Tillemont and others have rejected the genuinity of this Epistle. It is not our intention here to defend such genuinity. It is of value to us in making known to us the use of Scripture of the 1st Century.

it divine Scripture. It was declared apocryphal in the Canon of Gelasius. It has always been considered a treatise valuable for Christian erudition. Its author's identity will always remain uncertain, but the document makes for our scope by showing the Christian tradition of the age immediately succeeding the Apostolic times. It is called the Pastor, because in it an angel, under the form of a shepherd, speaks. Its trend is chiefly parenetic.

Ecclesiasticus XXVIII. 3.

Pastor, Similitudo IX. 23.

"Homo homini reservat iram,
et a Deo quærit medelam."

"Deus et Dominus noster, qui
dominatur omnium rerum, et
creaturæ suæ universæ habet po-
testatem, offensas meminisse non
vult, sed ab his qui peccata sua
confitentur facile placatur. Homo
vero, cum et languidus, mortalis,
infirmus sit repletus peccatis, ho-
mini perseveranter irascitur."

St. Dionysius, the Areopagite, employs deutero-canonical Scripture.*

*Dionysius the Areopagite was a citizen of Athens, at the time that Paul preached the Gospel of Christ in that city. He was among the first men of the city, a member of the highest judicial court, called "*Ἀρειος πάγος*," Hill of Mars, from its location over against the Acropolis, on the West side. Before this tribunal, Paul was taken to be judged, for his doctrine, Acts XVII. By his preaching in that assembly, he converted Dionysius. In the Roman Breviary, the feast of Dionysius is placed on the 9th of October, and he is there declared to have been sent by Pope Clement as bishop of France. The falsity of this opinion has been proven by the labors of the Bollandists and others. We find the first clear, succinct statement of the identity of the Areopagite and Bishop Dionysius of Paris in the work which the Abbot Hilduinus compiled at the command of Louis, the Pious, in the year 835 of the Christian era. In the obscure writings of Hilduinus, we find it positively stated that Dionysius, the Areopagite, was the Bishop of Paris; though, at the same time, he mentions the doubts of those who refused to believe this. It seems that Hilduinus was a man of no critical acumen, and was deceived into his error by the anonymous Acts of the Passion of St. Dionysius, published about the middle of the 8th Century. The Bollandists have clearly proven that all the Founts of Hilduinus were spurious. It is certain, then, that the opinion of the identity of the Areopagite and the Bishop of Paris was unknown before the middle of the eighth century, and that it had then no good foundation. It results from the voluminous testimonials adduced by the Bollandists that from the earliest times, the Greeks recognized that the Bishop of Paris and the Areopagite were different persons, and such opinion seems to have obtained with the Latins prior to the eighth century. One positive proof that Dionysius did not become the Bishop of Paris is in a canon of the Synod of Sardis, held in the year 347, which affirms as follows: "*Nullus in hac re inventus est episcopus qui de majori civitate ad minorem transiret.*" This plainly establishes that, up to the year 347, no bishop had ever been trans-

The works, De Cœlesti Hierarchia, De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, De Divinis Nominibus, De Mystica Theologia, and some Epistles, are believed to be of his authorship. The Bollandists maintain as the more probable opinion that these works are not the genuine productions of the Areopagite. Their value as patristic testimonies is independent of his authorship, since certainly they reflect the tradition of the first ages of the Church.

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et *amator factus sum formæ illius.*"

Sap. VIII. 1.

"*Attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter.*"

De Div. Nom. IV. 12.

"Et in iis quæ aditum ad Scripturam præparant quemdam invenies de divinia Sapia agentem: *Amator factus sum formæ illius.*"

De Div. Nom. VII. 4.

"Et quia (Deus) per omnia meat *percadens, ut ait Scriptura, usque ad finem omnium.*"

In the Epistle of St. Dionysius to Demophilo Monacho, it is evident that he alludes to the angel in Tobias, when he speaks in the first chapter of the "beneficis angelis de quibus theologia quædam tradit."

St. Polycarp, the martyr bishop of Smyrna, in his Epistle to the Philippians incorporates a clear quotation from Tobias.

Polycarp Epist. ad Philipenses X.

Tobias XII. 9.

"*Quoniam eleemosyna a morte liberat, et ipsa est quæ purgat peccata, et facit invenire misericordiam et vitam æternam.*"

"Cum potestis benefacere, nolite differre, quia *eleemosyna a morte liberat.*"

As Polycarp was a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, his use of Scripture must have been acquired under the supervision of St. John himself. This isolated quotation implies a liberal knowledge of Scripture, for the Fathers quoted from memory; such cognizance of Tobias could scarce result from

ferred from a greater to a less see. Therefore, Dionysius was not transferred from Athens to the Paris of that time, which was so small as to be called by Julian the Apostate *πολίχνη*, "oppidum," and by his historian Ammonius Marcellinus "*Castellum Parisiorum.*" Finally, the identity is clearly disproven by the fact that Dionysius, the bishop of Paris, came with Rusticus and Eleutherius to Paris, in the reign of Decius, about the year 250 A. D., as is clearly proven by the Bollandists. This is centuries after the period of Dionysius, the contemporary of St. Paul. We conclude, therefore, that the distinction between these two persons is a clearly proven fact.

cursory readings. It must have resulted from assiduous study and use of a collection that recognized the book of Tobias as divine Scripture. Polycarp certainly reflects the teaching of his master, and we have here the implicit approbation of St. John the Evangelist.* These are but scanty data, it is true, but the Apostolic age was more the age of oral teaching than of writing. By the vicissitudes of time, much of the literary product of that age has perished, and more is hid in obscurity. As when looking upon objects from afar, many are but dimly discernible, while the others are lost to the limited sense of vision; so in looking back through the long, dim vista to the remote age of Apostolic times, we see but little with satisfying distinctness; other things appear bedimmed and shrouded by the haze of time, while many other things are entirely lost to our intellectual perception. As we recede from the remotest object of our vision, and concentrate our gaze upon nearer and nearer data, the fulness and distinctness grows with equal pace; and we must then take thought not to obtain testimonies, but to select the more fitting from the available many.

The few cited should evince to an honest mind that those, who succeeded the founders of the everlasting teaching organism, recognized and used the deuterocanonical Scriptures in the same manner as the protocanonical ones. We shall now pass down through the ages, and adduce some representative testimonies of every age.

Athenagoras, a Greek writer who presented the famous Legatio pro Christianis to Marc Aurelius and Commodus, A. D. 177, quotes Baruch in that work.

Baruch III. 36.

Athenag. Legatio pro Christianis, (secundum Gesner, 10).

"Hic est Deus noster; neque est alius qui cum ipso comparatur."

"Dominus Deus noster: *non comparabitur alius ad illum.*"

*Of the early history of Polycarp, we know nothing. His disciple, St. Irenæus, testifies that he was taught by the Apostles, and lived in close fellowship with many who had seen the Lord. [Adv. Haer. III. 3.] He also testifies that he was constituted bishop of Smyrna, and that he finished his life by martyrdom at a very advanced age. He is celebrated for his strict adherence to the true doctrine, and his corresponding aversion to heresy. It is Polycarp who relates that John, his teacher, at one time, ran from the bath, wherein was Cerinthus, crying: "Let us flee, lest the bath should fall in, as long as Cerinthus, that enemy of truth, is within."

The same Polycarp, once meeting Marcion, who said: "Dost thou know us?" replied: "I recognize the first born of Satan." They stabbed him with a sword, after a futile attempt to burn him at the stake.

St. Hippolyte wrote commentaries on the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel, and, in his exegetical treatises, makes frequent use of the deuterocanonical works.*

I. Maccab. II. 33—38.

"Exite et facite secundum verbum regis Antiochi et vivetis. Et dixerunt: 'Non exhibimus, neque faciemus verbum regis dicentes: Moriamur omnes in simplicitate nostra' . . . et mortui sunt usque ad mille animas hominum."

Tob. III. 24.

"In illo tempore exaudita sunt preces amborum in conspectu gloriæ Summi Dei, et missus est Angelus ut curaret eos ambos, quorum uno tempore sunt orationes in conspectu Domini recitatae."

II. Maccab. VI. 7.

"Ad agitandum colendumque Bacchanaliorum solenne cogebantur Judæi hedera redimiti

S. Hip. Frag. in Dan. XXXI. XXXII.

"Exite et facite praeceptum regis et vivetis. Illi autem dixerunt: 'Neque exhibimus, neque faciemus praeceptum regis: moriemur in simplicitate nostra: 'et interfecit ex eis mille animas hominum.'"

S. Hip. In Susannam V. 55.

"Porro ostendit, quo tempore Susanna ad Deum oravit, fuitque exaudita, missum ei fuisse angelum qui eum adjuvaret haud secus ac se res in Tobia et Sarra habuit; ambobus enim eadem die eademque hora orantibus, exaudita est amborum oratio, missusque est angelus Raphael qui eos sanaret."

S. Hip. De Christo et Anti-Christo XLIX.

"Nam et ille decretum tulit . . . cunctis immolatueros atque hedera coronatos Baccho circui-

*From the testimony of Photius, we know that St. Hippolyte was the disciple of Irenæus, who died about the year 202, A. D. The common opinion of the old writers makes him a bishop, but there is a great difference of opinion concerning his see. Eusebius and Jerome confess that they can establish nothing certain concerning it. Anastasius, Rom. Ecclesiæ apocrisarius, Georgius Syncellus, Zonaras, Nicephorus Callisti, and the author of The Paschal Chronicle make him bishop of Porto in Italy, one of the suburban bishops of Rome. He is also commonly designated in the works of Greek and Latin writers as a "Roman bishop," which is confirmatory of the preceding testimonies. The greatest diversity of opinion exists among modern writers concerning his see. The Bollandists [Aug. Tom. IV., p. 510] conjecture that he was a bishop of Arabia, who was martyred at Porto on his way to Rome; that thus gradually the error arose to confound the unknown bishop with the See of Porto, where he was martyred. His see is uncertain, but his martyrdom may safely be placed under Alexander Severus, 222-235. His authorship of the Commentaries and other works from which we shall quote is undoubted.

Baccho pompam ducere. Quod si qui minus in Græcorum ritus ac mores transire voluissent interficerentur."

Sap. II. 12—20.

"Circumveniamus igitur justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis, et contrarius est operibus nostris, et impropere nobis peccata legis, et diffamat in nos peccata disciplinæ nostræ. Promittit se scientiam Dei habere, et filium Dei se nominat. Factus est nobis in traductionem cogitationum nostrarum. Gravis est nobis etiam ad videndum, quoniam dissimilis est aliis vita illius, et immutatae sunt viæ ejus. Tamquam nugaces aestimati sumus ab illo, et abstinet se a viis nostris tamquam ab immunditiis; et præfert novissima justorum, et gloriatur patrem se habere Deum. Videamus ergo si sermonis illius veri sint, et tentemus quæ ventura sunt illi, et sciemus quæ erunt novissima illius. Si enim est verus filius Dei, suscipiet illum, et liberabit eum de manibus contrariorum. Contumelia et tormento interrogemus eum, ut sciamus reverentiam ejus, et probemus patientiam illius. Morte turpissima condemnemus eum: erit enim ei respectus ex sermonibus illius."

Sap. V. 1.

"Tunc stabunt justi in magna constantia adversus eos qui se

turos. Qui nolint parere, hos cruciatibus atque tormentis exagitatos neci tradendos esse. Ac si quis hæc sigillatim legere velit singulaque lustrare, in libro Machabæorum præscripta inveniet."

S. Hip. Adv. Judæos, IX.

"Producam in medio etiam prophetiam Salomonis de Christo, quæ aperto et perspicue quæ Judæos spectant edisserit. Ait enim Propheta: *Non recte cogitaverunt impii* de Christo, dicentes: Circumvenianus justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis et contrarius est operibus et sermonibus nostris, et impropere nobis peccata legis; et promittit se scientiam Dei habere, et Filium Dei se nominat. Postea dicit: Gravis est nobis etiam ad videndum, quoniam dissimilis est aliis vita illius, et immutatae sunt viæ ejus. Tamquam nugaces aestimati sumus ab illo et abstinet, se a viis nostris tamquam ab immunditiis, et præfert novissima justorum.... Ait igitur iterum Salomon in persona Judæorum de hoc justo qui est Christus: Factus est nobis in traductionem cogitationum nostrarum, et gloriatur Patrem se habere Deum. Videamus ergo si sermones illius veri sint, et tentemus quæ erunt novissima illius. Si enim est justus Dei filius, suscipiet illum, liberabit illum de manibus contrariorum. Morte turpissima condemnemus eum: erit enim respectus ejus ex sermonibus illius."

S. Hip. Adv. Judæos, X.

"Et iterum Solomon de Christo et Judæis dicit quod, quando sta-

angustiaverunt et qui abstulerunt labores eorum. Videntes turbabuntur timore horribili, et mirabuntur in subitatione insperatae salutis, dicentes intra se, pœnitudine affecti et prae angustia spiritus gementus: Hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum et in similitudinem impropertii. Nos insensati vitam illorum aestimabamus insaniam et finem illorum sine honore: ecce quomodo computati sunt inter filios Dei, et inter sanctos sors illorum est. Ergo erravimus a via veritatis, et justitiae lumen non luxit nobis, et sol intelligentiae non est ortus nobis. Lassati sumus in via iniquitatis et perditionis, et ambulavimus vias difficiles, viam autem Domini ignoravimus. Quid nobis profuit superbia? aut divitiarum jactantia quid contulit nobis? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra, et tamquam nuntius percurrrens."

Baruch III. 36—38.

"Hic est Deus noster, neque est alius qui cum ipso comparetur. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec, in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

In the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, I found the following quotations or equivalent allusions: *Ecclesiasticus*, eight times; *Judith*, four times; *Wisdom*, four times; *Tobias*, once; *I. Maccab.*, once.

Old Irenæus, the stern defender of the Catholic truth against heresy, is a certain advocate of the deuterocanonical books.*

bit justus in magna constantia ante faciem eorum qui eum afflixerunt et sermones ejus repudiaverunt: Videntes turbabuntur timore horribili, et mirabuntur in subitatione insperatae salutis, et dicent intra se, pœnitudine affecti, et prae angustia spiritus gementes: Hic est quem habuimus aliquando in derisum et in similitudinem impropertii. Nos insensati vitam illius existimabamus insaniam et finem illius sine honore. Quomodo computatus est in filiis Dei, et in sanctis sors illius est? Ergo erravimus a via veritatis; et justitiae lumen non luxit nobis, et sol non ortus est nobis. Lassati sumus in via iniquitatis et perditionis. Ambulavimus vias difficiles; viam autem Domini ignoravimus. Quid nobis profuit superbia nostra? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra."

S. Hip. *Contra Noet.*

"Dicit Scriptura in alio loco: Hic est Deus; non reputabitur alius ad eum Invenit omnem viam scientiae, et dedit illam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo Post hæc in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

*St. Irenæus was a native of Greece, in the first half of the second century of the Christian era. He was a disciple of Polycarp, and was sent to Gaul in 157 A. D. He was, at first, priest of the church at Lyon, and, after-

Dan. XIV. 3—4.

“Porro Daniel adorabat Deum suum. Dixitque ei rex : quare non adoras Bel? Qui respondens ait ei : Quia non colo idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum qui creavit Coelum et terram, et habet potestatem omnis carnis.”

Ibid. 23—24.

“Et dixit rex Daniel : Ecce nunc non potes dicere quia iste non sit Deus vivens : adora ergo eum.

“Dixitque Daniel : Dominum Deum meum adorabo, quia ipse est Deus vivens ; iste autem non est Deus vivens.”

Dan. XIII. 20.

“Ecce ostia pomarii clausa sunt, et nemo nos videt.”

Dan. XIII. 52—53.

“Inveterate dierum malorum, nunc venerunt peccata tua quae operaberis prius ; iudicans iudicia injusta, innocentes opprimens, et dimittens noxios, dicente Domino : innocentem et justum non interficies.”

Ibid. 56.

“Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum.”

Contra Hæreses Lib. IV. 5.

“Quem (Deum) et Daniel Propheta, cum dixisset ei Cyrus rex Persarum : ‘*Quare non adoras Bel?*’ annuntiavit dicens ; quoniam non colo idola manufacta, sed vivum Deum, qui constituit Coelum et terram, et habet omnis carnis dominationem. Iterum dixit : Dominum Deum meum adorabo, quoniam hic est Deus vivus.”

Iren. Contra Hæreses Lib. IV. XXVI. 3.

“Qui vero crediti quidem sunt a multis esse *presbyteri, serviunt autem suis voluptatibus.....et dicunt : nemo nos videt.*”

Iren. Contra Hæreses Lib. IV. XXVI. 3.

“Audient eas quae sunt a Daniele Propheta voces : *Semen Chanaan* et non Juda, species seduxit te, et concupiscentia evertit cor tuum ; inveterate dierum malorum, nunc advenerunt peccata tua quae faciebas antea, iudicans iudicia injusta ; et innocentes quidem damnabas ; dimittebas vero nocentes, dicente Domino : Innocentem et justum non occides.”

wards, bishop of that see. He made of that city the most flourishing centre of Catholicity in all Gaul. His erudition was vast and precise. He advocated moderation in the schism of the Asiatic bishops under Pope Victor I. The influence of Papias drew him into the error of the mitigated Millenarianism. His chief work is his Treatise against Heretics, in five books. He was martyred in the fifth general persecution in 202. By the testimony of Eusebius, he recognized the Epistle to the Hebrews and Wisdom, and quoted from them. [Hist. Eccles. V. 36.] We shall collate a few passages. In the fourth book *Contra Hereses*, we find scriptural use of the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel.

Sap. VI. 19—20.

"Custoditio autem legum consummatio incorruptionis est, incorruptio autem facit esse proximum Deo."

Baruch IV. 36—V.

"Circumspice, Jerusalem, ad orientem et vide jucunditatem a Deo tibi venientem. Ecce enim veniunt filii tui quos dimisisti dispersos; veniunt collecti ab oriente usque ad occidentem, in verbo Sancti gaudentes in honorem Dei"

Cap. V. Exue te, Jerusalem, stola luctus et vexationis tuae, et indue te decore et honore ejus quae a Deo tibi est sempiternae gloriae. Circumdabit te Deus diploide justitiae, et imponet mitram capiti honoris aeterni. Deus enim ostendet splendorem suum in te, omni qui sub cœlo est. Nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum a Deo in sempiternum; pax justitiae et honor pietatis. Exsurge, Jerusalem, et sta in excelso, et circumspice ad orientem, et vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente sole usque ad occidentem, in verbo sancti gaudentes Dei memoria. Exierunt enim abs te pedibus ducti ab inimicis: adducet autem illos Dominus ad te portatos in honore sicut filios regni. Constituit enim Deus humiliare omnem montem excelsum et rupes perennes et convalles replere in aequalitatem terrae ut ambulet Israel diligenter in honorem Dei. Obumbraverunt autem et silvae et omne

Ibid. XXXVIII. 3.

"Visio autem Dei efficax incorruptionis est; incorruptio autem proximum facit esse Deo."

Iren. Contra Hæreses Lib. V. XXXV. 1.

"Hoc significavit Jeremias propheta:* Circumspice, dicens, ad orientem, Jerusalem, et vide laetitiam quae adventat tibi ab ipso Deo. Ecce venient filii tui quos emisisti, venient collecti ab oriente usque ad occidentem verbo illius sancti, gaudentes ea quae a Deo tuo est claritate. Exuere, Jerusalem, habitum luctus et afflictionis tuae, et induere decorem ejus quae a Deo tuo est claritatis in aeternum. Circumdare amictum duplicem ejus quae a Deo tuo est justitiae, impone mitram super caput tuum gloriae aeternae. Deus enim demonstrabit ei quae sub cœlo est universae tuum fulgorem. Vocabitur namque nomen tuum ab ipso Deo in aeternum, pax justitiae et gloriae colenti Deo. Surge, Jerusalem, et sta in excelso, et circumspice ad orientem, et vide collectos filios tuos a solis ortu usque ad occidentem, verbo illius sancti gaudentes, ipsam Dei recordationem.

"Profecti sunt enim a te pedites dum adducerentur ab inimicis. Introducet illos Deus ad te portatos cum gloria tamquam thronum regni. Decrevit enim Deus ut humilietur omnis mons excelsus et congeries aeternae, et ut valles impleantur ad redigen-

*Baruch was by many considered an integral part of Jeremias.

lignum suavitatis Israel ex mandato Dei. Adducet enim Deus Israel cum jucunditate in lumine majestatis suae, cum misericordia et justitia quae est ex ipso."

dam planitiem terrae, ut ambulet Israel tuti Dei gloria. Umbra-
cula autem intexuerunt silvae, et omne lignum boni odoris ipsi Israel, praecepto Dei. Praeibit enim Deus cum laetitia, lumine claritatis suae cum misericordia et justitia quae ab ipso est."

Clement of Alexandria has drawn a large part of his scriptural references from deuterocanonical sources.*

Ecclesiasticus XXI. 7.

"Qui odit correptionem, vestigium est peccatoris; et qui timet Deum, convertetur ad cor suum."

Clem. Paed. VIII.

"Scripturam perperam intelligentes quae sic dicit. Et qui timet Dominum convertetur ad cor suum."

Sap. XI. 25.

"Nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti: nec enim odiens aliquid constituisti aut fecisti."

Clem. Paed. Ibid.

"Nihil enim est quod odio habet Dominus."

Eccli. XXII. 6—8.

"Flagella et doctrina in omni tempore sapientia. Qui docet fatuum, quasi qui conglutinat testam. Qui narrat verbum non audienti, quasi qui excitat dormientem de gravi somno."

Clem. Ibid.

"Flagella enim et disciplina in omni tempore sapientia. Qui testam conglutinat, et stultum docet ad sensum, inquit. . . . Propterea aperte subjunxit: Excitans dormientem e profundo somno, qui est ex aliis rebus omnibus maxime morti similis."

Eccli. XXXIV. 14—15.

"Spiritus timentium Deum quaeritur, et in respectu illius benedicetur. Spes enim illorum in salvantem illos et oculi Dei in diligentes se."

Clem. Ibid.

"Quoniam spiritus timens Dominum vivet. Spes enim est in eum qui ipsos salvos facit."

*Clement of Alexandria was a Platonic philosopher of Alexandria. He was converted by St. Pantenus, who was at the head of the Alexandrian school in the latter half of the second century. After the death of Pantenus, Clement became chief of this famous school in 190, A. D. Origen was one of his pupils. He died about the year 217, A. D. His chief works are *Cohortatio ad Gentes*, *Pædagogus*, *Σπρώματα* or *Miscellanea*, *Quis Dives Salvetur*, and *Fragments*. Among all these, the *Stromata* are the most famous. Clement is the great representative of Alexandrian tradition.

Eccli. I. 27—28.

"Timor Domini expellit peccatum, nam qui sine timore est non potest justificari."

Ibid. 22.

"Corona sapientiae, timor Domini, replens pacem et salutis fructum."

Eccli. XVI. 13.

"Secundum misericordiam suam, sic correptio illius hominem secundum opera sua judicat."

Ibid. 12.

"Misericordia enim et ira est cum illo. Potens exoratio, et effundens iram."

Eccli. VII. 25—26.

"Filii tibi sunt? erudi illos, et curva illos a pueritia illorum. Filiae tibi sunt? serva corpus illarum, et non ostendas hilarem faciem tuam ad illas."

Eccli. XXXII. 21.

"Peccator homo vitabit correptionem, et secundum voluntatem suam inveniet comparisonem."

Eccli. XVIII. 13—14; XVI. 12.

Baruch IV. 4.

"Beati sumus, Israel, quia quae Deo placent manifesta sunt nobis."

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. VIII.

"*Timor enim Domini peccata extrudit: Qui est autem sine timore non poterit justificari, inquit Scriptura.*"

Ibid.

"*Corona itaque sapientiae, inquit Sapientia, timor Domini.*"*

Ibid.

"*Virum, inquit, secundum opera sua judicabit.*"

Ibid.

"De eo quoque aperte dicit Sap.: Misericordia enim et ira cum ipso. Dominus enim his utrisque solus est potens, iram effundens ad propitiationem ex magna sua misericordia. Ita etiam ejus reprehensio."

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. Cap. IX.

"Sunt tibi filii? Castiga eos, suadet Sapientia, et inflecte eos a juventute sua. Sunt tibi filiae? attende corpori earum, et ne vultum tuum apud eas exhilaraveris."

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. Cap. IX.

"— quoniam peccator homo fugit reprehensionem."

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. Cap. IX.

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. X.

"Jam quoque per Jeremiam enarrat prudentiam: Beati sumus, Israel, dicens, quod quae Deo grata sunt, a nobis cognita sunt."

* Ecclesiasticus was frequently termed by the Fathers, Sapientia Sirach.

Baruch III. 9.

"Audi, Israel, mandata vitae :
auribus percipe ut scias prudentiam."

Baruch III. 13.

"Nam si in via Dei ambulasses, habitasses utique in pace sempiterna."

Eccli. XXXIII. 6.

"Equus emissarius, sic et amicus subsannator, sub omni suprasedente hinnit."

Sap. VI. 19.

"Cura ergo disciplinae dilectio est, et dilectio custodia legum illius est; custoditio autem legum consummatio incorruptionis est."

Sap. XVI. 26.

"— ut scirent filii tui quos dilexisti, Domine, quoniam non nativitatis fructus pascunt homines, sed sermo tuus, hos qui in te crediderint conservat."

Eccli. XVIII. 32 (juxta Græcum)

"Ne delecteris multis deliciis."

Eccli. XXXI. 36—38.

"Exultatio animæ et cordis, vinum moderate potatum.

"38. Vinum multum potatum irrationem et iram et ruinas multas facit."

Eccli. XXXI. 31.

"Ignis probat ferrum durum ; sic vinum corda superbiorum arguet in ebrietate potatum."

Ibid.

"Audi, Israel, mandata vitae, ausculta ut cognoscas prudentiam."

Ibid.

"Quinetiam . . . per Jeremiam hortatur (pædagogus) dicens : Via Dei si ambulasses, habitasses in pace in saeculum."

Clem. Paed. Lib. I. XIII.

"Hinc etiam dicit Sapientia : Equus ad coitum libidinosus, et adulter irrationali jumento assimilatus : et ideo subjungit : Quocumque super eum sedente hinnit."

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. I.

"Cura autem disciplinae est caritas, quam dicit Sapientia, caritas vero observatio legum est."

Ibid.

"Discant, inquit, filii tui quos dilexisti, Domine, quod non generationes fructuum nutrant hominem, sed verbum tuum eos qui tibi credunt conservat."

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. I.

"Ne laeteris autem propter execrandas delicias, dicit Sapientia."

Ibid. Cap. II.

"Illud ergo bene dictum est : Exultatio animæ et cordis vinum creatum est ab initio, si quantum satis est bibatur."

Ibid.

"Atque ante Tragoediam clamavit Sapientia : ' Vinum quod bibitur multum in irratione et omni lapsu replet.' "

Clem. Ibid.

"Praclare profecto dictum est : Fornacem quidem inter tingendum probare ferri aciem, vinum autem cor superbiorum."

Ibid. 30 (juxta Græcum).

“In vino virum ne te exhibeas : vinum enim multos perdidit.”

Eccli. XXVI. 11.

“Mulier ebriosa ira magna, et contumelia et turpitudine illius non tegetur.”

Eccli. XXXI. 23.

“Vigilia, cholera et tortura viro infrunito.”

Baruch III. 16—19.

“Ubi sunt principes gentium ? et qui dominatur super bestias quae sunt super terram ? qui in avibus cœli ludunt ? qui argentum thesaurizat et aurum in qua confidunt homines, et non est finis acquisitionis eorum ? qui argentum fabricant et solliciti sunt, nec est inventio operum illorum ? Exterminati sunt, et ad inferos descenderunt, et alii loco eorum surrexerunt.”

Eccli. XXI. 23.

“Fatuus in risu exaltat vocem suam ; vir autem sapiens vix tacite ridebit.”

Eccli. XX. 5.

“Est tacens qui invenitur sapiens, et est odibilis, qui procax est ad loquendum.”

Ibid. 8.

“Qui multis utitur verbis laedet animam suam ; et qui potestatem sibi sumit injuste, odietur.”

Clem. Ibid.

“In vino, inquit, ne te virum fortem praebeas ; multos enim vinum reddidit inutiles.”

Ibid.

“Ira autem, inquit, magna est mulier ebria . . . quoniam suam non celat turpitudinem.”

Ibid.

“Labor autem vigiliæ, inquit, et bilis et tormentum est cum homine insatiabili.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. III.

“Pulcherrime itaque alicubi dicit *divina Scriptura*, ad eos qui sunt sui amantes et arrogantes verba dirigens : Ubi sunt qui gentibus imperabant et qui dominabantur feris quae sunt super terram ? qui in cœli avibus illudebant : qui argenti et auri thesauros congregabant in quibus homines habebant fiduciam, et non est finis acquisitionis eorum ? qui aurum et argentum fabricabantur et erant solliciti ? non est inventio operum illorum. Evanuerunt, et ad inferos descenderunt.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. V.

“Stultus autem in risu extollit vocem suam, inquit Scriptura : vir autem astutus vix sensim subridebit.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. VI.

“Est enim tacens qui invenitur sapiens ; et est qui odio habetur ob multam loquacitatem.”

Ibid.

“Quin etiam ipse nugator affert sibi ipsi fastidium ac satietatem : Qui enim multiplicat sermonem, odit animam suam.”

Ibid. XXXI. 41.

"In convivio vini non arguas proximum, et non despicias eum in jucunditate illius."

Eccli. XIV. 1.

"Beatus vir qui non est lapsus verbo ex ore suo, et non est stimulatus in tristitia delicti."

Eccli. IX. 12.

"Cum aliena muliere ne sedeas omnino, nec accumbas cum ea super cubitum."

Ibid. 13.

"— et non alterceris cum illa in vino, ne forte declinet cor tuum in illam, et sanguine tuo labaris in perditionem."

Eccli. XXXI. 19—20.

"Utere quasi homo frugi his quæ tibi apponuntur, ne, cum manducas, multum odio habearis. Cessa prior causa disciplinæ, et noli nimius esse, ne forte offendas."

Eccli. XXXII. 15.

"Et hora surgendi non te trices: præcurre autem prior in domum tuam."

Eccli. XXXII. 4, 10, 11.

"Loquere, major natu; decet enim te. Adolescens, loquere in causa tua vix. Si bis interrogatus fueris, habeat caput responsum tuum."

Eccli. IX. 25.

"Terribilis est in civitate sua vir linguosus."

Ibid. Cap. VII.

"In convivio autem, inquit, ne argueris proximum, et ei opprobrii sermonem ne dixeris."

Ibid. Cap. VII.

"Beatus revera vir ille est qui non est lapsus in ore suo, vel non compunctus est in molestia peccati."

Ibid.

"Cum muliere quæ viro subjecta est ne omnino sedeas, et ne super cubitum cum ea accubueris."

Ibid.

"Et ideo subjungit: neque cum ea in vino congregiaris, ne quando inclinet cor tuum in ipsam, et sanguine tuo labatur ad interitum."

Ibid.

"Comede, inquit, ut homo quæ apponuntur; cessa autem primus disciplinæ gratia. Et si in medio plurium sederis ne ante ipsos manum porrigas."

Ibid.

"Cum est, inquit, tempus surgendi, ne sis postremus, et revertere in domum tuam."

Ibid.

"Senior, loquere in convivio, te enim decet.... Adolescens, tibi quoque permittit Sapientia, loquere si te opus sit, vix cum bis interrogatus fueris; sermonem autem tuum paucis in summam redige."

Ibid.

"Terribilis est in interitu suo vir linguosus."

Eccli. VII. 15.

"Noli verbosus esse in multitudine presbyterorum. et non iteres verbum in oratione tua."

Eccli. XXXVIII. 1, 2, 7.

"Honora medicum propter necessitatem; etenim illum creavit Altissimus. A Deo est enim omnis medela, et a rege accipiet donationem. 7. In his curans mitigabit dolorem, et unguentarius faciet pigmenta suavitatis et unctiones conficiet sanitatis."

Eccli. XXXIX. 17-19.

"In voce dicit: obaudite me, divini fructus, et quasi rosa plantata super rivos aquarum fructificate. Quasi Libanus, odorem suavitatis habete. Florete flores, quasi liliū, et date odorem, et frondete in gratiam, et collaudate canticum, et benedicite Dominum in operibus suis."

Ibid. 31.

"Initium necessariae rei vitae hominum: aqua, ignis et ferrum, sal, lac, et panis similagineus, et mel et botrus uvae et oleum et vestimentum."

Eccli. XXIII. 6.

"Aufer a me ventris concupiscentias, et concubitus concupiscentiae ne apprehendant me, et animae irreverenti et infrunitae ne tradas me."

Eccli. XXIII. 25.

"Omnis homo qui transgreditur lectum suum contemnens in animam suam et dicens: quis me videt? Tenebrae circumdant me et parietes cooperiunt me, et nemo circumspicit me; quem

Ibid.

"Ne nugeris in multitudine seniorum... Sermonem ne iteraveris in oratione tua."

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. VIII.

"Honora autem medicum propter ejus utilitatem, inquit Scriptura. Ipsum enim creavit Altissimus. A Domino autem est medicina. Deinde subjungit: Et unguentarius faciet mistionem."

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. VIII.

"Exaudite me, inquit, et tamquam rosa plantata in fluentis aquarum germinate; tamquam Libanus, suavem odorem emittite, et benedicite Dominum super opera ejus."

Ibid.

"Dicit itaque Scriptura: Aqua, et ignis, et ferrum, et lac, simila frumenti, et mel, sanguis uvae et oleum et vestis; haec omnia piis ad bona sunt."

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. X.

"Quocirca amove a servis tuis spes inanes et indecoras, inquit, cupiditates averte a me. Ventris appetitio et coitus ne me apprehendant."

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. X.

"Homo qui ascendit super lectum suum, qui dicit in animo: Quis me videt? circa me sunt tenebrae, et parietes sunt tegumenta mea, et nemo aspicit peccata mea. Quid vereor, ne me-

vereor? Delictorum meorum non memorabitur Altissimus. 28. —et non cognovit quoniam oculi Domini multo plus lucidiores sunt super solem, circumspicientes omnes vias hominum, et profundum abyssi, et hominum corda intuentes in absconditas partes.”

Eccli. XVIII. 30.

“Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere.”

Eccli. XIX. 2—3.

“Vinum et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes, et arguent sensatos, et qui se jungit fornicariis erit nequam; putredo et vermes hæreditabunt illum.”

Eccli. XI. 4.

“In vestitu ne glorieris unquam, nec in die honoris tui extollaris.”

Eccli. XXV. 8.

“Corona senum multa peritia; et gloria illorum, timor Dei.”

Eccli. IX. 7.

“Noli circumspicere in vicis civitatis, nec oberraveris in plateis illius.”

Eccli. XI. 31.

“Non omnem hominem inducas in domum tuam, multæ enim sunt insidiæ dolosi.”

Eccli. IX. 22.

“Viri justī sint tibi convivæ, et in timore Dei sit tibi gloria.”

Eccli. XXI. 24.

“Ornamentum aureum prudenti, doctrina, et quasi brachiale in brachio dextro.”

minerit Altissimus?... Nescit enim, Scriptura dicit, oculi Domini Altissimi quanto sint soli splendidiore qui respiciunt omnes vias hominum, et partes occultas intelligunt.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. II. Cap. X.

“Post tua desideria ne ambules et acearis a tuis appetitionibus. Vinum enim et mulieres faciunt sapientes deficere, et qui adhæret meretricibus evadet audacior. Putredo et vermis erunt ejus hæredes et efferetur in majori ludibrio.”

Ibid.

“In amictu vestis ne glorieris, neque in omni gloria quæ est præter leges efferaris.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. III. Cap. III.

“Senum autem corona, inquit Scriptura, est multa experientia.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. III. Cap. IV.

“Ne circumspicias autem, inquit, in vicis civitatis, nec erres in ejus solitudinibus.”

Ibid.

“Unde Scriptura constantissime admonet: Ne introducas quemvis hominem in domum tuam; dolosi enim hominis multæ sunt insidiæ.”

Alibi autem: “Viri justī, inquit, sint tui convivæ, et in timore Domini tua permanebit gloriatio.”

Clem. Paed. Lib. III. Cap. XI.

“Ut vult enim Scriptura; Aureus prudenti mundus est disciplina.”

Eccli. XXVI. 12.

“Fornicatio mulieris in extol-
lentia oculorum, et in palpebris
illius agnoscetur.”

Eccli. IX. 8—9.

“Averte faciem tuam a muliere
compta, et ne circumspicias spe-
ciem alienam. Propter speciem
mulieris multi perierunt, et ex
hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis
exardescit.”

Eccli. I. 1.

“Omnis sapientia a Domino
Deo est, et cum illo fuit semper,
et est ante aevum.”

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini re-
plevit orbem terrarum.”

Sap. VII. 17.

“Ipse enim dedit mihi horum
quae sunt scientiam veram, ut
sciam dispositionem orbis ter-
rarum, et virtutes elementorum
...differentias virgultorum et
virtutes radicum, et quaecumque
sunt absconsa et improvisa didici;
omnium enim artifex docuit me
Sapientia.”

Eccli. XV. 10.

“Quoniam a Deo profecta est
sapientia: sapientiae enim Dei
adstabit laus, et in ore fidei
abundabit.”

Tob. IV. 16.

“Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi,
vide, ne tu aliquando alteri
facias.”

Sap. III. 1.

“Justorum autem animae in
manu Dei sunt, et non tanget
illos tormentum mortis.”

Ibid.

“Fornicatio autem mulieris in
elevatione oculorum.”

Ibid.

“Averte autem oculum a mu-
liere gratiosa, et ne discas alie-
nam pulchritudinem, inquit
Scriptura; et si causam roges,
ipsa tibi enarrabit: In pulchri-
tudine enim mulieris multi se-
ducti sunt, et ex ea tamquam
ignis accenditur amicitia.”

Clem. Strom. Lib. I. Cap. IV.

“Quoniam omnis sapientia a
Domino, et cum ipso est in sae-
cula, ut dicit Jesu Sapientia.”

Clem. Strom. Lib. I. Cap. V.

“Quoniam Spiritus Domini re-
plevit orbem terræ.”

Clem. Strom. Lib. II. Cap. II.

“Dicit itaque in Sapientia:
Ipse mihi dedit non falsam eorum
quæ sunt cognitionem, ut cog-
noscam mundi constitutionem
...et vires radicum...et quæ-
cumque sunt occulta et operata
cognovi; *quæ est enim omnium
artifex me docuit Sapientia.*”

Clem. Strom. Lib. II. Cap. V.

“Merito ergo dictum est apud
Salomonem: Sapientia est in
ore fidelium.”

Ibid. Cap. XXIII.

“Hoc breviter *Scriptura sig-
nificavit dicens*: Quod odio habes,
alii ne feceris.”

Clem. Strom. Lib. IV. Cap. XI.

“Justorum enim animæ in
manu Dei sunt, et non tanget eas
tormentum.”

Ibid.

"Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, et æstimata est afflictio exitus eorum et quod a nobis est iter, exterminium; illi autem sunt in pace. Etsi coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est. In paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur, quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit illos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos, et in tempore erit respectus illorum. Fulgebunt justi, et tamquam scintillæ in arundinetis discurrent. Judicabunt nationes et dominabuntur populis, et regnabit Dominus illorum in perpetuum."

Eccli. XXVII. 13.

"In medio insensatorum, serva verbum tempori; in medio autem cogitantium, assiduus esto."

Sap. VII. 24.

"Omnibus enim mobilibus mobilior est sapientia; attingit autem ubique propter suam munditiam."

Sap. VI. 8.

"Non enim subtrahet personam cujusquam Deus, nec verebitur magnitudinem cujusquam; quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit, et æqualiter cura est illi de omnibus."

Sap. IX. 17—18.

"Consilium enim tuum quis sciet, nisi tu dederis sapientiam, et miseris spiritum sanctum tuum

F

Ibid. Cap. XVI.

"*Divina Scriptura dicit de martyribus:* 'Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, et reputata est vexatio eorum exitus, et a nobis discessus contritio; illi vero sunt in pace. Etenim si in oculis hominum suppliciiis affecti fuerint spes eorum plena est immortalitatis.....Et in paucis castigati, magnis afficientur beneficiis, quoniam Deus tentavit eos....et invenit eos se dignos, ut scilicet vocentur filii. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit eos, et tamquam solidam sacrificii oblationem excepit eos, et in tempore inspectionis eorum fulgebunt, et tamquam scintillæ in stipula percurrent. Judicabunt gentes, et dominabuntur populis, et rex eorum erit Dominus in sæcula.'"

Clem. Strom. Lib. V. 3.

"In medio insipientium, observa occasionem; in medio autem cogitantium, versare perpetuo."

Clem. Strom. Lib. V. Cap. XIV.

"Quibus illud Sapientiæ imposuit: Pervadit autem ac subit per omnia propter suam munditiam."

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. VI.

"Non enim personam respicit et reveretur qui est omnium Dominus: neque curabit magnitudinem, quoniam ipse fecit magnum et parvum, et similiter omnibus providet, et omnium curam gerit."

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. XI.

"Veritas autem per Dominum: 'Consilium enim tuum, inquit, quis novit, si non tu dederis sapi-

de Altissimis? et sic correctæ sint semitæ eorum qui sunt in terris et quæ tibi placent didicerint homines."

Sap. VI. 11.

"Qui enim custodierint justa juste justificabuntur, et qui didicerint ista invenient quid respondeant."

Sap. VII. 16.

"In manu enim illius et nos, et sermones nostri, et omnis sapientia, et operum scientia et disciplina."

Ibid. 28.

"Neminem enim diligit Deus, nisi eum qui cum sapientia inhabitat."

Sap. XIV. 2-3.

"Illud enim cupiditas acquirendi excogitavit, et artifex fabricavit sapientia sua. Tua autem, Pater, providentia gubernat—."

Sap. VIII. 9.

"Et si justitiam quis diligit, labores hujus magnas habent virtutes, sobrietatem enim et prudentiam docet et justitiam et virtutem, quibus utilius nihil est in vita hominibus, et nescierunt sacramenta Dei Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inextermibilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suæ fecit illum."

Tob. XII. 8.

"Bona est oratio cum jejunio, et eleemosyna magis quam thesauros auri recondere."

entiam, et miseris sanctum tuum Spiritum ab altissimis, et ita correctæ fuerint viæ eorum qui sunt in terra, et didicerint homines ea quæ tibi placent, et salvi fuerint sapientia."

Ibid.

"Qui enim sancta, inquit, sancte servant sanctificabuntur, et qui ea didicerint inveniunt responsionem."

Ibid.

"Et rursus licet audire: 'In manu enim ejus, hoc est, virtute et sapientia, et nos et verba nostra, et omnis prudentia et operum scientia. Nihil enim diligit Deus nisi eum qui cohabitavit cum sapientia. Præterea autem non legerunt quod dictum est a Salomone. Nam cum de templi constructione tractasset, aperte dicit: Artifex autem construxit sapientia; tua autem, Pater, gubernat providentia.'"

Ibid.

"Et si quis diligit justitiam, labores ejus sunt virtutes; temperantia enim et prudentia docet justitiam et fortitudinem, quibus nihil est in vita hominibus utilius."

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. XII.

"Sed, ut videtur, Dei non novere mysteria, quod, scilicet, Deus creavit hominem ob immortalitatem, et fecit eum imaginem suæ proprietatis."

Sap. IV. 17.

“Videbunt enim finem sapientis, et non intelligent quid cogitaverit de illo Deus, et quare munierit illum Dominus.”

Ibid. Cap. V. 3.

“—dicentes intra se, pœnitundine acti et præ angustia spiritus gementes : hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum, et in similitudinem impropertii ; nos insensati vitam illorum æstimabamus insaniam, et finem illorum sine honore : ecce quomodo computati sunt inter filios Dei, et inter sanctos sors illorum est.”

Eccli. XVIII. 8.

“Numerus dierum hominum, ut multum, centum anni ; quasi gutta aquæ maris deputati sunt, et sicut calculus arenæ, sic exigui anni in die ævi.”

Sap. III. 9.

“Qui confidunt in illo, intelligent veritatem, et fideles in dilectione acquiescent illi.”

Sap. III. 14.

“—dabitur enim illi fidei donum electum, et sors in templo Dei acceptissima.”

Sap. VI. 13—21.

“Clara est et quæ nunquam marcescit sapientia, et facile videtur ab his qui diligunt eam, et invenietur ab his qui quærunt illam. Præoccupat qui se concupiscunt ut illis se prior ostendat. Qui de luce vigilaverit ad

Ibid.

“Exaudiens Scripturam quæ dicit : ‘Bonum est jejunium cum oratione.’”

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. XIV.

“Videbunt enim mortem sapientis, et non intelligent quid de eo decreverit, et ad quid eum stabilierit Dominus, et dicent de ejus gloria : ‘Is est quem aliquando habuimus in derisum et in parabolam opprobrii insipientes. Vitam ejus existimavimus insaniam, et mortem ejus ignominiosam. Quomodo est enumeratus inter filios Dei, et in sanctis est sors ejus.’”

Ibid.

“Reputati sunt, inquit, ut pulvis terræ, et ut gutta ex cado.”

Ibid.

“Merito ergo dictum est : ‘Et qui in ipso confidunt, intelligent veritatem, et fideles in dilectione in ipso permanebunt.’”

Ibid.

“Ecce enim Salomon : Dabitur enim ei, inquit, fidei gratia electa, et sors in templo Domini jucundior.”

Clem. Strom. Lib. VI. Cap. XV.

“Salomon hæc dicit : ‘Clara est et non marcescit sapientia, et facile cernitur ab iis qui ipsam diligunt : eos qui cupiunt prævenit, ut præcognoscatur. Qui mane surrexerit ad ipsam non laborabit ; de ipso enim cogitare

illam non laborabit, assidentem enim illam foribus suis inveniet. Cogitare ergo de illa sensus est consummatus, et qui vigilaverit propter illum cito securus erit. Quoniam dignos se ipsa circuit quærens, et in viis ostendit se illis hilariter, et in omni providentia occurrit illis. Initium enim illius verissima est disciplinæ concupiscentia. Cura ergo disciplinæ dilectio est, et dilectio custodia legum illius est; custodia autem legum consummatio incorruptionis est; incorruptio autem facit esse proximum Deo. Concupiscentia itaque sapientiæ deducit ad regnum perpetuum."

est perfectio prudentiæ. Et qui propter ipsam vigilaverit cito erit cura vacuus; quoniam eos qui ipsa digni sunt, ipsa quærens circuit, et in semitis ab ipsis benevole visione apprehenditur.' Mox subjungit: 'Et in omni cogitatione occurrit ipsis....ejus enim principium verissimum est desiderium disciplinæ, hoc est, cognitionis; cura autem disciplinæ est dilectio; dilectio autem est observatio legum ejus; attentio autem legum est incorruptibilitatis confirmatio; incorruptibilitas autem facit ut ad Deum prope accedatur. Sapientiæ ergo desiderium attollit ad regnum.'"

Clement of Alexandria weaves the woof of his fabric from Scripture. His II. *Pædagogus* could be properly called a commentary on Ecclesiasticus. He uses the deuterocanonical works as *divine Scripture*; plainly terms them so; and was evidently very familiar with them. As he was the coryphæus of the Alexandrian church in that age, we can deduce from his line of action that the great Alexandrian church in the age succeeding the Apostles, received and used the deuterocanonical books with equal honor as the books of the first Canon.

Turning from the master to his greater pupil, Origen, we find him to have prosecuted the same line of teaching as Clement.*

*Origen was born of Christian parents at Alexandria in the year 185, A. D. He was surnamed Adamantius, by reason of his indefatigable application to mental toil. The vastness of his erudition is not surpassed by that of any of the Fathers of the church. He was taught by Clement of Alexandria, and, at the age of 18, was given the charge of the instruction of the faithful at Alexandria. To preclude the taint which calumny strove to attach to his name, he, by means of a drug, destroyed the energy of his generative organs. He was led to this move by a false literal interpretation of the praise of eunuchs by Christ, in the Gospels. Origen visited Rome, Palestine, Greece, Arabia and other lands. While in Palestine, he was deputed by the bishops to explain publicly the Holy Scripture. Demetrius, his bishop, objected to this, on the grounds that it was not fitting for a layman to teach the Holy Scriptures. Origen was afterwards ordained priest by Theoctistus, bishop of Casarea in Palestine. Demetrius then deposed Origen on the grounds that he was a eunuch, that he had been ordained without consent of his own bishop, and that he had taught heresy. Origen was obliged to retire to Casarea till after the death of Demetrius in 231. Under Maximin he was cast into prison and treated with great indignity. It is charged by Epiphanius, and others, that,

It is impossible to give a detailed mention of his many works. Later in our book we shall treat of his great Hexapla. Other of his chief works are: Eight Books against Celsus, *De Principiis libri quattuor*, and Homilies and Commentaries on Holy Scripture.

We have thought good to transcribe and collate many citations from Origen, since the adversaries of the deuterocanonical books have alleged his authority in support of their curtailed canon. Nowhere in patristic literature do we find such copious and apposite use of Holy Scripture as in Origen. His works that have been preserved to us resemble a mosaic in which his own creations serve only as the setting in which are infixed the scriptural gems. No discrimination is made in favor of the books of the first canon. He rejects and treats with irony the adoption of the Jewish canon. In his letter to Julius Africanus,† he defends the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel, and implies that the canon must be sought from the authority of the Church, and not from the Jews: “Know, therefore, in answer to these things, what should be our line of action, not only concerning the history of Susanna, *which, in its Greek exemplar, circulates through the whole Church of Christ, although it does not exist with the Hebrews*; and not

to escape from prison, Origen offered incense to Serapis. The data are wanting to establish either the truth or falsity of this imputation. He died at Tyr in 254. To Origen, have been imputed many pernicious errors. He was condemned by the fifth general council, and again, Martin the fifth anathematized him in the first Council of Lateran in 649. In that formative period, before the Christian dogmas became moulded with the precision and definiteness, which the natural development of doctrine subsequently gave them; when men strove to unite the philosophy of Plato with the divine teachings of Christ, it was not strange that a man deeply imbued with Greek thought, should in good faith, have advocated theories which closer investigation found to be untenable in the Catholic Church. Without the aid of divine revelation, it would be strange that a man should write so much on the subjects on which Origen wrote, and never write amiss. These errors should not be considered as a malicious intent to infect the teachings of the Church, but an evidence of the defectibility of human reason. Origen has done the church invaluable service, and, though not ranked with the Fathers, he will always be appealed to in questions which need the testimony of tradition for their solution.

†Julius Africanus was a Christian historian, who flourished in the third century, under Heliogabalus. He was of Nicopolis, in Palestine. He is the author of a universal history from Adam down to Macrinus, whose scope was to prove that paganism was an innovation. Only fragments of the work are preserved to us by Eusebius. Africanus controverted the genuinity of the history of Susanna, concerning which he wrote to Origen. One of his most valuable contributions to the patrimony of science is his reconciliation of the diverse genealogies of Jesus Christ in Matthew and Luke.

only concerning the other parts, which, as you have said, are written in the end of the book, namely, concerning Bel and the Dragon, which also are wanting in the Hebrew text; but also concerning many other parts, which, while we compared, according to our powers, the Hebrew with our own text, we found in many places." Soon he breaks forth into irony: "Forsooth, the time is at hand, if we have discovered these things, to abrogate the exemplars of Holy Scripture of our churches, and impose the law upon the brethren that, rejecting the sacred books which they have, they, by adulation, persuade the Jews to concede to us the Scriptures pure and devoid of figment. * * * In relation to these things, consider whether it be not good to remember the saying: pass not beyond the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set. (Prov. XXII. 28). And I say this, not, indeed, that I, through sloth, refuse to examine the Scriptures which the Jews have, and compare them with ours, to see what diversity between them exists. This, forsooth, if it be not arrogant to say, we have diligently, and, according to our ability, done; comparing with great care the editions, and observing their divergencies, thus, however, that we have bestowed somewhat more labor on the Septuagint, that we might not bring anything spurious into the Churches, which are beneath the whole heavens. * * * We endeavor not to be ignorant of the Scriptures which the Jews have, so that, discussing with them, we may not bring forth those things which are wanting in their exemplars, and we also make use of those portions which are found with them, and are not in our books."

Many of the early Fathers were forced to meet the Jews on their own ground, and thus in disputes with them, to use only the curtailed canon which the Jews recognized. Thus Jerome in *Praef. in Isaiah* affirms: "May He give me my future reward who knows me to have labored and sweat in the acquisition of this foreign tongue, so that the Jews might not longer insult the Christians on the charge of the falsity of their Scriptures." This need also, was the motive for the lists drawn up by some of the Fathers, in which the deuterocanonical books were excluded. Even Origen himself has made such list, but he openly declares that it is the canon *according to the Hebrews*. The Jews by their ridicule of the deuterocanonical books may have led some individual Fathers to doubt of the equality of inspiration of the books of the second canon. As the rationalists of to-day sometimes obtain from Catholics unwarranted concessions, lest they should seem to be

ignorant; so those other earlier enemies of truth may have diminished in the minds of some the authority of the deuterocanonical works. This they certainly effected in the mind of Jerome. We see that Africanus rejected the deuterocanonical fragment of Susanna. Origen describes the existing state of things very well in his response to Africanus. The complete canon circulated throughout the universal Church; the Jews and some few individuals advocated the restricted canon of the Jews. Origen in plain words ridicules the theory which the protestants of to-day advocate, and yet they would claim his authority.

Origen endorses Tobias in Hist. Susannæ, 13: "We must know, therefore, that the Hebrews use neither Tobias nor Judith. For the Hebrews have not these books even among the Apocrypha as we ourselves have learned from them. *But since the Churches use Tobias*, we must know that also in the captivity some captives were opulent and prospered." Origen essays to defend the book of Tobias, not that the Hebrews acknowledge it, but *because the Churches use it*.

Two things result for us from Origen's testimonies. First, that the usage of the Churches of his age recognized the divinity of the deuterocanonical books; and, second, that he considered this usage a criterion of inspiration. He can never be honestly claimed to have favored the protestant theory of accepting the canon from the Jews.

The Canon of Origen is found in his Commentary on the first Psalm, Parag. I: "The twenty-two books according to the Hebrews are these": The first which is called by us Genesis is termed by them, from its opening words, Beresith which signifies "In the beginning." Then Exodus, with Hebrews Vellesemoth, interpreted, "These are the names." The third, Leviticus, with the Hebrews, Vajicra, that is, "And he called." The fourth, Numbers, with the Hebrews Hammisphcodim.* The fifth, Deuteronomy, with the Hebrews Elle haddebarim, that is, "these are the words." The sixth, Jesus the son of Nave, in Hebrew, Jehoshua ben Nun. The seventh, Judges and Ruth, by the Hebrews comprised in one volume, which they call Sophetim. The eighth is the first and second book of the Kingdoms, which with them constitute one volume which is called Samuel, that is "The called of God." The

*The appellation Hammisphcodim for the book of Numbers is only found in Origen. Its signification is unknown to us. The common designation of the book in Hebrew was נִּזְכָּר, "et locutus est."

ninth is the third and fourth of the Kingdoms, which they also comprise in one volume and call Vammelech David, that is, "The Kingdom of David." The tenth is the first and second of Paralipomenon, by them comprised in one volume, which they call Dibre Hajaanim, that is, "The Words of the Days." The eleventh is the first and second of Esdras, which with them constitute one volume, which they call Ezra, that is, "The Helper." The twelfth is the book of Psalms, with the Hebrews Sepher Tehillim. The thirteenth is the Proverbs of Solomon, with the Hebrews Misloth. The fourteenth is Ecclesiastes, with the Hebrews Koheleth. The fifteenth is the Canticle of Canticles, with the Hebrews Sir Hassirim. The sixteenth is Isaias, with the Hebrews Jesaia. The seventeenth is Jeremias with the Lamentation and Epistle, by them comprised in one volume, which they call Jirmia. The eighteenth is Daniel, with the Hebrews Daniel. The nineteenth is Ezechiel, with the Hebrews Jeezchel. The twentieth is Job, by the Hebrews designated by the same name. The twenty-first is Esther, which is also thus designated by the Hebrews. Outside this enumeration are the books of Maccabees which are inscribed "Sarbet Sarbaneel."

In this list, the twelve minor Prophets, by the Hebrews comprised in one book is omitted. It must have been, however, through inadvertence on the part of Origen or the amanuensis, since this book was never doubted. The care bestowed by Origen and other Fathers in preparing these lists was for the purpose of fitting the Christians to meet the Jews on common grounds. This was necessary in that age, when the chief intellectual attacks on Christianity came from the Jews. The following collated passages will illustrate Origen's attitude towards the deuterocanonical works :

Tob. I. 13—22.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. De Hist. Sus. 13.

(Already quoted.)

Judith XI. Passim.

Orig. Frag. Ex Lib. VI. Strom.

"Homo autem, cui incumbit necessitas mentiendi, diligenter attendat ut sic utatur interdum mendacio quomodo condimento atque medicamine, ut servet mensuram ejus, ne excedat terminos quibus usa est Judith contra Holophernem, et vicit prudenti simulatione verborum."

Dan. XIII.

“Et erat vir habitans in Baby-lone, et nomen ejus Joakim, etc.”

Orig. Ex Lib. Stromatum.

“Et erat vir habitans in Baby-lone, et nomen ejus Joacim, et accepit uxorem nomine Susan-nam, filiam Helciæ, pulchram nimis et timentem Dominum. Et parentes ejus justi edocuerunt filiam suam juxta legem Moysi.

Hoc utendum est testimonio ad exhortationem parentum, ut doceant juxta legem Dei sermon-emque divinum, non solum filios, sed et filias suas

. Quia Hebræi reprobant historiam Susannæ, dicentes eam in Danielis volumine non haberi, debemus inquirere nomina *σχίλον*, καὶ *πρίνον* quae Latini illicem et lentiscum interpretantur, si sint apud Hebraeos, et quam habeant etymologiam, ut a *σχίλω*, scissio, et a *πρίνω*, sectio sive serratio dicatur lingua eorum. Quod si non fuerit inventum, necessitate cogemur et nos eorum acquiescere sententiae, qui Graeci tantum sermonis hanc volunt esse *περικοπήν*, quae Graecam habeat tantum etymologiam, et Hebraicam non habeat. Quod si quis ostenderit duarum scissionis et sectionis in Hebraeo stare etymologiam, tunc poterimus etiam hanc Scripturam recipere.”

Sap. VII. 25.

“Vapor est enim virtutis Dei, et emanatio quaedam est claritatis omnipotentis Dei sincera—”

Orig. De Principiis, Lib. I.
Cap. II.

“Invenimus nihilominus in Sapientia, quae dicitur Salomonis, descriptionem quamdam de Dei Sapientia hoc modo scriptam : ‘Vapor est enim, inquit, virtutis Dei et *ἀπόρροια* gloriae omnipotentis purissima.’ ”

Ibid. VII. 25—26.

Sap. XVIII. 24.

"In veste enim poderis, quam habebat, totus erat orbis terrarum—."

Eccl. XLIII. 22.

"Frigidus ventus aquilo flavit—."

Eccli. VI. 4.

"Anima enim nequam disperdet, qui se habet."

Sap. XI. 21.

"—sed omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti."

Sap. VII. 16.

"—in manu enim illius et nos, et sermones nostri, et omnis Sapientia et operum scientia, et disciplina."

Eccli. XVI. 22.

"Nam plurima illius opera sunt in absconsis—."

Sap. XI. 18.

"Non enim impossibilis erat omnipotens manus tua, quae creavit orbem terrarum ex materia invisâ, immittere illis multitudinem ursorum, aut audaces leones—."

Ibid.

Orig. De Princ. Lib. II. Cap. III. 6.

"— sicut in Sapientia Salomonis invenimus, cum dicit quia: 'In vestimento poderis erat univ-
ersus mundus.'"

Orig. Ibid. Cap. VIII. 3.

"— sicut scriptum est in Sapientia: 'Frigidus ventus Boreas.'"

Ibid.

"Anima mala perdit eum qui possidet eam."

Ibid. Cap. IX. 1.

"Porro autem, *sicut Scriptura dicit*: 'In numero et mensura, universa condidit Deus—.'"

Orig. De Prin. Lib. III. 14.

"'In manu enim Dei, et nos, et sermones nostri, et omnis prudentia atque operum disciplina est' *sicut Scriptura dicit*."

Orig. De Prin. Lib. IV. 26.

"Quia scriptum est: 'Quamplurima ex operibus Dei in secretis sunt.'"

Ibid. 33.

"In Sapientia quae dicitur Salomonis, qui utique liber non ab omnibus in auctoritate habetur. Ibi tamen scriptum invenimus hoc modo: 'Non enim,' inquit, 'deerat omnipotenti manu tuae, quae creaverat mundum ex informi materia, immittere eis multitudinem ursorum vel feroces leones.'"

Origen here records the doubts of some, without making them his own. Certain *individuals* have doubted concerning the deuterocanonical works; the *Church never doubted*. In quoting the book as *Scripture*, Origen follows the Church.

This can be said in general ; the Fathers, in their practical use of Scripture, reflect the belief of the Church. If they put forth, at times, speculative doubts, they are then speaking as fallible individuals. This principle has been recognized by the protestant Davidson.

“ It is sometimes said that the history of the Canon should be sought from definite catalogues, not from isolated quotations. The latter are supposed to be of slight value ; the former to be the result of deliberate judgment. This remark is more specious than solid. In relation to the Old Testament, the catalogues given by the Fathers, as by Meliton and Origen, rest solely on the tradition of the Jews ; apart from which, they have no independent authority. As none except Jerome and Origen knew Hebrew, their lists of the Old Testament books are simply a reflection of what they learned of others. If they deviate in practice from their masters by quoting as Scripture other than canonical (protocanonical) books, they show their judgment, overriding an external theory.

“ The very men who give a list of the Jewish books, evince an inclination to the Christian and enlarged Canon. Thus the Fathers, who give catalogues of the Old Testament, show the existence of a Jewish and a Christian Canon in relation to the Old Testament ; the latter wider than the former, their private opinion more favorable to the one, though the other was historically transmitted.” [Davidson, *Canon of the Bible*, p. 132.]

This last clause is not well said. It is not the private opinion of the Fathers that constitutes the basis of traditional proof of our complete Canon. It is the universal usage of the Churches of the Christian people, which subjugated even those who theoretically were disposed to doubt. It is the belief identical with the life of the Church, which manifests itself in the use which these Fathers made of Scripture. As individuals they could err and doubt ; as faithful witnesses of the belief of the Church, they hand down to us the faith which was the same in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. This capacity they fulfill, as Davidson rightly says, when quoting the Scriptures as they were familiar to the Christian people. Neither is Davidson correct in saying that the curtailed canon of the Jews was historically transmitted. If he means by this that the restricted canon was transmitted to us by the Jews, it is well ; but it is utterly false to say that the existing, recognized Canon of the Christians were such Canon. Impartial historians, such as Eusebius, record the doubts of isolated churches concerning several books, but these doubts

never could be said to have pervaded the whole Church. Such a critical mind, as was that of Origen, would have more readily tended to reject the deuterocanonical books, had he not been convinced by the belief and usage of the universal Church. As Origen's authority is most valuable, we have taken the trouble to collate many passages:

Sap. IX. 13—16.

"Quis enim hominem poterit scire consilium Dei? Aut quis poterit cogitare quid velit Deus? Cogitationes enim mortalium timidae; et incertae providentiae nostrae; corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem, et difficile aestimamus quae in terra sunt, et quae in prospectu sunt invenimus cum labore. Quae autem in cœlis sunt, quis investigabit?"

Sap. XI. 25.

"Diligis enim omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti—."

Sap. I. 7.

"Quoniam Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum."

Tob. III. 24—25.

"In illo tempore exaudita sunt preces amborum in conspectu gloriae summi Dei, et missus est angelus Domini, Sanctus Raphael, ut curaret eos ambos."

Tob. XII. 12 (juxta Graecum).

"Ac modo cum tu, et Sara nurus tua orastis, memoriam precum vestrarum coram Sancto retuli."

Orig. Lib. De Oratione, I.

"Quis enim hominum poterit scire consilium Dei? Aut quis poterit cogitare quid Deus velit? Cogitationes enim mortalium timidae; et incertae providentiae nostrae, corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem; et difficile aestimamus quae in terra sunt. Quae autem in coelis sunt, quis investigavit?"

Ibid. 5.

"—diligitque omnia quae sunt, et nihil odit eorum quae fecit."

Ibid. 10.

"Magis idoneus fit commisceri 'Spiritu Domini qui replevit orbem terrarum.'"

Ibid. 11.

"Quae inde patent, quod Raphael obtulerit Deo rationabile obsequium Tobiae et Sarae. 'Nam post utriusque orationem, exaudita est, *inquit Scriptura*, deprecatio utrorumque coram gloria magni Raphael, et missus est ad sanandum ambos.'"

Ibid.

"'Et nunc quando orasti tu, et nurus tua Sara, ego obtuli memoriale orationis vestrae coram Sancto.' Et post pauca:

Ibid. 15 (juxta Graecum).

“Ego sum Raphael, unus ex septem sanctis Angelis qui preces sanctorum ad Deum offerunt, atque ambulant ante majestatem Sancti.”

Ibid. 8 (juxta Graecum).

“Bonae sunt preces quae cum jejunio et beneficentia justitiaque conjunctae sunt.”

II. Maccab. XV. 13—16.

“Post hoc apparuisse et alium virum aetate et gloria mirabilem, et magni decoris habitudine circa illum; respondentem vero Oniam dixisse: Hic est fratrum amator, et populi Israel: hic est qui multum orat pro populo et universa sancta civitate, Jeremias propheta Dei. Extendisse autem Jeremiam dexteram, et dedisse Judae gladium aureum dicentem: accipe sanctum gladium, munus a Deo, in quo dejicies adversarios populi mei Israel.”

Judith XIII. 9—10.

“Cumque evaginasset illum, apprehendit comam capitis ejus, et ait: Confirma me, Domine Deus, in hac hora; et percussit bis in cervicem ejus, et abscidit caput ejus, et abstulit conopeum ejus a columnis, et evolvit corpus ejus truncum.”

Judith VIII. 22. (juxta Graecum.)

“Mementote quæ cum Abraham egerit, quibusque rebus Isaac probarit, quæ item Jacob in Mesopotamia Syriae pascenti oves Laban avunculi ipsius acciderint. Etenim sicut illos experiundi cordis ipsorum gratia,

‘Ego sum Raphael, unus ex septem Angelis qui offerunt orationes sanctorum, et ingrediuntur in conspectu gloriae Sancti.’ Itaque juxta Raphaelis sermonem: ‘Bonum oratio cum jejunio et elemosyna et justitia.’ Item quod Jeremias, ut in Machabaeorum libris habetur: ‘apparuerit cantitie et gloria eximius, ita ut mirabilis quaedam et maximi decoris fuerit praestantia circa illum: extenderitque dexteram, et dederit Judae gladium aureum, de quo testatus est alius sanctus qui ante obierat: Hic est qui multum orat pro populo et sancta civitate, Jeremias, propheta Dei.’”

Orig. De Oratione, 13.

“Judith, sanctis oblatis precibus, Holophernem, Deo adjuvante, superavit, et una Hebraeorum femina labem domui Nabuchodonosoris inussit.”

Orig. De Orat. 29.

“Recordamini enim,” ait Judith, “quæcumque fecit cum Abraham, et quæcumque tentavit Isaac, et quæcumque evenerunt Jacob in Mesopotamia Syriae pascenti pecora Laban fratris matris suae, quoniam sicut illos examin-

ita nos probat, et non ulciscitur ; sed comminationis causa Dominus castigat eos qui ei appropinquant."

Sap. XVI. 28.

"— ut notum omnibus esset quoniam oportet prævenire solem ad benedictionem tuam, et ad ortum lucis te adorare."

Tob. XII. 12.

(Already quoted.)

II. Maccab. VI. 19—31.

"At ille gloriosissimam mortem magis quam odibilem vitam complectens, voluntarie præibat ad supplicium. Intuens autem, quemadmodum oporteret accedere, patienter sustinens, destinavit non admittere illicita propter vitæ amorem. Hi autem, qui astabant, iniqua miseratione commoti, propter antiquam viri amicitiam, tollentes eum secreto rogabant afferi carnes, quibus vesci ei licebat, ut simularetur manducasse, sicut rex imperaverat de sacrificii carnibus: ut, hoc facto, a morte liberaretur: et propter veterem viri amicitiam, hanc in eo faciebant humanitatem. At ille cogitare cœpit ætatis ac senectutis suæ eminentiam dignam, et ingenitæ nobilitatis canitiem, atque a puero optimæ conversationis actus: et secundum sanctæ et a Deo conditæ legis constituta, respondit cito, dicens: Præmitti se velle in infernum. Non enim ætati nostræ dignum est, inquit; fingere; ut multi adolescentium, arbi-

avit in certamen cordis eorum, etiam nos ulciscitur, quia ad emendationem flagellat Dominus appropinquantibus sibi."

Ibid. 31.

"— et de parte mundi, in Sapientia Solomonis, dicitur: 'Ut notum esset, quoniam oportet prævenire solem ad benedictionem tuam, et ante ortum lucis te adorare.'"

Ibid.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. Exhortatio ad Martyrium, 22.

"Quam autem æquius est mortuum laudari quam qui mortem sponte ac libere pro religione oppetiit? Qualis fuit Eleazar, qui 'gloriosissimam mortem magis quam odibilem vitam complectens, voluntarie præibat ad supplicium,' quique 'strenuam assumens ratiocinationem dignam ætate sua nonagenaria, et senectutis suæ eminentia, illustrique canitie, atque optima a pueritia educatione, maxime vero sancta, et a Deo condita lege dixit: non est ætate hac nostra dignum fingere, ut multi adolescentes, arbitantes Eleazarum nonaginta annorum transisse ad vitam alienigenarum, et ipsi propter meam simulationem, et propter modicum corruptibilis vitæ tempus decipiantur propter me, et execrationem atque maculam senectuti acquiram; nam etsi in præsentī tempore suppliciis hominum eripiar, sed manus Omnipotentis nec vivus nec defunctus effugiam. Quamobrem fortiter excedendo senectute quidem dignus appar-

trantes Eleazarum nonaginta annorum transisse ad vitam alienigenarum: et ipsi propter meam simulationem, et propter modicum corruptibilis vitæ tempus decipiantur, et per hoc maculam atque execrationem meæ senectuti conquiram. Nam, etsi in præsentī tempore supplicii hominum eripiar, sed manum Omnipotentis nec vivus, nec defunctus effugiam. Quamobrem fortiter vita excedendo senectute quidem dignus apparebo: adolescentibus autem exemplum forte relinquam, si prompto animo, ac fortiter pro gravissimis ac sanctissimis legibus honesta morte perfungar. His dictis, confestim ad supplicium trahebatur. Hi autem, qui eum ducebant, et paulo ante fuerant mitiores, in iram conversi sunt propter sermones ab eo dictos, quos illi per arrogantiam prolatos arbitrabantur. Sed, cum plagis perimeretur, ingemuit, et dixit: Domine, qui habes sanctam scientiam, manifeste tu scis, quia, cum a morte possem liberari, duros corporis sustineo dolores: secundum animam vero propter timorem tuum libenter hæc patior. Et iste quidem hoc modo vita decessit, non solum juvenibus, sed et universæ genti memoriam mortis suæ ad exemplum virtutis et fortitudinis derelinquens."

ebo, adolescentibus autem exemplum forte relinquam, ut prompto animo ac fortiter pro gravissimis ac sanctissimis legibus honesta morte perfungantur.'

Oro autem vos cum ad portas mortis imo libertatis constituti eritis, maxime si tormenta objicerentur, dicere Domino, qui sanctam habet scientiam: 'Manifestum est quia cum a morte possem liberari, duros corporis sustineo dolores, secundum animam vero propter timorem ejus libenter hæc patior.'

Talis ergo fuit Eleazari mors, 'qui non solum juvenibus, sed et plerisque suæ gentis mortem suam exemplum fortitudinis et memoriale virtutis reliquit.' "

The 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th numbers of the Exhortatio ad Martyrium are a commentary on the death of the mother and her seven sons, as recorded in the second book of Maccab., seventh Chapter, and he concludes by saying: "I believe that I have selected these things as most useful to my scope *from the Scriptures*, that we may see how, against bitterest tortures and heaviest torments, piety and the love of

God, mightier than any other love, can avail." It is evident that the faith for which the martyrs died recognized as divine Scripture the deuterocanonical books.

Sap. XV. 10.

"Cinis est enim cor ejus, et terra supervacua spes illius, et luto vilior vita ejus."

Sap. III. 6.

"Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos, et in tempore erit respectus illorum."

Sap. I. 4.

"Quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis."

Sap. VII. 25—26.

"Vapor est enim virtutis Dei, et emanatio quaedam est claritatis omnipotentis Dei sincera : et ideo nihil inquinatum in eam incurrit; candor est enim lucis aeternae, et speculum sine macula Dei majestatis, et imago bonitatis illius."

Sap. I. 7.

"Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum : et hoc quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis."

Sap. XI. 25.

"Diligis enim omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti : nec enim odiens aliquid constituisti, aut fecisti."

Orig. Exhort. ad Martyr. 32.

"— idque postquam cognovimus 'cinerem esse cor idolis servientium, vitamque luto turpio-rem.'"

Ibid. 35.

"Quodsi probatus est et ille, et qui similes illi sunt ; quos 'tamquam aurum in fornace' tormentis et quaestionibus 'probavit Dominus, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit.'"

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. III. 60.

"Quoniam vero docemus 'sapientiam in malevolam animam non introituram, nec habitaturam in corpore subdito peccatis.'"

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. III. 72.

"— aut quomodo illum divina Scriptura definit : 'vapor divinae potestatis, limpida omnipotentis ejus gloriae effluentia, splendor lucis aeternae, speculum sine macula Dei majestatis, et imago bonitatis illius.'"

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. IV. 5.

"— nescit : 'Spiritus Domini replere orbem terrarum, et hoc quod continet omnia scientiam habere vocis.'"

Ibid. 18.

"Legimus ac novimus : 'Deum diligere omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisse eorum quae fecit ; nihil enim constiturum fuisse quod odisset.'"

Eccli. XVIII. 12.

“— misericordia autem Dei super omnem carnem.”

Sap. XII. 1.

“O quam bonus, et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus!”

Eccli. XXXIX. 26.

“Non est dicere: Quid est hoc, aut quid est istud? omnia enim in tempore suo quaerentur.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est: opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.”

Sap. X. 5.

“Haec et in consensu nequitiae, cum se nationes contulissent, scivit justum, et conservavit sine querela Deo, et in filii misericordia fortem custodivit.”

Tob. XII. 7.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. I. 4.

“— quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Eccli. XXI. 21.

“Tamquam domus exterminata, sic fatuo sapientia: et scientia insensati inenarrabilia verba.”

G

Ibid.

“— et misericordiam Domini esse super omnem carnem.”

Ibid. 37.

“— de quo dictum est: ‘Incorruptibilis autem tuus Spiritus est in omnibus.’”

Ibid. 75.

“Ne dixeris: quid hoc? aut: quorsum hoc? omnia enim ad illorum usum creata sunt. Et ne dixeris: quid istud? aut quorsum istud? omnia enim in tempore suo quaerentur.”

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. V. 19.

“‘Quemadmodum, et apud Tobiam legitur: ‘Sacramentum regis bonum est abscondere; sed opera Dei sincere revelare. . . . pulchrum est.’”

Ibid. 29.

“Sic enim ibi de sapientia: ‘Haec et in consensu nequitiae, cum gentes confusae fuissent, scivit justum, et conservavit sine querela Deo, et in filii misericordia fortem custodivit.’”

Ibid.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid.

“— de qua pulchre scriptum est: ‘In malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.’”

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. VI. 7.

“Modo Jesu Sirach filius, qui librum, Sapientiam (Sirach) inscriptum, conscripsit: ‘Scientia stulti, sermones inextricabiles.’”

Sap. IX. 6.

“Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia tua, in nihilum computabitur.”

Sap. VII. 26.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. XVII. 1.

“Magna sunt enim judicia tua Domine, et inenarrabilia verba tua: propter hoc indisciplinatae animae erraverunt.”

Sap. I. 5.

“Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, quae sunt sine intellectu, et corripitur a superveniente iniquitate.”

Eccli. XXI. 21.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. XII. 1—2.

“O quam bonus, et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus! Ideoque eos, qui exerrant, partibus corripis: et de quibus peccant, admones et alloqueris: ut relictā malitia, credant in te, Domine.”

Sap. VII. 25—26.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. XVII. 1.

I. Maccab. IX. 55; II. Maccab. III. 24; IX. 5.

Ibid. 13.

“Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia, quae a te est, in nihilum computabitur.”

Ibid. 63.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 79.

“Verum nihil mirandum est quoniam: ‘Dei judicia magna sunt, et explicatu ardua; indisciplinatas animas,’ adeoque Celsum, ‘errare.’”

Contra Celsum, Lib. VIII. 8.

“Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus quae sunt sine intellectu.”

Ibid. 12.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 51.

“Incorruptibilis spiritus tuus est in omnibus, quapropter delinquentes paulatim arguit Deus.”

Orig. Contra Celsum, Lib. VIII. 14.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 32.

Ibid. 46.

“— et alii qui, Judaeorum cultum violare in templo ausi fuerint, referunt Machabaeorum libri.”

Eccli. X. 23.

"Semen hominum honorabitur hoc, quod timet Deum : semen autem hoc exhonorabitur, quod praeterit mandata Domini."

Eccli. X. 4.

"In manu Dei potestas terrae: et utilem rectorem suscitabit in tempus super illam."

Sap. I. 13.

"Quoniam Deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum."

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius."

Sap. VIII. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXII. 24.

"Pungens oculum deducit lacrymas : et qui pungit cor, profert sensum."

Sap. II. 20.

"Morte turpissima condemnemus eum : erit enim ei respectus ex sermonibus illius."

Baruch III. 9.

"Audi, Israel, mandata vitae : auribus percipe, ut scias prudentiam."

Eccli. VII. 40.

"In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis."

Ibid. 50.

"Hoc docet divina Scriptura : 'Ecquod semen in honore? semen hominis; ecquod semen in contemptu? semen hominis.'"

Ibid. 68.

"— quique utilem rectorem suscitavit in tempus super terram."

Orig. Selecta in Genesim.

"Deus enim mortem non fecit, nec delectatur in perditione vivorum."

Orig. Homilia VI. in Genesim, 1.

"— sicut et ille sapiens qui dicebat de sapientia: 'Hanc quaesivi adducere mihi sponsam.'"

Homilia XI. in Genesim, 1.

"Sicut et ille qui dicebat de sapientia : 'Hanc ego cogitavi uxorem adducere mihi.'"

"Orig. in Exodum, Homilia IV. 5.

"Pro illo vero alia Scriptura dicit : 'Punge oculum, et producit lacrymam ; punge cor, et producit sensum.'"

Hom. VI. in Exodum, 1.

"De quo etiam Propheta praedixerat : 'Morte turpissima condemnemus eum.'"

Hom. VII. in Exod. 2.

"Sicut et alibi (Scriptura) dicit ; 'Audi, Israel, mandata vitae.'"

Hom. IX. in Exod. 4.

"Memor esto novissimorum tuorum, et non peccabis."

Dan. XIII. 22—23.

“Ingenuit Susanna, et ait : Angustiae sunt mihi undique : si enim hoc egero, mors mihi est : si autem non egero, non effugiam manus vestras. Sed melius est mihi absque opere incidere in manus vestras, quam peccare in conspectu Domini.”

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum : et hoc, quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis.”

Sap. VIII. 20.

“Et cum essem magis bonus, veni ad corpus incoinquinatum.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 22.

“Multi ceciderunt in ore gladii, sed non sic quasi qui interierunt per linguam suam.”

Sap. VII. 20.

“— naturas animalium, et iras bestiarum, vim ventorum, et cogitationes hominum, et virtutes radicum.”

Hom. I. in Leviticum, 1.

“But it behooves us to use against the impious presbyters the words of the *blessed Susannae*, which they indeed repudiating, have cut off from the catalogue of *divine Scripture* the history of *Susannae*. But we receive it, and appositely adduce it against them, saying : ‘I am straitened on every side : for if I do this thing (follow the letter of the Law) it is death to me ; and if I do it not, I shall not escape your hands. But it is better for me to fall into your hands without doing it than to sin in the sight of the Lord.’”

Hom. V. in Leviticum, 2.

“Et iterum alibi : ‘Spiritus enim Domini replevit orbem terrarum.’”

Hom. XII. in Levit. 4.

“Ipse (Jesus) enim erat qui et dudum per Salomonem dixerat : ‘Magis autem cum essem bonus, veni ad corpus incoinquinatum.’”

Orig. Hom. VIII. in Numeros, 1.

“Non legisti ? ‘Dicunt quia vulnerant gladii sed non ita ut lingua ?’”

Hom. XII. in Numeros, 1.

“— de quorum scientia dicebat ille qui repletus est sapientia Dei : ‘Ipse enim mihi dedit eorum quae sunt scientiam veram, ut scirem substantiam mundi et elementorum virtutem, initium et finem et medietatem temporum, vicissitudinem, permuta-

Sap. VII. 10.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. VII. 22—23.

“— est enim in illa spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis, incoquinatus, certus, suavis, amans bonum, acutus, quem nihil vetat, benefaciens, humanus, benignus, stabilis, certus, securus, omnem habens virtutem, omnia prospiciens, et qui capiat omnes spiritus, intelligibilis mundus, subtilis.”

Eccli. I. 1.

“Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est, et cum illo fuit semper, et est ante aevum.”

Eccli. XIX. 19.

“Et non est sapientia nequitiae disciplina : et non est cogitatus peccatorum prudentia.”

Sap. III. 16.

“Filii autem adulterorum in inconsummatione erunt, et ab iniquo thoro semen exterminabitur.”

Eccli. XVI. 5.

“Ab uno sensato inhabitabitur patria, tribus impiorum desertur.”

tiones et commutationes temporum, anni circulos, et astrorum positiones, naturas animalium, et iras bestiarum, spirituum violentias et cogitationes hominum, differentias virgultorum, et virtutes radicum.’”

Ibid.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. Hom. in Numeros, XVII. 6.

“— quia et spiritus sapientiae, qui intelligibilis et sanctus et unicus et multiplex dicitur, similiter et subtilis esse perhibetur.”

Hom. XVIII. in Numeros, 3.

“In libro, qui apud nos quidem inter Salomonis volumina haberi solet, et Ecclesiasticus dici, apud Graecos vero Sapientia Jesu filii Sirach appellatur, scriptum est : ‘Omnis sapientia a Deo est.’”

Ibid.

“Non est enim sapientia malitiae disciplina.”

Hom. in Numeros XX. 2.

“— de quibus scriptum est : ‘Filii autem adulterorum imperfecti erunt, et ex iniquo concubitu semen exterminabitur.’”

Hom. XXI. in Num. 2.

“Denique et scriptum est : ‘Per unum sapientem inhabitabitur civitas ; tribus autem iniquorum desolabitur.’”

Sap. IX. 15.

"Corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem."

Eccli. XIV. 23.

"Qui excogitat vias illius in corde suo, et in absconditis suis intelligens, vadens post illum quasi investigator, et in viis illius consistens—."

Eccli. II. 1.

"Fili, accedens ad servitutum Dei, sta in iustitia, et timore, et praepara animam tuam ad tentationem."

Dan. XIII. 56.

"Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum—."

Eccli. III. 20.

"Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam—."

Ibid. XXXII. 1.

"Rectorem te posuerunt? noli extolli: esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis."

Eccli. X. 15.

"— quoniam ab eo, qui fecit illum, recessit cor ejus; quoniam initium omnis peccati est superbia—."

Eccli. XXV. 3—4.

"Tres species odivit anima mea, et aggravor valde animæ illorum: pauperem superbum: divitem mendacem: senem fatuum et insensatum."

Hom. XXIII. in Num. 11.

"'Corpus enim corruptibile,' ut ait ille sapientissimus, 'aggravat animam, et deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.'"

Hom. XXVIII. in Num. 1.

"Sed et ego qui lego de sapientia scriptum: 'Exi post eam sicut investigator—.'"

Orig. Hom. XI. in Jehoshua, 2.

"Sed et Salomon similia dicit: 'Fili,' inquit, 'accedens ad servitutum Domini, praepara animam tuam ad tentationem.'"

Hom. XXII. in Jehosua, 6.

"—Cui dicitur a Propheta, 'Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species seduxit te.'"

Hom. XXIV. in Jehoshua, 2.

"—quod dicitur: 'Quanto magnus es tanto magis humilia te, et ante Dominum invenies gratiam,' et iterum quod scriptum est: 'Si te ducem ordinaverint, ne extolaris, sed esto inter eos quasi unus ex ipsis.'"

Orig. Hom. III. in Judic 1.

"—quia sicut Scriptura dicit: 'Initium discedendi a Domino, superbia—.'"

Ibid.

"Nihil invenies tam foedum neque execrabile, sicut Scriptura dicit, quam 'pauperem superbum et divitem mendacem.'"

Judith XIII.

Hom. IX. in Judic. 1.

“Quid ego illam magnificam et omnium feminarum nobilissimam memorem, Judith, quae jam perditis pene rebus, non dubitavit sola succurrere, seseque suumque caput immanissimi Holophernis neci sola subicere, et processit ad bellum non in armis, neque in equis bellicis aut in subsidiis militaribus freta, sed in virtute animi; et confidentia fidei, consilio simul et audacia hostem perimit.”

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

“Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol: nam stultus sicut luna mutatur.”

Orig. Hom. I. in Reg. 4.

“—quia et secundum Scripturas: ‘insipiens sicut luna mutatur.’”

Eccli. III. 22.

“Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris: sed quae praecepit tibi Deus, illa cogita semper, et in pluribus operibus ejus ne fueris curiosus.”

Hom. II. in Reg. 4.

“Nam et Salomon dicit: ‘Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutere, sed de quibus tibi praeceptum est, haec intellige.’”

Eccli. I. 11.

“Timor Domini gloria, et gloriatio, et laetitia, et corona exultationis.”

Orig. Selecta in Ps. XXI. 32.

“Generatio autem Sapientiae est secundum Salomonem: ‘timor Domini, divitiae, gloria ac vita.’”

Sap. V. 18—21.

“Accipiet armaturam zelus illius, et armabit creaturam ad ultionem inimicorum. Induet pro thorace justitiam, et accipiet pro galea iudicium certum; sumet scutum inexpugnabile aequitatem: acuet autem duram iram in lanceam, et pugnabit cum illo orbis terrarum contra insensatos.”

Selecta in Ps. XXXIV. 2.

“Accipiet armaturam zelum illius, et armabit creaturam ad ultionem inimicorum. Induet pro thorace justitiam, et accipiet pro galea iudicium certum, sumet scutum inexpugnabile aequitatem, acuet autem duram iram in lanceam.”

Dan. XIII. 45 et seqq.

“Cumque duceretur ad mortem, suscitavit Dominus spiritum

Hom. IV. in Ps. XXXVI. 2.

“Respice beatum Danielelem, qui a puero et prophetiae gra-

sanctum pueri junioris. cujus nomen Daniel."

Sap. V. 4.

"Nos insensati vitam illorum aestimabamus insaniam, et finem illorum sine honore."

Esther XIV. 11.

"Ne tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his, qui non sunt, ne rideant ad ruinam nostram : sed converte consilium eorum super eos, et eum, qui in nos coepit saevire, disperde."

Eccli. VIII. 6.

"Ne despicias hominem avertemem se a peccato, neque improperes ei ; memento quoniam omnes in correptione sumus."

Eccli. XXVIII. 28—29.

"Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia, et seras. Aurum tuum et argentum tuum confla, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos—."

Eccli. XXIII. 2.

"Quis superponet in cogitatu meo flagella, et in corde meo doctrinam sapientiae, ut ignorantibus eorum non parcant mihi, et non appareant delicta eorum?"

Eccli. XXI. 29.

"In ore fatuorum cor illorum : et in corde sapientium os illorum."

tiam meruit, et iniquos arguens presbyteros, puer coronam justitiae et castitatis obtinuit."

Hom. V. in Ps. XXXVI. 5.

"—ita ut illi qui in poenis sunt, videntes eos in gloria dicent : Nos stulti vitam eorum putabamus insaniam."

Ibid.

"Et in libro Esther dicitur : 'Non tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his qui non sunt.'"

Hom. II. in Ps. XXXVII. 1.

"—nec memores Scripturae sunt divinae dicentis : 'Noli improperare homini convertenti se a peccato, sed memor esto quoniam omnes sumus in culpis.'"

Hom. I. in Ps. XXXVIII. 3.

"Alibi quidem scriptum est : 'Vide, circumduc sepem spinarum circa possessionem tuam.' Et iterum : 'Pecuniam tuam et aurum tuum alliga, et ori tuo facito ostium et seram, et verbis tuis, jugum et stateram.'"

Hom. II. in Ps. XXXVIII. 7.

"Sed novi ego et alia flagella quibus vehementius cruciamur, illa scilicet quae per prophetam describit sapientia (prophetam enim eum dico) : 'Quis dabit in cogitatu meo correptionem sapientiae, ut ignorantibus meis quae feci non parcat, et peccata mea non praetereantur?'"

Orig. Selecta in Ps. LI. Vers. 4.

"—in ore stultorum cor eorum est."

Eccli. XV. 9.

“Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris—.”

Sap. I. 4.

“—quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Sap. I. 4.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

“Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol: nam stultus sicut luna mutatur.

Baruch III. 38.

“Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Eccli. XV. 9.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. VII. 25.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. IV. 13.

“Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa—.”

Sap. VIII. 2.

“Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius.”

Eccli. I. 33.

“Fili, concupiscens sapientiam, conserva justitiam? et Deus praebebit illam tibi.

Selecta in Ps. LXV. Vers. 2.

“—quia non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris.”

Selecta in Ps. LXXXVIII.

Vers. 32.

“Qui non custodit mandata Dei desivit esse thronus Dei, nam: ‘In malevolam animam, non introibit sapientia, neque habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.’ ”

Selecta in Ps. CXVIII. Vers.

155.

(Already quoted.)

Selecta in Ps. CXX. Vers. 6.

“—Stultus ut luna mutatur.”

Selecta in Ps. CXXV. Vers. 2.

“Post haec enim in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Selecta in CXLIX. Vers. 1.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. Fragmenta in Prov. I. 2.

(Already many times quoted.)

Ibid. Cap. XXX.

“—siquidem ‘in brevi consummatus, explevit tempora multa.’ ”

Orig. Prologus in Canticum Cantic.

“Sed et in eo libello qui dicitur Sapientia Salomonis ita scriptum est de ipsa sapientia: ‘Amator factus sum decoris ejus.’ ”

Ibid.

“—et intelligere illud quod scriptum est: ‘Concupisti sapientiam? serva mandata, et Dominus dabit eam tibi.’ ”

Sap. XI. 27—XII. 1.

“Parcis autem omnibus : quoniam tua sunt, Domine, qui amas animas. O quam bonus, et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus.”

Sap. VII. 17—20.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXVIII. 29.

“Aurum tuum et argentum tuum conflu, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos—.”

Eccli. IV. 33.

“Pro justitia agonizare pro anima tua, et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos.”

Sap. VII. 22.

“—est enim in illa spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis—.”

Sap. I. 13—14, et II. 24.

“Quoniam Deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum. Creavit enim, ut essent omnia : et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum : et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii, nec inferorum regnum in terra. Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum—.”

Eccli. XXI. 18.

“Verbum sapiens quodcumque audierit sciens laudabit, et ad se adjiciet—.”

Orig. in Cant. Cantic. Lib. III.
Vers. 4.

“— quamvis verum sit ut dicitur ad eum : ‘Parcis autem omnibus, quia omnia tua sunt, Domine, amator animarum. Spiritus enim incorruptionis est in omnibus.’”

Ibid. Vers. 9.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. Cap. VII. Vers. 8.

“— juxta illud : ‘Ori tuo fac ostium, et vectem, et verbis tuis fac modum et stateram.’”

Ibid. Cap. VIII. 6.

“Et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia.”

Hom. VI. in Isaiam, 5.

“Dicitur enim de S. Spiritu, qui est secundum sapientiam, quia sit multifarius, tenuis, mobilis.”

Hom. II. in Jeremiam I.

“Deus mortem non fecit, neque delectatur in perditione viventium. Creavit enim ut essent omnia, et salutare generationes mundi, nec est in eis venenum mortis, neque inferni regnum super terram.’ Deinde paululum ultra procedens invenio unde sit mors : ‘Invidia autem diaboli, mors intravit in orbem terrarum.’”

Hom. VI. in Jerem. 1.

“Quoniam vero : ‘Verbum sapiens si audierit sciens, laudabit, et ad illud adjiciet.’”

Eccli. XXIII. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Baruch III. 9—13.

“Audi, Israel, mandata vitae : auribus percipe, ut scias prudentiam. Quid est, Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es? inveterasti in terra aliena, coinquinatus es cum mortuis : deputatus es cum descendentibus in infernum. Dereliquisti fontem sapientiae ; nam si in via Dei ambulasses, habitasses utique in pace sempiterna.”

Sap. III. 11.

“Sapientiam enim, et disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est : et vacua est spes illorum, et labores sine fructu, et inutilia opera eorum.”

Eccli. XXXI. 10.

“Qui probatus est in illo, et perfectus est, erit illi gloria æterna : qui potuit transgredi, et non est transgressus : facere mala, et non fecit—.”

Baruch III. 10—11.

“Quid est, Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es? inveterasti in terra aliena, coinquinatus es cum mortuis : deputatus es cum descendentibus in infernum.”

Sap. III. 1.

“Justorum autem animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis.”

Eccli. I. 2.

“Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies saeculi quis dinumeravit? Altitudinem caeli, et latitudinem terrae, et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?”

Ibid. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Hom. VII. in Jerem. 3.

“—et abire in terram de qua scriptum est : ‘Audi, Israel, quid est quod in terra inimicorum es? Computatus es cum descendentibus in infernum ; dereliquisti fontem vitae, Dominum : in via Dei si ambulasses, habitasses utique in pace in saeculum.’”

Hom. VIII. in Jerem. 1.

“‘Sapientiam autem et disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est, et vana spes ejus, et labores ejus insensati, et inutilia opera ejus,’ ait Sapientia, quae dicitur Salomonis.”

Selecta in Jerem. Cap. II. 32.

“Gloria enim aeterna super caput justorum”

Ibid. Cap. XXXI. 16.

“Scriptum est in Baruch : ‘Quid est quod in terra inimicorum es, et coinquinatus es cum mortuis?’”

Ibid. Cap. XLV. 5.

“— Nam ‘justorum animae in manu Dei sunt.’”

Orig. Hom. IV. in Ezechiel, 2.

“Arenam maris et pluviae stillas et dies saeculi, quis dinumerabit? Altitudinem cœli et latitudinem terrae et profundum Sapientiae, quis investigabit?”

Eccli. VII. 6.

“Noli quaerere fieri iudex, nisi valeas virtute irrumpere iniquitates: ne forte extimescas faciem potentis, et ponas scandalum in aequitate tua.”

Dan. XIII. 56.

“Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum—.”

Eccli. X. 9—10.

“Avaro autem nihil est scelestius. Quid superbit terra et cinis? Nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam; hic enim et animam suam venalem habet: quoniam in vita sua projecit intimam suam.”

Eccli. III. 20.

“Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam—.”

Sap. VI. 7.

“Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia: potentes autem, potenter tormenta patientur.”

Eccli. XVIII. 30.

“Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere.”

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

“Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol: nam stultus sicut luna mutatur.”

Hom. V. in Ezech. 4.

“—et ante oculos mihi proponens illum iudicii ordinem qui in Scripturis continetur, recordor dicti illius: ‘Pondus ultra te ne leves.’ Sed et illud: ‘Noli quaerere fieri iudex, ne non valeas auferre iniquitates.’”

Hom. VI. in Ezech. 3.

“Saepe miratus sum id quod dictum est a Daniel ad presbyterum peccatorem, cui pro peccato nomen imponens: ‘Semen,’ inquit ‘Chanaan et non Juda.’”

Hom. IX. in Ezech. 2.

“Quid enim ait Scriptura? ‘Quid superbit terra et cinis?’ et: ‘In vita ejus projecit interanea ejus.’”

Ibid.

“—dicente Scriptura: ‘Quanto magnus fuerit, tanto humilia te ipsum.’”

Hom. X. in Ezech. 2.

“Justum est quippe iudicium Dei, et ‘potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur.’”

Orig. Comment. in Math. Tom. XII. 22.

“Post concupiscentias tuas non eas.”

Ibid. Tom. XIII. 4.

“Nobis . . . proderit is qui in Sapientia de justis quidem aequabilitate et constantia ait: ‘Narratio pii semper est sapientia . . . stultus autem sicut luna mutatur.’”

Esther XIV. 2.

"Cumque deposuisset vestes regias, fletibus et luctui apta indumenta suscepit—."

Sap. VII. 26.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXVII. 28.

"Qui in altum mittit lapidem, super caput ejus cadet: et plaga dolosa dolosi dividet vulnera."

Sap. II. 21—22.

"Haec cogitaverunt, et erraverunt: excaecavit enim illos malitia eorum. Et nescierunt sacramenta Dei—."

Sap. VIII. 1.

"Attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter."

Eccli. IV. 33.

"Pro justitia agonizare pro anima tua, et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos."

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius."

Eccli. III. 20.

"Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam—."

Eccli. XXI. 2.

"Quasi a facie colubri fuge peccata: et si accesseris ad illa, suscipient te."

Ibid. 20.

"Simile in libro Esther dictum esse de illo, inquires, cum scriptum est: 'Cum deposuisset omnem ornatum suum.'"

Ibid. Tom. XV. 10.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. Tom. XVI. 3.

"Nam 'qui in altum mittit lapidem, in caput suum mittit.'"

Ibid.

"— quoniam 'excaecavit illos malitia eorum, et nescierunt sacramenta Dei.'"

Ibid.

"— cum, 'attingit a fine terrae usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit' ecclesias 'suaviter.'"

Ibid. Tom. XVII. 25.

"— illudque dogma observantes: 'Usque ad mortem certa pro veritate, et Deus pugnabit pro te.'"

Ibid. 32.

"Mulier quidem dicta est Sapientia propter illud: 'Quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere.'"

Orig. in Math. Comment. Series, 12.

"— cum deberent recordari Sapientiae verbum dicentis: 'Quantum magnus es, tantum humilia te, et coram Deo invenies gratiam.' " (Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 42.

"— et quod ait Sapientia: 'Quasi a facie serpentis, fuge peccatum.'"

Eccli. IX. 4.

"Cum saltatrice ne assiduus sis: nec audias illam, ne forte pereas in efficacia illius."

Eccli. XXI. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Dan. XIII. 55.

"Dixit autem Daniel: Recte mentitus es in caput tuum: Ecce enim Angelus Dei, accepta sententia ab eo, scindet te medium."

Sap. IX. 6.

"Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia tua, in nihilum computabitur."

Sap. VII. 17—20.

(Already quoted.)

II. Maccab. VII. 28.

"Peto, nate, ut aspicias ad coelum et terram, et ad omnia quae in eis sunt: et intelligas, quia ex nihilo fecit illa Deus, et hominum genus."

Esther XIV. 11.

(Already quoted.)

Judith, IX. 2.

"Domine Deus patris mei Simeon, qui dedisti illi gladium in defensionem alienigenarum—"

Baruch III. 38.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 44.

"Cum saltatrice noli assiduus esse, ne forte consumaris in desideriis ejus."

Ibid.

"Ideo bene dixit Scriptura: 'Quasi a facie serpentis, fuge peccatum.'"

Ibid. 61.

"— quoniam Angelus Deus; habens gladium, scindet te medium."

Ibid. 69.

"— quod ait Salomon: 'Et si fuerit quis perfectus inter filios hominum, si abfuerit ab illo Sapientia tua in nihilum reputabitur.'"

Orig. Hom. XXI. in Lucam.

(Already quoted.)

Orig. Comment. in Joannem, Tom. I. 18.

"Secus vero apud nos est, qui credimus ex non entibus Deum entia fecisse, ut mater illa septem Martyrum in Machabæorum gestis, et pœnitentiae angelus in 'Pastore' docuit."

Ibid. Tom. II. 7.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 16.

"Verum Eliae profecto etiam est Deus, et, ut inquit Judith, patris sui Symeon."

Ibid. Tom. VI. 15.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XVIII. 6.

“Cum consummaverit homo, tunc incipiet : et cum quieverit, aporiabitur.”

Sap. XVII. 1.

“Magna sunt enim judicia tua, Domine, et inenarrabilia verba tua : propter hoc indisciplinatae animae erraverunt.”

Sap. VII. 26.

(Oft quoted.)

I. Maccab. I. 22—23.

“—et ascendit Jerosolymam in multitudine gravi. Et intravit in sanctificationem cum superbia, et accepit altare aureum, et candelabrum luminis, et universa vasa ejus, et mensam propositionis, et libatoria, et phialas, et mortariola aurea, et velum, et coronas, et ornamentum aureum, quod in facie templi erat : et comminuit omnia.”

Eccli. III. 22.

“Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris—.”

Sap. 25—26.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XXI. 18.

“Verbum sapiens quodcumque audierit sciens laudabit, et ad se adjiciet—.”

II. Maccab. XV. 14.

“Respondentem vero Oniam dixisse : Hic est fratrum amator, et populi Israel : hic est, qui multum orat pro populo, et universa sancta civitate, Jeremias, propheta Dei.”

Ibid. 19.

“‘Quoniam cum absolverit homo, tunc incipit ; et quum quieverit, tunc incertus erit,’ juxta Jesu filii Sirach Sapientiam.”

Ibid. 36.

“‘Magna enim judicia Dei,’ eaque aegre nec facile narrantur, atque ‘ob hanc causam rudes animae erraverunt.’”

Ibid. 37.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Tom. X. 22.

“Apparet etiam apud Machabaica, multam inconstantiam et confusionem fuisse, circa templum et circa populum—.”

Ibid. Tom. XIII. 5.

“Te difficiliora ne quaeras, et te fortiora ne vestiga.”

Ibid. 27.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 46.

“—quoniam autem ‘si sermonem sapientem audierit sapiens, laudabit eum, et ad ipsum addet—.’”

Ibid. 57.

“—quemadmodum in Machabaeorum gestis scriptum est, post plurimos annos ab obitu Jeremiae : ‘Hic est Jeremias, Dei Propheta, qui multum orat pro populo.’”

Dan. XIII. 42.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant—."

Sap. VII. 9.

"— nec comparavi illi lapidem pretiosum; quoniam omne aurum in comparatione illius, arena est exigua, et tamquam lutum aestimabitur argentum in conspectu illius."

Sap. X. 3—4.

"Ab hac ut recessit injustus in ira sua, per iram homicidii fraterni deperiit. Propter quem, cum aqua deleret terram, sanavit iterum sapientia, per contemptibile lignum justum gubernans."

Sap. X. 7.

"— quibus in testimonium nequitiae fumigabunda constat deserta terra, et incerto tempore fructus habentes arbores, et incredibilis animae memoria stans figmentum salis."

Dan. XIII. 56.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. XII. 11.

"Semen enim erat maledictum ab initio: nec timens aliquem, veniam dabis peccatis illorum."

Sap. II. 24.

"Invidia autem diaboli, mors introivit in orbem terrarum."

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius."

Ibid. 58.

"Quomodo etiam servat illud: 'Qui videt omnia ante ortum ipsorum.'"

Ibid. Tom. XIX. 2.

"Sapientia siquidem erat quavis ejus sermo, de qua dicitur: 'Omne aurum coram sapientia est pauca arena; et ceu coenum reputabitur argentum coram ea.'"

Ibid. Tom. XX. 4.

"Sapientiae liber, Salomoni inscriptus, his verbis docet: 'Recedens autem ab ipsa, injustus in ira sua periit cum animis fratricidis, per quem inundatam terram rursus servavit Sapientia, vili ligno justum gubernans.'... —quorum etiamnum malitiae testimonio fumosum restat solum, et plantae intempestivum fructum ferentes.'"

Ibid. 5.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid.

"—dicente Sapientia: 'Semen execratione devotum ab initio.'"

Ibid. 21.

"Sic 'Invidia mors introivit in mundum.'"

Ibid. 33.

"—qui dicit: 'Amator factus sum pulchritudinis illius.'"

Eccli. V. 8.

“Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem.”

Dan. XIII. 9 et 35.

“—et everterunt sensum suum, et declinaverunt oculos suos ut non viderent caelum, neque recordarentur iudiciorum justorum.

Quae flens suspexit ad caelum: erat enim cor ejus fiduciam habens in Domino.”

Sap. I. 5.

“Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, quae sunt sine intellectu, et corripietur a superveniente iniquitate.”

Sap. II. 24.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XXXI. 17.

“Ne comprimaris in convivio.”

Dan. XIII. 42.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. VII. 25—26.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XV. 17—18.

“Apposuit tibi aquam et ignem: ad quod volueris, porrige manum tuam. Ante hominem vita et mors, bonum et malum: quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi—.”

Sap. XI. 21.

“—sed omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere, disposuisti.”

Ibid. Tom. XXVIII. 3.

“Quocirca memores simus necesse est illius dicti: ‘Ne percuncteris reverti ad Dominum neque differas de die in diem.’”

Ibid.

“‘Et averterunt mentem suam, et declinarunt oculos suos, ne in coelum suspicerent, neque memores essent iudiciorum justorum.’ Adducemus etiam in medium quae de Susanna scribuntur hoc modo dicta: ‘At illa flens suspexit in coelum, quoniam cor ejus fidebat Domino.’”

Ibid. 13.

“Spiritus sanctus disciplinae effugiet dolosum, et recedet a pravis consiliis.”

Ibid. Tom. XXXII. 3.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 14.

“Scriptum est enim et hoc quoque: ‘Ne comprimaris cum eo in catino.’”

Orig. Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. I. 3.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 5.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 18.

“—sicut scriptum est: ‘Ecce posui ante faciem tuam vitam et mortem, ignem et aquam.’”

Ibid. Lib. II. 3.

“Sed sicut omnia in mensura facit Deus, et pondere et numero—.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est: opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.”

Baruch IV. 4.

“Beati sumus, Israel: quia quae Deo placent, manifesta sunt nobis.”

Eccli. XXVIII. 28.

“Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia, et seras.”

Eccli. XI. 30.

“Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir.”

Sap. IX. 15.

“Corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.”

Sap. I. 1.

“Diligite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram.”

Tob. IV. 16.

“Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, vide ne tu aliquando alteri facias.”

Eccli. XV. 9.

“Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris—.”

Ibid. 4.

“‘Mysterium’ vero ‘regis abscondere bonum est.’”

Ibid. 7.

“—et ipsi dicunt: ‘Beati sumus, Israel, quia quae placent Deo nobis nota sunt.’”

Ibid. 13.

“—et dicit *circumcidi aures*, cum secundum Salomonis monita non recipiunt vanam auditionem, et cum oppilantur, ne audiant iudicium sanguinis, et cum *sepiuntur spinis ne recipiant obtreptionem*.”

Ibid. Lib. III. 2.

“—sicut et *Scriptura dicit*: ‘Ne beatificaveris hominem ante mortem, quia nescis quae erunt ejus novissima.’”

Ibid.

“—nunc vero, *ut ait Scriptura*, ‘Corruptibile corpus aggravat animam, et demergit terrena habitatio sensum multa cogitantem.’”

Ibid. 7.

“—et ideo (Sapientia) ait: ‘Discite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram.’”

Ibid.

“Illa enim lex potest sentire quod inter homines justum sit, ut quod in se quis pati non vult, hoc ne proximo faciat.”

Ibid.

“Et iterum *alia Scriptura dicit*: ‘Non est speciosa laus Dei in ore peccatoris.’”

Sap. VII. 26.

(Oft quoted.)

II. Maccab. VII. 1, et seqq.

“Contigit autem et septem fratres una cum matre sua apprehensos compelli a rege edere contra fas carnes porcinas, flugris, et taureis cruciatis.”

Baruch III. 36—38.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. X. 1.

“Haec illum, qui primus formatus est a Deo pater orbis terrarum, cum solus esset creatus, custodivit.”

Sap. IX. 6.

“Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia tua, in nihilum computabitur.”

Sap. IX. 15.

(Oft quoted.)

Dan. III. 86. Deut. Frag.

“Benedicite, spiritus et animae justorum, Domino : laudate et superexaltate eum in saecula.”

Eccli. I. 16.

“Initium sapientiae, timor Domini—.”

Sap. IX. 15.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. VII. 40.

“In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis.”

Ibid. Lib. IV. 8.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 10.

“Legant Machabaeorum libros, ubi cum omni instantia mater cum septem filiis martyrium suscipit, quique non solum martyrium patienter excipiunt, verum et contumelias ingerunt in tyrannum —.”

Ibid.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Lib. V. 2.

“—sicut de Sapientia dicitur : ‘Haec,’ inquit, ‘illum qui primus factus est patrem mundi, cum solus esset creatus, custodivit, et liberavit eum de peccato suo.’”

Ibid. 3.

“— quia et si perfectus sit quis in filiis hominum, si non adsit ei justitia a Deo, in nihilum reputabitur.”

Ibid. Lib. VI. 3.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Lib. VII. 1.

“Et Daniel nihilominus testatur et dicit : ‘Benedicite, spiritus et animae justorum, Dominum.’”

Ibid.

“— quia ‘initium sapientiae timor Domini.’”

Ibid. 4.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 10.

“Mementote novissimorum tuorum, et in aeternum non peccabis.”

Sap. VII. 25. (Oft quoted.)	Ibid. 13. (Oft quoted.)
Sap. I. 7. (Oft quoted.)	Ibid. (Oft quoted.)
Eccli. XXVII. 6. "Vasa figuli probat fornax; et homines justos, tentatio tribulationis."	Ibid. 17. "Et Sapiencia dicit: 'vasa figuli probat fornax; et homines justos, tentatio.'"
Sap. VII. 26. (Oft quoted.)	Ibid. Lib. VIII. 4. (Oft quoted.)
Sap. I. 2. "—quoniam invenitur ab his, qui non tentant illum: apparet autem eis, qui fidem habent in illum—."	Ibid. 5. "Sed audi quid etiam in Sapiencia Salomonis dicatur, quia: 'non inveniatur ab his qui tentant eam: apparebit vero his qui non sunt increduli ad eum.'"
Tob. XII. 7. (Oft quoted.)	Ibid. 11. "'Mysterium enim regis,' ait Scriptura, 'celare bonum est'"
Sap. IX. 6. (Oft quoted.)	Ibid. Lib. IX. 3. (Oft quoted.)
Eccli. VIII. 6. "Ne despicias hominem avertentem se a peccato, neque impropere ei; memento quoniam omnes in correptione sumus."	Ibid. Lib. X. 31. "—didicerat enim <i>a Scriptura non impropere homini convertenti se a peccato.</i> "

From these numerous quotations, taken from the fragments which remain of Origen's vast writings, we may infer what was his use of the deuterocanonical books. His authority is especially valuable, because he was conversant with Hebrew, and had examined the canon of the Jews upon their own grounds. He defends the deuterocanonical books against the attack of Africanus and the Jews; he establishes the authority of the Church as criterion of the Canon; in his use of Scripture he makes no discrimination between the books of the first and second canons, and unreservedly asserts that the deuterocanonical works are *divine Scripture*. Hence we claim the authority of Origen in support of the Catholic Canon of Scripture.

In the acts of the disputation of St. Archelaus with Manes, we find a quotation from Wisdom.*

This quotation is of much worth, since it manifests that in that early day the canon of the Syrian Church comprised the deuterocanonical works. The quotation is found in the twenty-ninth chapter of the disputation :

Sap. I. 13.

“— quoniam Deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum.”

“Archelaus dixit: Nequaquam: absit! ‘Deus enim mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum.’”

We shall here subjoin some quotations found in the extant works of St. Methodius, surnamed Eubulius, Bishop of Tyr, the bitter adversary of Origen.†

These two writers, though antagonistic in doctrine, both aid in building up our thesis, since both recognize the accepted divine Scripture of the third century. In the first discourse, that of Marcella, in the symposium, we find the following :

Eccli. XVIII. 30, et XIX. 2.

“Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere. Vinum et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes, et arguent sensatos —.”

“Post concupiscentias tuas ne eas, et ab appetitibus tuis prohibe te. Vinum enim et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes.”

Sap. IV. 3.

“Multigena autem impiorum multitudo non erit utilis, et spuria vitulamina non dabunt radices altas—.”

Ibid.

“— de quo et alibi: ‘Multigena impiorum multitudo non erit utilis, et spuria vitulamina non dabunt radices altas.’”

Eccli. XXIII. 1, et 5—6.

“Domine, pater et dominator vitæ meæ, ne derelinquas me in consilio eorum nec sinas me ca-

Ibid.

“‘Domine,’ dicens ‘Pater et Deus vitæ meæ, ne derelinquas me in cogitatu illorum. Extol-

*St. Archelaus was a bishop of Mesopotamia, renowned for piety and wisdom. The date of the disputation with Manes is the year 277 A. D. It is uncertain who has committed the disputation to writing.

†The Roman martyrology honors St. Methodius on the 18th of September. He was of Olymplus, in Lycia, and afterwards bishop of Tyr. He suffered martyrdom in Chalcis, in Greece; according to some, under Diocletian; according to others, under Decius and Valerius. De Feller inclines to the first opinion, and places the date of such event about the year 311. His doctrine, though at times inaccurate, has been much praised by Jerome, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa and others. His most celebrated work is the “Symposium of Virgins,” in which he extols the virtue of chastity.

dere in illis. Extollentiam oculorum meorum ne dederis mihi, et omne desiderium averte a me. Aufer a me ventris concupiscentias, et concubitus concupiscentiae, ne apprehendant me—.”

Sap. IV. 1—2.

“O, quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate ! immortalis est enim memoria illius, quoniam et apud Deum nota est, et apud homines. Cum praesens est, imitantur illam, et desiderant eam, cum se eduxerit, et in perpetuum coronata triumphat incoinquinatorum certaminum praemium vincens.”

Sap. III. 16.

“Filii autem adulterorum in inconsummatione erunt, et ab iniquo thoro semen exterminabitur.”

Sap. IV. 6.

“Ex iniquis enim somnis filii, qui nascuntur, testes sunt nequitiae adversus parentes in interrogatione sua.”

Sap. XV. 10—11.

“Cinis est enim cor ejus, et terra supervacua spes illius, et luto vilior vita ejus, quoniam ignoravit, qui se finxit, et qui inspiravit illi animam quae operatur, et qui insufflavit ei spiritum vitalem.”

lentiam oculorum amove a me. Cordis concupiscentia et concubitus ne apprehendant me.’ ”

Ibid.

“In libro vero Sapientiae palam jam, et sine ambagibus auditores ad continentiam, et castitatem attrahens *Spiritus sanctus talia modulatur* clamans : ‘Immortalis enim est in memoria illius : quoniam et apud Deum nota est et apud homines. Cum praesens est honorant illam et desiderant eam, cum se abduxerit, et in perpetuum coronata triumphat incoinquinatorum certaminum agone superato.’ ”

In the second discourse, that of Theophila :

“Et ne confugas velut in arcem securam, prolato testimonio Scripturae dicentis : ‘Filii adulterorum in inconsummatione erunt.’ ”

Ibid.

“‘Ex iniquis enim,’ inquit, ‘somnis, filii qui nascuntur, testes sunt nequitiae adversus parentes in interrogatione persuasibilium sermonum.’ ”

Ibid.

“— in libro Sapientiae ait : ‘Cinis est cor eorum, et terra supervacua spes illorum, et luto vilior vita eorum, quoniam ignorarunt qui se finxit, et qui inspiravit illis animam quae operatur, et qui insufflavit eis spiritum vitalem.’ ”

Baruch III. 14.

"Disce, ubi sit prudentia, ubi sit virtus, ubi sit intellectus, ut scias simul, ubi sit longiturnitas vitae et victus, ubi sit lumen oculorum et pax."

Sap. VII. 9.

"— nec comparavi illi lapidem pretiosum, quoniam omne aurum in comparatione illius arena est exigua, et tamquam lutum aestimabitur argentum in conspectu illius."

Judith XIII. Passim.

Dan. XIII. 19—20.

"Cum autem egressae essent puellae, surrexerunt duo senes, et accurrerunt ad eam, et dixerunt: Ecce ostia pomarii clausa sunt, et nemo nos videt, et nos in-concupiscentia tui sumus; quam ob rem assentire nobis, et commiscere nobiscum."

Sap. I. 14.

"Creavit enim, ut essent omnia, et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum: et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii, nec inferorum regnum in terra."

In the eighth discourse, that of Thecla:

"Discite ubi sit prudentia, ubi sit virtus, ubi sit intellectus; ut scias simul ubi sit longiturnitas vitae et victus, ubi sit lumen oculorum et pax. Quis invenit locum ejus? et quis intravit in thesauros eorum?"

In the eleventh discourse, that of Arete:

"Neque si quis pecuniarum cupiditate capitur, virginitatem vere studet colere: spernit enim illam, verius lucrum exiguum ipsi praeferens; cui tamen nulla est comparabilis rerum in vita pretiosarum."

Ibid.

"Peregrinum ductorem numerosissimorum exercituum fortiter aggrediens, ardua feliciter exequens destinata, Judith dolose decollavit pulchritudinis suae delinitum specie priusquam ullam membris corporis obtulisset maculam —."

Ibid.

"Videntes speciem decoram nudi Susannae corporis, duo iudices amore furentes dixerunt: 'O mulier, hic adsumus te clam potiri cupientes.'"

St. Method. De Resurrectione (Fragmentary).

"—sapientia adstruit his verbis: 'Creavit enim Deus ut essent omnia, et salutare sunt mundi generationes, et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii.'"

Sap. II. 23.

“Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit illum.”

Sap. VII. 21.

“—et quaecumque sunt absconsa et improvisa, didici : omnium enim artifex docuit me sapientia.”

Eccli. XV. 18.

“Ante hominem vita et mors, bonum et malum ; quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi —.”

Eccli. I. 2.

“Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies saeculi quis dinumeravit ?”

Sap. XV. 3.

“Nosse enim te, consummata iustitia est ; et scire iustitiam et virtutem tuam, radix est immortalitatis.”

Baruch III. 24.

“O Israel, quam magna est domus Dei, et ingens locus possessionis ejus !”

Eccli. XVI. 7.

“In synagoga peccantium exardebit ignis, et in gente incredibili exardescet ira.”

Dan. XIII. 56.

“Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei : Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decipit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum —.”

Ibid.

“Atqui homo est immortalis : ‘Creavit enim,’ inquit Sapientia, ‘hominem inexterminabilem, et imaginem aeternitatis suae fecit illum.’”

Ibid. in fine.

“Quamobrem etiam Salomon ‘artificem omnium’ appellavit—.”

Ibid. ex fragmentis.

“Posui enim,” inquit, ‘ante faciem tuam vitam et mortem.’”

St. Method. De Creatis. (fragmentary).

“— quomodo Sapientia in Jesu Sirach dicit : ‘Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies saeculi quis dinumerabit ?’”

S. Method. De Simeone et Anna.

“Porro : ‘Nosse te consummata iustitia est, et scire potentiam tuam radix immortalitatis.’”

Ibid.

“— ut quodam loco inclytus Propheta ait : ‘Quam magna domus Dei, et ingens locus possessionis ejus ! Magnus, et non habet finem.’”

Ibid.

“Item alio loco : ‘In gente incredibili exardescit ignis.’”

S. Methodius, in Ramos Palmarum.

“O Chanaan impudentis semen, non pii ac timentis Deum, Juda !”

Sap. XII. 1.

"O quam bonus et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus!"

Method. quoted by Olympiadorus in Catena Nicetae.

"Methodius autem, Spiritum divinum qui a Deo omnibus concessus est, et de quo Salomon dixit: 'Incorruptus tuus Spiritus in omnibus', pro conscientia accipit, quae et animam peccatricem condemnet."

There are several quotations from deuterocanonical Scripture in the works of St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, which we omit here, since they are found in works which Migne judged dubious.

There are a few certain citations from the deuterocanonical books in the fragments which have been collected of the works of Dionysius the Great.*

Eccli. XVI. 26—27.

"In iudicio Dei opera ejus ab initio, et ab institutione ipsorum distinxit partes illorum, et initia eorum in gentibus suis. Ornabit in æternum opera illorum, nec esurierunt, nec laboraverunt, et non destiterunt ab operibus suis."

Dionysius, De Natura III. B.

"Audite vero divinorum oraculorum vocem: 'In iudicio Domini opera ejus. Ab initio et a creatione ipsorum distinxit partes illorum. Ornabit in æternum opera sua, et principia eorum in generationes eorum.'"

*The precise date of the birth of Dionysius the Great is uncertain. He was in Egypt when Cyprian was in North Africa, and he came under the influence of Origen. He succeeded Heraclas in the Episcopal See of Alexandria in 247 A. D., which see he held for 17 years, till his death in 265. He was forced to flee in the Decian persecution, and, at one time, his life was only saved by a miracle. Under Valerian, he made a public profession of faith, and was exiled to Cephro in Libya. Having strenuously opposed the Sabellian Heresy, he was denounced to Dionysius, the Roman Pontiff, that his tenets were not sound concerning the consubstantiality of the Son and the Father. As Sabellius had denied that there were any distinction between the Father and the Son, Dionysius, in opposition, may have exceeded bounds somewhat in extending the distinction between these two persons, but his error was not formal. Dionysius cleared himself of imputation of heresy, publishing four books in his own defense. There came a lull in the persecution under Gallieno, and in 261 Dionysius returned to his see. He was called to Antioch to give judgment in the trial of the heretic Paul of Samosata, but feebleness prevented a personal appearance there. He signified his opinions in writings, fragments of which remain. Dionysius wrote many things, but only small fragments of these remain. The most important of his works are his Apology and his Letters.

The few quotations which we shall adduce will place Dionysius in the rank of those who considered the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.



Eccli. XVI. 30—31.

“Post haec Deus in terram respexit, et implevit illam bonis suis. Anima omnis vitalis denuntiavit ante faciem ipsius, et in ipsam iterum reversio illorum.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est : opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri, honorificum est.”

Ibid. V. A.

“—et illud: ‘post haec enim Dominus in terram respexit, et implevit illam bonis suis. Anima omnis animantis operuit faciem ejus.’”

Idem. Epist. X. (Adversus Germanum) IV.

“Sed quoniam arcanum quidem regis occultare, *ut ait Scriptura*, laudandum est ; Dei autem opera praedicare, gloriosum ; adversus Germani impetum cominus decertabo.”

The Constitutiones Apostolicae also manifest that the Church, in the third century, recognized the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.*

Eccli. XXVIII. 16.

“Lingua tertia multos commovit, et dispersit illos de gente in gentem—.”

Dan. XIII.

Dan. XIII. 48—49.

“Qui cum staret in medio eorum ait : Sic fatui filii Israel, non judicantes, neque quod ve-

Const. Apost. Lib. II. 21.

“Multi quippe sunt malevolis dicaces, *tertiam linguam habentes*.”

Ibid. XXXVII.

“— ut olim Babylone duosenes adversum Susannam—.” (The same allusion is repeated in the XLIX. Chapter.)

Ibid. L. 1.

“Quoniam Susannam quidem Dominus per Danielelem eripuit e manibus iniquorum ; reos autem

*The age and author of the Apostolical Constitutions are uncertain. They are inserted by Migne among the Opera dubia of St. Clement of Rome ; but no one now attributes to him their authorship. De Magistris contends that their author was St. Hippolyte, although he admits later interpolations. It is quite generally admitted now that the work is a product of the third century which has suffered later interpolations. The work consisted of eight books, *ὀκτάβιβλον*, containing practical precepts of Christian life, and principles of church polity. Though of uncertain authorship, and often erroneous in its present state in dogma, it is valuable to illustrate the traditions of the Church in that early age. Opinions differ as to the date of its origin, but all agree that it goes back to the third century. The name does not indicate that its author wished to deceive by making it appear that his book was written by the Apostles. The Constitutions were called Apostolic, because they were founded on the applied teachings of the Apostles.

rum est cognoscentes, condemnastis filiam Israel? Revertimini ad iudicium, quia falsum testimonium locuti sunt adversus eam."

Judith XII. 8.

"Et ut ascendebat, orabat Dominum Deum Israel, ut dirigeret viam ejus ad liberationem populi sui."

Eccli. XXVI. 28.

"Duae species difficiles et periculosae mihi apparuerunt: difficile exiit negotians a negligentia: et non justificabitur caupo a peccatis labiorum."

Eccli. XXX. 12.

"Curva cervicem ejus in juventute, et tunde latera ejus, dum infans est, ne forte induret, et non credat tibi: et erit tibi dolor animae."

Esther IV. 16.

"Vade et congrega omnes Judaeos, quos in Susan repereris, et orate pro me. Non comedatis, et non bibatis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, et ego cum ancillis meis similiter jejunabo: et tunc ingrediar ad regem contra legem faciens, non vocata, tradensque me morti et periculo."

Judith, VIII. 6.

"— et habens super lumbos suos cilicium, jejunabat omnibus diebus vitae suae, praeter sabbata, et neomenias, et festa domus Israel."

sanguinis feminae senes ad ignem damnavit: vobis vero per Daniele exprobravit dicens: 'Sic fatui filii Israel, non dijudicantes, neque quod manifestum est cognoscentes, condemnastis filiam Israel? Revertimini ergo ad iudicium, quia falsum testimonium isti locuti sunt adversus eam.'"

Lib. III. 6.

"Quemadmodum ergo sapientissima Juditha, pudicitiae testimonio celebris, nocte ac die Deum pro Israel deprecabatur."

Lib. IV. 6.

"— quia non justificabitur caupo de peccato—."

Lib. IV. 11.

"Et adhuc: Tunde latera ejus, dum infans est, ne forte induratus non credat tibi."

Lib. V. 20.

"Item Esthera et Mardocheus, et Juditha insultationem impiorum Holophernis et Amanis jejunando declinarunt."

Eccli. XXIV. 35.

“— qui implet quasi Phison sapientiam, et sicut Tigris in diebus novorum—.”

Eccli. XXV. 36.

“A carnibus tuis abscinde illam, ne semper te abutatur.”

Eccli. V. 8.

“Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem —.”

Baruch IV. 4.

“Beati sumus, Israel: quia quae Deo placent, manifesta sunt nobis.”

Sap. III. 1.

“Justorum animae in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis.”

Sap. II. 23—24.

“Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inextiminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit illum. Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum: —.”

Tob. IV. 16.

“Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, vide, ne tu aliquando alteri facias.”

Esther XIV. 12.

“Memento, Domine, et ostende te nobis in tempore tribulationis nostrae, et da mihi fiduciam, Domine, rex deorum et universae potestatis —.”

Lib. VI. 5.

“— detractoque eis Spiritu sancto ac imbre prophetico, implevit ecclesiam suam gratia spiritali, velut fluvium Aegypti in *diebus novorum.*”

Ibid. 14.

“Abscinde enim eam,” inquit, “a carnibus tuis.”

Ibid. 15.

“Ne differas enim converti ad Dominum.”

Ibid. 23.

“Beati sumus, Israel, quia quae placita sunt Deo manifesta sunt nobis.”

Ibid. 30.

“Justorum animae in manu Dei.”

Lib. VII. 1.

“— naturale quidem est vitae iter, adscitum autem iter mortis; non illius quae ex voluntate Dei exstitit, verum illius quae ex insidiis diaboli.”

Ibid. 2.

“Omne quod non vis tibi fieri, et tu hoc alteri ne facias.”

Ibid. 33.

“Aeternae Salvator noster, *rex deorum.*”

I. Mac. II.

Ibid. 37.

"Tu, Domine Deus, nunc quoque suscipe preces labiis prolatis populi tui congregati ex gentibus sicut suscepisti munera justorum in eorum saeculis Mathathiae et filiorum ejus in zelo tuo —."

Judith VIII.

Lib. VIII. 2.

"Sed et mulieres prophetaverunt Holda et Juditha."

Dan. XIII. 42.

Ibid. 5.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeternae, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia, antequam fiant—."

"Qui es here, Dominus Deus omnipotens, . . . qui omnia nosti antequam fiant —."

Judith VIII.

Ibid. 25.

"Vidua non ordinatur; sed si multo ante amisit virum, et caste et inculpabiliter vixit, ac domesticorum optime curam gessit ut Juditha —."

Sap. III. 1.

Ibid. 41.

(Already quoted.)

"— quia cunctorum animae apud te vivent, et spiritus justorum in manu tua sunt, quos non tanget cruciatus."

Eccli. XXXI. 35.

Ibid. 44.

"Vinum in jucunditatem creatum est, et non in ebrietatem, ab initio."

"Hoc autem dicimus non ut vinum nequaquam bibant: eo enim modo contumelia afficerent id quod a Deo factum est ad laetitia."

For the tradition of the African Church, we turn to the two great lights of that Church Tertullian and Cyprian.*

*Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was the son of a centurion in the Roman armies stationed in Proconsular Africa. It appears evident that he had first given himself to a forensic career. The faith and constancy of the Martyrs impressed him deeply, and in the fourth year of the reign of Septimius Severus he embraced the faith of Jesus Christ. At Carthage he was ordained priest, and passed thence to Rome, where he published his Apology for the Christians, a masterpiece of erudition and eloquence. Tertullian was

Dan. XIII. 32.

"At iniqui illi jusserunt ut discooperiretur (erat enim cooperta) ut vel sic satiarentur decore ejus."

Tertull. De Corona IV. A

"Si et Suzanna in judicio revelata argumentum velandi prae-stat—."

II. Mac. VII. 28.

"Peto, nate, ut aspicias ad caelum et terram, et ad omnia quae in eis sunt: et intelligas, quia ex nihilo fecit illa Deus, et hominum genus—."

Adversus Hermogenem XXI. A.

"Ita si ex nihilo Deus cuncta fecisse non potuit, *Scriptura* non adjecisset *illum ex nihilo fecisse*—."

Ibid. XLIV.

An evident allusion to the Benedictus of Dan. III. 24—90.

"—cui etiam inanimalia et incorporalia laudes canunt apud Danielelem."

endowed by nature with a capacious mind, endowed with a peculiar ardor and natural severity. For some years he used his splendid powers for the best interests of the Christian Church. He was naturally inclined to that which was rigorous. He seemed to find a lack of severity in the Gospels of the Christian dispensation. This natural impetuosity made him a prey to the fanatic Montanus. A very probable opinion sustains that baffled ambition, and the opposition of the clergy of Rome, conspired to cause his defection. Montanus pretended that God, having failed to save the world by Moses, the Prophets, and even by the Incarnation, had sent the Holy Spirit into him to execute the salvation of the elect. He associated with himself Priscilla and Maximilla, two women of high rank but of immoral lives. They affected great austerity, and rigid fasts. They forbade second marriages, denied the absolving power of the Church for certain sins, and considered flight from persecution as apostasy. They laid claim to prophecy, inveighed against the hierarchy of the Church, proclaimed that they were to raise the Christians from their spiritual infancy in which they had hitherto lived. The apparent severity of their morals drew many to the sect, but being founded on a violent misconception, it failed. Montanus is said by Eusebius to have hanged himself. The last years of Tertullian's life were spent in this wretched heresy, and he wrote many of his works while a Montanist. There is no good evidence that he ever abandoned the error. Tertullian's works may be divided into two classes: those written before his lapse into Montanism, and those written after. The first class includes *Apologia pro Christianis*, *Libri duo ad Nationes*, *De Testimonio Animae*, *ad Martyres*, *De Spectaculis*, *De Idololatria*, *Ad Scapulam*, *De Oratione*, *De Baptismo*, *De Poenitentia*, *De Patientia*, *Ad Uxorem*, libri duo, *De Cultu Feminarum*, lib. II. In the second class are *De Corona Militis*, *De Fuga in Persecutione*, *Adversus Gnosticos*, *Adversus Praxeam*, *Adversus Hermogenem*, *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. V., *Adversus Valentinianos*, *Adversus Judaeos*, *De Anima*, *De Carne Christi*, *De Resurrectione Carnis*, *De Velandis Virginibus*, *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, *De Monogamia*, *De Jejuniiis*, *De Pudicitia*, *De Pallio*.

It is uncertain whether the work *De Præscriptionibus* was written before or after his defection.

Judith passim.

Eccli. XI. 14.

“Bona et mala, vita et mors, paupertas et honestas a Deo sunt.”

Dan. III. 24—90.

Sap. I. 1.

Diligite justitiam, qui judicatis terram. Sentite de Domino in bonitate, et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum.

Eccli. XLIV. 17.

“Noe inventus est perfectus, justus, et in tempore iracundiae factus est reconciliatio.”

I. Mac. passim.

Sap. I. 6.

“Benignus est enim spiritus sapientiae, et non liberabit maledicum a labiis suis: quoniam renum illius testis est Deus, et cordis illius scrutator est verus, et linguae ejus auditor.”

Adversus Marcionem, Lib. I. VII.

“Si communio nominum conditionibus praejudicat, quanti nequam servi regum nominibus insultant, Alexandri, et Darii et *Holophernis*?”

Ibid. XVI.

“Cur in hac sola specie uniformem eum capiunt, visibilibus solummodo *et vitam et mortem et mala et pacem.*”

Adversus Marcionem, Lib. V.

11.

“Quod non alius quam Creator intelligetur qui et universa benedixit, habes Genesim; et ab universis benedicitur, habes Danielelem.”

Adversus Valentinianos II.

“Porro facies Dei spectat in simplicitate quaerentes, ut docet ipsa *Sophia*, non quidem Valentinii sed Salomonis.”

Adversus Judaeos II.

“Nam unde *Noe justus inventus*—?”

Ibid. IV.

“Nam et temporibus Maccabaeorum, Sabbatis pugnando, fortiter fecerunt, et hostes allophylos expugnaverunt, legemque paternam ad pristinum vitae statum, pugnando Sabbatis, revocarunt.”

De Anima XV.

“Si enim scrutatorem et dispectorem cordis Deum legimus—.”

Eccli. XV. 18.

"Ante hominem vita et mors, bonum et malum: quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi—."

Baruch VI. 3—5.

"Nunc autem videbitis in Babylonia deos aureos, et argenteos, et lapideos, et ligneos in humeris portari, ostentantes metum Gentibus. Videte ergo ne et vos similes efficiamini factis alienis, et metuatis, et metus vos capiat in ipsis. Visa itaque turba de retro, et ab ante, adorantes, dicite in cordibus vestris: Te oportet adorari, Domine."

Dan. XIV. 3, 24.

"Rex quoque colebat eum, et ibat per singulos dies adorare eum: porro Daniel adorabat Deum suum. Dixitque ei rex: Quare non adoras Bel? Dixitque Daniel: Dominum Deum meum adoro: quia ipse est Deus vivens: iste autem non est Deus vivens."

Sap. I. 1.

(Already quoted.)

De Monogamia XIV.

"Ecce, inquit, posui ante te bonum et malum: elige quod bonum est."

Adversus Gnosticos VIII.

"Meminerant enim et Jeremiae scribentis ad eos quibus illa captivitas imminerebat: 'Et nunc videbitis deos Babyloni-orum aureos et argenteos et ligneos portari super humeros, ostentantes nationibus timorem. Cavete igitur ne et vos consimiles sitis allophylis, et timore capiamini, dum aspiciatis turbas adorantes retro eos et ante: sed dicite in animo vestro: te, Domine, adorare debemus.'"

De Idololatria XVIII.

"—statimque apparuisset Daniele idolis non deservisse, nec *Bel nec draconem colere, quod multo postea apparuit.*"

De Praescriptionibus VII.

"Nostra institutio de porticu Salomonis est, qui et ipse tradiderat, Dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quaerendum."

*Closely allied with Tertullian, is St. Cyprian. He declares himself that Tertullian had been his master. The style of Tertullian is rough, and tinged with certain African barbarisms. In the words of Balzac: "Tertullian's is an iron style, but it must be allowed that with this metal he has forged excellent weapons." Cyprian tempers the roughness of his master, but still he retains much of the genius of his country. He has been called by Lactantius the first eloquent father of the Latin Church. Cyprian was descended from an illustrious, rich family in Proconsular Africa in the first half of the third century. As a pagan, he first devoted himself to eloquence. He was converted through the labors of the priest Cæcilius in 246, A. D. He sold what he had, and gave to the poor, embraced continency, took the habit of a philosopher, and substituted the reading of the Sacred Scriptures for that of

Eccli. XI. 30.

"Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."

Dan. XIII.

Sap. III. 11.

"Sapientiam enim et disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est: et vacua est spes illorum, et labores sine fructu, et inutilia opera eorum."

Eccli. VII. 29, 31.

"— honora patrem tuum, et gemitus matris tue ne obliviscaris —. In tota anima tua time Dominum, et sacerdotes illius sanctifica."

Eccli. XXVIII. 28.

"Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia et seras."

Cyprian. Epist. V. 2.

"—cum *scriptum sit*: 'Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam.'"

Idem. Epist. XL. 4.

"Nec aetas vos eorum, nec auctoritas fallat, qui ad duorum presbyterorum veterem nequitiam respondentes, sicut illi Susannam pudicam corrumpere et violare conati sunt, sic et hi, etc."

Idem. Epist. LXII. 1.

"— et iterum scriptum sit: 'Disciplinam qui abjicit infelix est.'"

Idem. Epist. LXVI.

"Et iterum (Salomon): 'Honora Deum ex tota anima tua, et honorifica sacerdotes ejus.'"

Idem. LXIX. 7.

"— nec recordaris scriptum esse: 'Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam.'"

the profane authors. His great talents placed him in the Episcopal see of Carthage in 248. His labors in the see of Carthage were immense. He was the father of the poor, the light of the clergy, and the consoler of the people. The Decian Persecution forced him to flee from his see for some years, but he again returned to his post. The character of Cyprian was firm and uncompromising. When he was accused before Pope Cornelius by Privatus, he sent no defense to Rome. To the Pope, who asked an explanation of this, he responded, that it was established among the Bishops that a crime should be examined where it was committed. This natural firmness led Cyprian to oppose Pope Stephen in the celebrated question of the baptism by heretics. The only justification that can be offered for Cyprian is, that the Pope's province in the Church was not so well understood then as now. Hatred of heresy led him into an error that was by no means formal. He suffered martyrdom for the faith in 258. Whatever was blameworthy in his contention with Pope Stephen was washed out in the blood of martyrdom. He was a prolific writer. His chief works are: Eighty-three Epistles, De Habitu Virginis, De Lapsis, De Unitate Ecclesiae, Ad Demetrianum, De Idolorum Vanitate, De Mortalitate, De Opere et Eleemosynis, De Bono Patientiae, De Zelo et Livore, Ad Fortunatum, Ad Quirinum.

Eccli. XXXIV. 30.

"Qui baptizatur a mortuo, et iterum tangit eum; quid proficit lavatio illius?"

Sap. III. 4—8.

"Etsi coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est. In paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur, quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit illos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos, et in tempore erit respectus illorum."

Sap. III. 11.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. V. 8, 9.

"Quid nobis profuit superbia? aut divitiarum jactantia quid contulit nobis? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra, et tamquam nuntius percurrens —."

Dan. XIV. 30 et seqq.

"Qui miserunt eum in lacum leonum; et erat ibi diebus sex."

Tob. XII. 7.

"Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est: opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri, honorificum est."

Sap. V. 1—9.

"Tunc stabunt iusti in magna constantia adversus eos, qui se angustiaverunt, et qui abstulerunt labores eorum, etc."

Idem. Epist. LXXI. 1.

"— non considerantes scriptum esse: 'Qui baptizatur a mortuo, quid proficit lavatio ejus?'"

Idem. Epist. LXXXI. 2.

Et iterum ubi loquitur *Scriptura divina* de tormentis quae Martyres Dei consecrant, et in ipsa possessionis probatione sanctificant: 'Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes eorum immortalitate plena est. Et in paucis vexati in multis bene disponentur —.'

De Habitu Virginum I.

"Et denuo legimus: 'Disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est.'"

Ibidem, X.

"— cum dicat *Scriptura divina*: 'Quid nobis profuit superbia? aut quid divitiarum jactatio contulit nobis? Transierunt omnia illa tamquam umbra.'"

De Oratione Dominica XXI.

"Sic Danieli in leonum lacu jussu regis incluso prandium divinitus procuratur, et inter feras esurientes et parcentes homo Dei pascitur."

Ibid. XXXIII.

"Sic et Raphael angelus Tobiae oranti semper, et semper operanti testis fuit dicens: 'Opera Dei revelare et confiteri, honorificum est —.'"

De Idolorum Vanitate, XXIV.

"Et iterum (dicit Sancta Scriptura): 'Tunc stabunt iusti in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt, etc.'"

Eccli. II. 1, 4, 5.

“Fili, accedens ad servitutem Dei, sta in iustitia et timore, et praepara animam tuam ad tentationem. Omne quod tibi applicitum fuerit, accipe, et in dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe: quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum, homines vero receptibiles, in camino humiliationis.”

Tob. II. 16.

“Ubi est spes tua, pro qua eleemosynas, et sepulturas faciebas?”

Tob. XII. 11—15.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. III. 33.

“Ignem ardentem extinguit aqua, et eleemosyna resistit peccatis—.”

Tob. XII. 8.

“Bona est oratio cum jejunio, et eleemosyna magis quam thesauros auri recondere—.”

Tob. XIV. 10—11.

“Audite ergo, filii mei, patrem vestrum: Servite Domino in veritate, et inquirete ut faciatis quae placita sunt illi: et filiis vestris mandate ut faciant iustitias et eleemosynas, ut sint memores Dei, et benedicant eum in omni tempore in veritate, et in tota virtute sua.”

De Mortalitate, IX.

“Docet et praemonet *Scriptura divina* dicens: ‘Fili, accedens ad servitutem Dei, sta in iustitia et timore, et praepara animam tuam ad tentationem.’

Et iterum: ‘In dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe, quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum, homines vero receptibiles, in camino humiliationis.’”

Ibid. X.

“Et Tobias post opera magnifica quem et ipsum uxor depravare tentavit dicens: ‘Ubi sunt iustitiae tuae? Ecce quae pateris.’”

Ibid.

“Quem postmodum Raphael Angelus collaudat, et dicit: ‘Opera Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est—.’”

De Opere et Eleemosynis II.

“Item denuo dicit: ‘Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, sic eleemosyna extinguit peccatum.’”

Ibid. V.

“Raphael quoque Angelus . . . hortatur dicens: ‘Bona est oratio cum jejunio et eleemosyna, quia eleemosyna a morte liberat et ipsa purgat peccata.’”

Ibid. XX.

“Et nunc, filii, mando tibi: ‘servi Deo in veritate et fac coram illo quod illi placet: et filiis manda ut faciant iustitiam et eleemosynas, et sint memores Dei, et benedicant nomen ejus omni tempore.’”

Tob. IV. 2—16.

“—dixitque ei: Audi, fili mi, verba oris mei, et ea in corde tuo, quasi fundamentum construe. Omnibus autem diebus vitae tuae in mente habeto Deum: et cave ne aliquando peccato consentias, et praetermittas praecepta Domini Dei nostri, etc.”

Eccli. II. 4.

“Omne, quod tibi applicitum fuerit, accipe: et in dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe—.”

Tob. Passim.

Sap. XV. 15—17.

“—quoniam omnia idola nationum deos aestimaverunt, etc.”

Sap. XIII. 1—4.

“Vani autem sunt omnes homines, in quibus non subest scientia Dei: et de his, quae videntur bona, non potuerunt intelligere eum, qui est, neque operibus attendentes agnoverunt quis esset artifex: sed aut ignem, aut spiritum, aut citatum aërem, aut gyrum stellarum, aut nimiam aquam, aut solem et lunam, rectores orbis terrarum

Ibid.

“Et iterum: ‘Omnibus diebus vitae tuae, fili dilectissime, in mente habeto Deum: et cave ne aliquando peccato consentias, et praecepta Domini Dei nostri, cet.’”

De Dono Patientiae XVII.

“—sicut scriptum est: ‘In dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe, quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum.’”

Ibid. XVIII.

“Tobias quoque post justitiae et misericordiae suae opera magnifica, luminum amissione tentatus, in quantum patienter caecitatem pertulit, intantum granditer Deum patientiae laude promeruit.”

De Exhortatione Martyrii I.

“In Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Omnia idola nationum aestimaverunt deos—.’”

Ibid.

“Item apud Salomonem de elementis: ‘Neque opera attendentes agnoverunt, quis esset artifex: sed aut ignem, aut spiritum, aut citatum aërem, aut gyrum stellarum, aut nimiam aquam, aut solem et lunam, rectores orbis terrarum deos putaverunt. Quorum si specie delectati deos putaverunt, sciant, quanto his dominator eorum speciosior est: spe-

deos putaverunt. Quorum si specie delectati, deos putaverunt: sciant quanto his dominator eorum speciosior est; speciei enim generator haec omnia constituit. Aut si virtutem, et opera eorum mirati sunt, intelligant ab illis, quoniam qui haec fecit, fortior est illis—.”

Eccli. II. 5.

“—quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum, homines vero receptibiles, in camino humiliationis.”

Dan. XIV. 4.

“Qui respondens, ait ei : Quia non colo idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum, qui creavit caelum, et terram, et habet potestatem omnis carnis.”

Tob. XIII. 6.

“Aspicite ergo quae fecit nobiscum, et cum timore et tremore confitemini illi : regemque saeculorum exaltate in operibus vestris.”

II. Mac. VII. 9.

“—et in ultimo spiritu constitutus, sic ait : Tu quidem scelestissime, in praesenti vita nos perdis : sed Rex mundi defunctos nos pro suis legibus in aeternae vitae resurrectione suscitabit.”

II. Mac. VII. 1—41.

ciei enim generator haec omnia constituit. Aut, si virtutem et opera eorum mirati sunt, intelligant ab illis, quoniam qui haec fecit, fortior est illis.’ ”

Ad Fortunatum IX.

“Et iterum apud Salomonem: ‘Vasa figuli probat fornax; et homines justos, tentatio tribulationis.’ ”

Ibid. XI.

“Et Daniel, Deo devotus et Sancto Spiritu plenus, exclamat et dicit : ‘Nihil colo ego nisi Dominum Deum meum, qui condidit coelum et terram.’ ”

Ibid.

“Tobias quoque... praedicat dicens: ‘Ego in terra captivitatis meae confiteor illi, et ostendo virtutem ejus in natione peccatrice.’ ”

Ibid.

“At ille (Martyr Maccabaicus) in martyrio suo fidens, et resurrectionis sibi praemium de Dei remuneratione promittens, exclamavit et dixit: ‘Tu quidem impotens, ex hac presenti vita nos perdis, sed mundi rex defunctos nos pro suis legibus in aeternam vitae resurrectionem suscitabit.’ ”

Prosequitur et refert mortem septem Fratrum et matris eorum.

II. Mac. VI. 30.

"Sed, cum plagis perimeretur, ingemuit, et dixit: Domine, qui habes sanctam scientiam, manifeste tu scis, quia, cum a morte possem liberari, duos corporis sustineo dolores: secundum animam vero propter timorem tuum libenter haec patior."

Sap. III. 4—8.

"Etsi corum hominibus, etc."

Sap. V. 1—9.

"Tunc stabunt iusti in magna constantia adversus eos, qui se angustiauerunt, etc."

Tob. XII. 15.

"Ego enim sum Raphael Angelus, unus ex septem, qui adstamus ante Dominum."

Eccli. XXIV. 5—26.

"Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi primogenita ante omnem creaturam: ego feci in coelis, etc."

Sap. II. 12—17.

"Circumveniamus ergo iustum, etc."

Tob. II. 2.

"—dixit filio suo: Vade, et adduc aliquos de tribu nostra, timentes Deum, ut epulentur nobiscum."

Ibid.

"At ille (Eleazar) ingemiscens ait: 'Domine, qui sanctam habes scientiam, manifestum est quia cum possem a morte liberari, durissimos dolores corporis tolero, flagellis vapulans; animo autem propter tui ipsius metum libenter haec patior.'"

Ibid. XII.

"Per Salomonem Spiritus Sanctus ostendit, et praecinit dicens: 'Et si coram hominibus, etc.'"

Ibid.

"Item apud eundem vindicta nostra describitur . . . : 'Tunc stabunt iusti in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiauerunt, etc.'"

Ad Quirinum (Vocantur quoque hi tres libri, Testimonia adversus Judæos) Lib. I. XX.

"—ut angeli septem qui assistunt et conversantur ante faciem Dei, sicut Raphael angelus in Tobia dicit."

Ibid. Lib. II. I.

Item apud eundem Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: 'Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi, primogenita ante omnem creaturam. Ego in coelis feci, etc.'"

Ibid. Lib. II. XIV.

"In Sapientia Salomonis: 'Circumveniamus iustum, etc.'"

Ibid. Lib. III. I.

"De hoc ipso apud Tobiam: 'Et dixit Tobias filio suo: Vade et adduc quemcumque pauperem inveneris ex fratribus nostris, qui tamen in mente habeat Deum ex toto corde suo. Hunc adduc, et

Tob. IV. 5—11.

"Cum autem et ipsa compleverit tempus vitae suae, sepelias eam circa me. Omnibus autem diebus vitae tuae, in mente habeto, etc."

II. Mac. XI. 12.

"— et cum nec ipse jam foetorem suum ferre posset, ita ait : Justum est, subditum esse Deo, et mortalem non paria Deo sentire."

I. Mac. II. 62—63.

"Et a verbis viri peccatoris ne timueritis, quia gloria ejus stercus et vermis est. Hodie extollitur, et cras non invenietur : quia conversus est in terram suam, et cogitatio ejus periit."

Eccli. XXVII. 6.

"Vasa figuli probat fornax; et homines justos, tentatio tribulationis."

Tob. II. 22.

"Ad haec uxor ejus irata respondit : Manifeste vana facta est spes tua, et eleemosynae tuae modo apparuerunt."

Eccli. XXIII. 11.

"Sicut enim servus interrogatus assidue, a livore non minuitur, sic omnis jurans, et nominans, in toto a peccato non purgabitur."

Sap. III. 4.

(Oft quoted.)

manducabit pariter meum prandium hoc : Ecce sustineo te, fili, donec venias.' "

Ibid.

"Item illic : 'Omnibus diebus vitae tuae, fili, Deum in mente habe, etc.' "

Ibid. IV.

"De hoc ipso in Maccabaeis : 'Justum est subditum Deo esse, et mortalem non paria Deo sentire.' "

Ibid.

"Item illic : 'Et verba viri peccatoris ne timueritis, quia gloria ejus, in stercora erit, et in vermes. Hodie extollitur, et cras non invenietur : quoniam conversus est in terram suam, et cogitatio ejus periit.' "

Ibid. VI.

"Apud Salomonem : 'Vasa figuli probat fornax; et homines justos, tentatio tribulationis.' "

Ibid.

"De hoc ipso in Tobia : 'Ubi sunt justitiae tuae? Ecce quae pateris.' "

Ibid. XII.

"Apud Salomonem : 'Vir multum jurans replebitur iniquitate, et non discedet a domo ejus plaga; et si vane juraverit, non justificabitur.' "

Ibid. XV.

"De hoc ipso in Sapientia Salomonis : 'Et si coram hominibus, etc.' " (Oft quoted).

I. Mac. II. 52.

"Abraham, nonne in tentatione inventus est fidelis, et reputatum est ei ad justitiam?"

Sap. V. 1—9.

(Oft quoted.)

II. Mac. VII. 9—19.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. I. 16.

"Initium sapientiae, timor Domini; et cum fidelibus in vulva concreatus est, cum electis feminis graditur, et cum justis et fidelibus agnoscitur."

Dan. XIII. 1—3.

Eccli. X. 29.

"Noli extollere te in faciendo opere tuo, et noli cunctari in tempore angustiae."

Sap. I. 1.

"Diligite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram. Sentite de Domino in bonitate, et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum —."

I. Mac. II. 60.

"Daniel in sua simplicitate liberatus est de ore leonum."

Ibid.

"De hoc ipso in Maccabaeis: 'Abraham, nonne in tentatione inventus est fidelis, et deputatum est ei ad justitiam?'"

Ibid. XVI.

"Item (Salomon) illic: 'Tunc stabunt iusti in magna, etc.'"
(Oft quoted).

Ibid. XVII.

"De hoc ipso in Maccabaeis: 'Domine, qui sanctam habes scientiam, etc.'"
(Oft quoted).

Ibid. XX.

"De hoc ipso in Sapientia Salomonis: 'Initium Sapientiae metuere Deum.'"

Ibid.

"Item in Danieli: 'Fuit vir habitans in Babylonia cui nomen erat Joachim, et accepit uxorem nomine Susannam, filiam Helciae, formosam valde ac timentem Deum, et erant parentes ejus iusti et docuerunt filiam suam secundum legem Moysi.'"

Ibid. XLI.

"Apud Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: 'Noli te extollere in faciendo opere tuo.'"

Ibid. LIII.

"Item apud Salomonem in Sapientia: 'Et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum.'"

Ibid.

"Item in Maccabaeis: 'Daniel in sua simplicitate liberatus est de ore leonum.'"

Sap. IV. 11, 14.

“—raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, aut ne fictio deciperet animam illius. Placita enim erat Deo anima illius, etc.”

Sap. XV. 15—17.

“Omnia idola nationum, etc.”

Sap. XIII. 1—4.

(Already quoted.)

Tob. IV. 12 (juxta Graecum.)

“Uxorem accipe ex semine parentum tuorum, et noli sumere alienam mulierem quae non est ex tribu parentum tuorum.”

Sap. III. 11.

“Disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est.”

Eccli. IX. 22.

“Viri justi sint tibi convivae, et in timore Dei sit tibi gloria.”

Eccli. VI. 16.

“Amicus fidelis, medicamentum vitae et immortalitatis: et qui metuunt Dominum, inveniunt illum.”

Eccli. IX. 18.

“Longe abesto ab homine potestatem habente occidendi, et non suspicaberis timorem.”

Eccli. XXV. 12.

“Beatus, qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti.”

Ibid. LVIII.

“Item in Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus. Placita enim erat Deo anima illius.’”

Ibid. LIX.

“In Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Omnia idola nationum, etc.’” (Oft quoted.)

Ibid.

“De hoc ipso: ‘Neque opera attendentes cognoverunt, etc.’” (Already quoted.)

Ibid. LXII.

“Apud Tobiam: ‘Uxorem accipe ex semine parentum tuorum, et noli sumere alienam mulierem quae non est ex tribu parentum tuorum.’”

Ibid. LXVI.

“Item in Sapientia Salomonis: ‘Disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est.’”

Ibid. XCV.

“Item apud eundem in Ecclesiastico: ‘Viri justi sint tibi convivae.’”

Ibid.

“Et iterum: ‘Amicus fidelis, medicamentum vitae et immortalitatis.’”

Ibid.

“Item illic: ‘Longe abesto ab homine potestatem habente occidendi, et non suspicaberis timorem.’”

Ibid.

“Item illic: ‘Beatus qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti—’”

Eccli. XXVIII. 28.

"Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam—."

Eccli. IV. 34.

"Noli citatus esse in lingua tua: et inutilis, et remissus in operibus tuis."

Eccli. V. 8, 9.

"Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem; subito enim veniet ira illius, et in tempore vindictae disperdet te."

Eccli. VII. 39.

"Non te pigeat visitare infirmum: ex his enim in dilectione firmaberis."

Eccli. XXVIII. 15.

"Susurro et bilinguis maledictus: multos enim turbabit pacem habentes."

Eccli. XXXIV. 23.

"Dona iniquorum non probat Altissimus, etc."

Sap. VI. 6—7.

"Horrende et cito apparebit vobis: quoniam iudicium durissimum his, qui praesunt, fiet. Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur."

Eccli. IV. 10—11.

"Esto pupillis misericors ut pater; et pro viro matri illorum, et eris velut filius Altissimi, si obedieris."

Ibid.

"Item illic: 'Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam.'"

Ibid. XCVI.

"Apud Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: 'Noli citatus esse in lingua tua, et inutilis et remissus in operibus tuis.'"

Ibid. XCVII.

"Apud Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: 'Ne tardes converti ad Deum, et ne differas de die in diem. Subito enim venit ira illius.'"

Ibid. CIX.

"Apud Salomonem in Ecclesiastico: 'Ne pigriteris visitare infirmum. Ex his enim in dilectione firmaberis.'"

Ibid. CX.

"In Ecclesiastico apud Salomonem: 'Susurro et bilinguis maledictus. Multos enim turbabit pacem habentes.'"

Ibid. CXI.

"Apud eundem: 'Dona iniquorum non probat Altissimus.'"

Ibid. CXII.

"Apud Salomonem: 'Iudicium durissimum in his qui praesunt fiet. Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.'"

Ibid. CXIII.

"Apud Salomonem: 'Esto pupillis misericors ut pater; et pro viro matri illorum; et eris velut filius Altissimi si obedieris.'"

Eccli. II. 1.

"Fili, accedens ad servitutem Dei, sta in justitia, et timore, et praepara animam tuam ad tentationem."

Eccli. II. 4.

"Omne, quod tibi applicitum fuerit, accipe: et in dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua patientiam habe—."

Sap. III. 4.

(Oft quoted.)

De Laude Martyrii XIV.

"Fili, inquit (Dominus), accedens ad servitutem Dei, sta in justitia et timore, et praepara animam tuam ad tentationem."

Ibid. XVI.

"Scriptum est et legimus: 'In dolore sustine, et in humilitate tua habe patientiam, quoniam per ignem probatur aurum et argentum.'"

Ibid.

"—sicut per Prophetam suum dixit: 'Et si coram hominibus, etc.'"

These numerous quotations evince that the Church, for the first three centuries, received as Divine Scripture all the books which, later in the Council of Trent, she solemnly canonized. These quotations were a product of the life of the Church. The Fathers incorporated into their works these numerous quotations, not by means of Concordances of Holy Writ, or other easy method of reference; but because their Christian education had been mainly derived from the Holy Books. They spoke from the fund that they had assimilated from the spiritual food of the Church; and, hence, in these quotations, they are exponents not of their own opinions, but of the unanimous belief of a Church daily baptized in the blood of her martyrs.

Against this harmonious array of evidence from tradition, our adversaries bring certain objections, based upon the same source of information. Their Achilles to break the chain of tradition is Meliton, Bishop of Sardis.* The celebrated passage, a fragment from his *Ἐκλογαί*, is as follows: "Meliton sends greeting to his brother Onesimus. As you have frequently desired, in your zeal for the Scriptures, that I should make selections for you both from the Law and the Prophets, respecting our Saviour and our whole faith; and you were moreover desirous of having an exact statement of the Old Testament; how many in number, and in what order the

*St. Meliton was bishop of Sardis in Lydia in the second half of the second century, under Marcus Aurelius. He presented to this prince in 171 an Apology for the Christians, remarkable for candor and truth. Of his numerous writings but small fragment have come down to us.

books were written, I have endeavored to perform this; for I know your zeal in the faith, and your great desire to acquire knowledge, and that especially by the love of God you prefer these matters to all others, thus striving to gain eternal life. When, therefore, I went to the East, and came as far as the place where these things were proclaimed and done, I accurately ascertained the books of the Old Testament, and send them to thee here below. The names are as follows: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy; Jesus Nave, (Joshua), Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomena, Psalms of David, Proverbs of Solomon, which is also called Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Job, the Prophets Isaías, Jeremias, and of the twelve prophets one book, Daniel, Ezechiel, and Esdras. From these I have made six books of Selections."

This list omits Esther and all the deuterocanonical books. The omission of Esther has been variously explained. Some have attributed it to a lapse of memory; others to an error of the copyist. It is far more probable that such omission is due to the uncertainty and discussions that then existed among the Rabbis concerning this book. Meliton depends on the Jews entirely for his canon. He finds it necessary to go to their country to ascertain the true canon of the Old Testament. His exclusion, however, of the deuterocanonical books is not equivalent to their condemnation. In his *Clavis in S. Scripturam*, he employs Wisdom and a deuterocanonical fragment of Esther.

Sap. VIII. 1.

"Attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter, etc." "

Ibid.

"— et in Salomone: 'Sapientia Domini attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter.' "

Esther X. 12.

"— et recordatus est Dominus populi sui, etc."

Ibid.

"— et alibi: 'Recordatus est Dominus populi sui.' "

There seems to have been in vogue at that time a distinction of the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament, founded more on their origin than on any internal difference. The books which the Church had received from the Jews, and which were recognized by all were termed *ὁμολογούμενοι*. The others were those that the Church had received from the Septuagint, and which the Jews rejected; these were the *ᾠφισβιλλόμενοι*. Now there is no voice in tradition, with the sole exception of St. Jerome, that ever rejected these

books. As witnesses of tradition, they make no discrimination between these two classes; but as critics, in which capacity they are of least worth, they sometimes omit these from the official list of the Holy Scriptures. It may be that some one among them doubted of the divinity of the writings. We are not seeking of them what they individually held, but what the Church of their day taught and believed.

In the growth and development of doctrine this has always been verified, that certain truths were less clearly conspicuous in the deposit of faith in the beginning, which afterwards grew to their full life in the body of the Church's doctrines. Meliton may have doubted; he does not deny. Other truths, which have been defined on the warrant of tradition, have encountered stronger opposition. St. Thomas strenuously denied the Immaculate Conception, and yet that truth triumphed, and finally entered among the defined dogmas. In tradition, we must lose sight of the individual, and of his private opinions, and seek only the faith of the Church reflected in his writings. Again, Meliton's position may be explained as only an indication of the greater extrinsic authority of the protocanonical books. The question in his day had not been defined by the Church. The protocanonical books could claim a sort of official promulgation, inasmuch as they were transmitted by the old custodians of Jahve's law. The deuterocanonical books had only the *usage of the Christian people* in their favor. Now, in such case, a man, even though revering the second class as God's word, could rightly restrict the word canonical to the first class. All Catholics receive and honor all of Mary's prerogatives, but no one can place among the dogmas of faith her Assumption, and it is only in our own times that we may incorporate among the dogmas the Immaculate Conception. But even were we to concede the worst, that Meliton rejected the deuterocanonical books, our thesis is not weakened. His would be the critical error of one man, availing naught against the voice of the Church of truth, reverberating through the practical usage of the "*pars docens*" and "*pars discens*" of the Church.

The value of this proof from tradition is not impaired by the Fathers' occasional references to the Apocryphal books.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fœminarum* Lib. I. 3, approves the Book of Henoch. "I know," he says "that the work of Henoch which gives such order to the Angels is by some not received, because it is not admitted in the Jewish deposit. I believe that they judge that the book written before the deluge

could not endure after such universal abolition of all things. If that is their plea, let them remember that the great grandson of Henoch survived the cataclysm of Noah; and he, forsooth, had heard and memorized in the domestic tradition his ancient progenitor's favor with God, and all his noted deeds; since Henoch commanded nought else to his son, except that he hand down these things to posterity. Therefore, without doubt, Noah could succeed in the line of the tradition; and, moreover, he (Noah) would not have kept silent the disposition of God, his preserver, and the glory of his house. Moreover, by the Holy Spirit he (Noah) could have restored the Scripture that perished in the deluge, in the manner that Ezra restored the Jewish literature, that was destroyed in the Babylonian captivity. Wherefore, since Henoch in that same Scripture announces concerning the Lord, in our judgment, nothing is to be rejected. And we read (II. Tim. III. 16): 'All Scripture having power to edify is divinely inspired.' It may rightly be thought that it is rejected by the Jews in the same manner as the other things which treat of Christ. Nor is it surprising that they reject the Scriptures which treat of him whom they rejected when he spoke in person to them. We add that Henoch has a testimony in the Epistle of Jude the Apostle, (Jude I. 14)."

We shall see later on that Tertullian errs in saying that St. Jude quotes from Henoch. The sentence of Jude was taken from a tradition, which afterwards formed the basis of the Apocryphal book of Henoch. The Epistle of Barnabas (IV. 3; XVI. 6.) quotes as divine Scripture the Book of Henoch; Clement of Alexandria quotes the IV. Book of Ezra as "Ezra the prophet." III. Strom. 16.

III. Ezra IV. 41.

"Et desiit loquendo. Et omnes populi clamaverunt, et dixerunt: Magna est veritas, et praevallet."

Ibid. IV. 37, 41, 47.

"Et omnes populi clamaverunt, et dixerunt: Magna est veritas, et praevallet."

St. Athanasius, Apolog. Ad Imp. 11.

"Hanc cum Zerobabel sapiens ille vir ceteris anteferet, alios superavit, universusque populus in hanc vocem prorupit: 'Magna est veritas et praevallet.'"

Idem Sermo Major de Fide, 35.

"Quemadmodum et Ezra prophetico spiritu dicit ex persona Zerobabelis, idque de Filio Dei: 'Vivit veritas, et vincit, et roboratur, manetque in saecula saeculorum.'"

Origen quotes from the same book :

III. Ezra IV.

Orig. Comment. in Josue, VI.
Ex praeftatione.

“ Quia Ezrae tempore cum vinum et inimicum, regem ac denique mulieres vincit veritas, reaedificatur templum Dei.”

III. Ezra IV. 59—60.

Orig. In Lib. Josue, Hom. IX.
10.

“ — et dixit : Abs te est victoria, et abs te est sapientia et claritas. Et ego servus tuus sum. Benedictus es, qui dedisti mihi sapientiam, et tibi confitebor, Domine Deus patrum nostrorum.”

“ — ita ut et nos dicamus, sicut in Ezra scriptum est : ‘ Quia a te, Domine, est victoria, et ego servus tuus : benedictus es, Deus veritatis.’ ”

The chain of tradition is not broken by these few isolated references to some of the Apocrypha. In these few cases, the Fathers are exponents of their individual opinions, and are to be valued only as mere individuals. They do not quote the Apocrypha as *witnesses of the belief of the Church*. The absolute line between the Canonical and Apocryphal books had not been promulgated by any definite authority, and, using their liberty as individuals, some few erroneously extended inspiration to certain books, which never were factors in the life of the Church. This critical error then of the Fathers in these rare cases, prevails not against the solemn universal witness that the writers of these early ages bear to the approbation of the deuterocanonical books, in the practical usage of the Christian people.

Relying upon the certain data that we have adduced, we assert that if tradition be taken as the criterion of inspiration ; and if the traditions are most valued that go back closest to the Apostolic age, then the deuterocanonical books of Holy Writ rest on a solid foundation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CANON OF THE FATHERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, AND FIRST YEARS OF FIFTH CENTURY.

In this period, the unanimity which prevailed for the first three centuries is somewhat broken, especially by Jerome. The doubts which arose in this age concerning the deuterocanonical books prevailed more especially in the East. We find, however, that not one of the Fathers of this epoch,

excepting Jerome, rejected the deuterocanonical books. Their opposition to them never passed beyond a mere doubt concerning them. We find, also, in this period, many in the East and in the West, who defend a Canon identical with the Canon of Trent. Lastly, we find that "the very men who give a list of the Jewish books, evince an inclination to the Christian and enlarged Canon." Thus, we see, that the practical tradition of the Church was so powerful, that it overcame in the life of the Church the doubts of individual men and isolated churches.

As we come down from the first ages of the Church, the patristic data multiply, and, hence, we could not set forth here every particular writer's views and use of Holy Scripture. Neither is such now necessary. No one will deny that in this period, Jerome is the only positive opponent of the deuterocanonical books. All likewise recognize, that the most and the greatest of the Fathers of this epoch received these books as divine Scripture. Many adduce here the authority of the Council of Nice, 325. They believe that in that council there was formulated a catalogue of books, which included the deuterocanonical Scripture. The proofs for the assertion of this are so feeble, that we pretermit it here as worthless to establish our theory.*

*Cornely defends the genuinity of the canon of Scripture of the Council of Nice. Among his proofs are the following :

1. St. Jerome in his preface to Judith declares that the Nicene Synod is said to have included the book of Judith, among the canonical Scriptures. The proving force of this testimony is not very great, for any approbation of the book in the deliberations of the Council, would justify Jerome's statement. We believe that the Nicene fathers recognized the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture, but we hold that it is not sufficiently substantiated by historical data, that they drew up an official list of the Holy Scriptures. Had they done so, it would have had a greater influence on the trend of thought of the Greek fathers. St. Athanasius would not have declared that it was a bold and difficult thing to fix the list of the Holy Books, had there been promulgated a catalogue of the same by a council of which he was an important factor, and whose decisions he venerated.

2. Cornely quotes some obscure words from Cassiodorus, reproduced from *Hefele Conciliengesch.* II. p. 486 ; but they form no forcible proof.

3. Cornely also adduces the 36th canon of the Council of Hippo, A. D. 393: "*Ut præter Scripturas Catholicas, nihil in Ecclesia legatur. Capituli XXIV. Nicaeni Concilii. Item ut præter Scripturas Catholicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem Canonice Scripturæ, etc.*" The books of both canons are there mentioned. This Canon exists but in one sole codex in the Vallicellian library, in Rome. We are not disposed to detract from what force it may have, but we do not feel warranted to refer the Council of Nice among the proofs of the Canon in the fourth century. Hefele accords no certain authority to the aforesaid Canon.

The Council of Hippo A. D. 393; the Council of Carthage A. D. 397; and the second Council of Carthage in 419 A. D. officially promulgated canons of Scripture which included all the deuterocanonical books.

Council of Hippo, Can. 36:

"The Synod defines that besides the canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church under the name of divine Scripture. The Canonical Scriptures are: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings (Regnorum), Paralipomena two books, Job, The Davidic Psalter, the *five books of Solomon*, the twelve (minor) Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezechiel, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Esther, Ezra two books, *Maccabees* two books." The first Council of Carthage, 397 A. D., confirms the same canon.

The second Council of Carthage, 419 A. D., has the following: "It is decreed that nothing but the canonical Scriptures may be read under the name of divine Scripture. The canonical Scriptures are the following: Of the Old Testament, Genesis, . . . Job, the Psalter, *five books of Solomon*, the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, (Ezechiel is wanting), the Twelve (minor) Prophets, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Esther, two books of Ezra, *two books of Maccabees*. . . . This decree shall be made known to our brother and fellow priest Boniface, the Bishop of Rome, or even to the other bishops for its confirmation; for we *have received from the Fathers, that thus (the Scriptures) should be read in the Church.*"

Some have found it strange that the three African Councils were held at such short intervals. The reason of the repetitions of the Canon seems to be in the fact, that Catholic thought had been disturbed in those days by Jerome, who in his Prologus Galeaticus to the Books of Kings, rejected out of the Canon the deuterocanonical books, A. D. 390. Repeatedly in his subsequent labors, he inveighs against the deuterocanonical books and fragments, and it was to retain the Catholics faithful to their old traditions, that these three councils repeat their Canons in such quick succession.

No doubt can reasonably exist, regarding St. Augustine's attitude towards the deuterocanonical Scriptures. He was an important factor in the three councils just mentioned; and repeatedly in his works he declares himself clearly for the deuterocanonical books. It would be a long and needless task to set forth Augustine's use of deuterocanonical Scripture. It will not be contradicted by any patristic scholar, that Augus-

tine held in equal veneration, the protocanonical and deutero-canonical books. He gives his views of Scripture and a complete canon in the *Enchiridion of Christian Doctrine*, Book II. VIII.

“But let us now go back to consider the third step here mentioned, for it is about it that I have set myself to speak and reason as the Lord shall grant me wisdom. The most skillful interpreter of the sacred writings, then, will be he who in the first place has read them all and retained them in his knowledge, if not yet with full understanding, still with such knowledge as reading gives—those of them, at least, that are called *canonical*. For he will read the others with greater safety when built up in the belief of the truth, so that they will not take first possession of a weak mind, nor, cheating it with dangerous falsehoods and delusions, fill it with prejudices adverse to a sound understanding. Now, in regard to the canonical Scriptures, he must follow the judgment of the greater number of Catholic Churches; and among these, of course, a high place must be given to such as have been thought worthy to be the seat of an Apostle and to receive epistles. Accordingly, among the canonical Scriptures he will judge according to the following standard: to prefer those that are received by all the Catholic Churches to those which some do not receive. Among those, again, which are not received by all, he will prefer such as have the sanction of the greater number and those of greater authority, to such as are held by the smaller number and those of less authority. If, however, he shall find that some books are held by the greater number of churches, and others by the churches of greater authority (though this is not a very likely thing to happen), I think, that in such a case, the authority on the two sides is to be looked upon as equal. Now the whole Canon of Scripture on which we say this judgment is to be exercised, is contained in the following books:—Five books of Moses, that is: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; one book of Joshua the son of Nun; one of Judges; one short book called Ruth, which seems rather to belong to the beginning of Kings; next, four books of Kings and two of Chronicles—these last not following one another, but running parallel, so to speak, and going over the same ground. The books now mentioned are history, which contains a connected narrative of the times, and follows the order of the events. There are other books which seem to follow no regular order, and are connected neither with the order of the preceding books nor with one another, such as Job, and Tobias, and Esther, and Judith, and the two

books of Maccabees and the two of Ezra, which last look more like a sequel to the continuous regular history which terminates with the books of Kings and Chronicles. Next are the Prophets, in which there is one book of the Psalms of David; and three books of Solomon, viz.: Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. For two books, one called Wisdom and the other Ecclesiasticus, are ascribed to Solomon from a certain resemblance of style, but the most likely opinion is that they were written by Jesus, the son of Sirach. Still they are to be reckoned among the prophetic books, since they have attained recognition as being authoritative. The remainder are the books which are strictly called the Prophets: twelve separate books of the prophets which are connected with one another, and having never been disjoined, are reckoned as one book; the names of these prophets are as follows:—Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; then there are the four greater Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezechiel. The authority of the Old Testament is contained within the limits of these forty-four books. That of the New Testament, again, is contained within the following:—Four books of the Gospel, according to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, according to John; fourteen epistles of the Apostle Paul—one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, two to the Thessalonians, one to the Colossians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James; one book of the Acts of the Apostles, and one of the Revelation of John.”

St. Augustine's practical use of the deuterocanonical books may be judged from his *De Civitate Dei* and *Contra Manichaeos* taken as specimens. In the former work, he has fifteen quotations from Wisdom, fourteen from Ecclesiasticus, two from Baruch, Judith, and Tobias respectively, and one from the Benedictus of Daniel. In his work against the Manicheans he has twenty-three quotations from Wisdom, six from Ecclesiasticus, two from Tobias, one from Baruch and one from the Maccabees. In his work *Contra Faustum* XXXIII. 9, he promulgates the Catholic criterion of the canonical Scriptures: “I admonish briefly you, who hold the execrable error (of the Manicheans), if ye wish to follow the authority of that Scripture which is to be preferred to all others, that ye follow that Scripture which from the time of Christ, through the dispensations of the Apostles, and of the Bishops, who succeeded them

in their sees by certain succession, has come down even to our day, preserved throughout the whole earth, approved and explained." Chemnitz, objected against Augustine's authority for the deuterocanonical Scripture, citing a passage from his *Contra Gaudentium*, XXXI. 38: "And indeed the Scripture which is called the Maccabees the Jews have not, as they have the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which the Lord bears testimony as to his witnesses saying: 'That all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me' (Luke XXIV. 44); but it (Maccabees) is received by the Church not *unprofitably, if it be soberly read or heard.*" This is a direct testimony that the Church to whom Augustine directed all who would receive the genuine Scripture had received and sanctioned a book, not contained in the Jewish Canon, and that such book was not without profit to readers and hearers. Later on in the same chapter he explains what he means by the restrictive clause: "if it be soberly read or heard." "For we should not," he says, "assenting approve all things that we read in the Scriptures that men did, even though they be praised by the testimony of God; but we should consider and discern, using the judgment not of our own authority, but of the divine and holy Scriptures, which does not permit us to approve or imitate all the deeds of those to whom it bears a good and excellent testimony." Augustine's words restrict not the authority of Maccabees beneath divine Scripture, but regulate its use. The same words might have been applied by him to the Gospel of Matthew.

There are sometimes alleged against us the words of Augustine which occur *Lib. Retract. X. 3*: "Thus also I appear not to have rightly called the words prophetic in which it is written: 'Quid superbit terra et cinis?' *Eccli. X. 9*, since they are not written in the book of one whom we certainly know to have been a prophet." We believe that it is not the intention of Augustine here to throw doubt on *Ecclesiasticus*, but to be accurate in drawing a distinction between Prophets and Hagio-graphers. Such subtlety leaves intact a book's divinity.

In the first book of his *De Predestinatione Sanctorum XIV.* against the Pelagians, who rejected the book of Wisdom, Augustine argues thus: "These things being so, there should not be rejected a sentence from the book of Wisdom, which has merited to be read by the order of lectors in the Church of Christ for so many years (*tam longa annositate*), and which has merited to be listened to with the veneration of divine author-

ity by all Christians, from bishops to the extreme lay faithful penitents and catechumens." Iterum ibidem: "But those who wish to be taught by the works of the Fathers (Tractatorum) must needs prefer the book of Wisdom to all the Fathers; for the celebrated Fathers nearest in time to the Apostles preferred it to their own opinions; and they, using it as an authority, believed that they were making use of nothing short of a divine testimony.

"It is evident, that with Augustine, the condition of all the deuterocanonical books was the same, hence by applying this testimony to the entire collection we have not alone the view of Augustine, but a succinct statement of the belief and usage of the Church from the Apostles to his own day."

A document which sets forth the official attitude towards the deuterocanonical Scripture in this age is the Decree of Pope Gelasius, A. D. 492—A. D. 496.*

"Nunc vero de Scripturis divinis agendum est quid universalis recipiat Ecclesia, vel quid vitare debeat. Incipit ordo Veteris Testamenti, Genesis liber I. Exodi liber I. Levitici liber I. Numeri liber I. Deuteronomii liber I. Jesu Nave liber I. Judicum liber I. Ruth liber I. Regum libri IV. Paralipomenon libri II. Psalmorum CL. liber I. Salomonis libri III. Proverbia liber I. Ecclesiastes liber I. Cantici Canticorum liber I. Item *Sapientiae* liber I. *Ecclesiastici* liber I. Item ordo Prophetarum: Esaïæ liber I. Jeremiæ liber I. cum Chinoth, id est, Lamentationibus suis, Ezechielis liber I. Danielis liber I. Osea liber I. Amos liber I. Michaeæ liber I. Joel liber I. Abdiæ liber I. Jonæ liber I. Nahum liber I. Abbacuc liber I. Aggæi liber I. Zachariæ liber I. Malachi liber I. Item ordo historiarum: Job liber I. ab aliis omissus. *Tobiæ* liber I. Hesdræ libri II. Hesther liber I. *Judith* liber I. Machabæorum libri II."

In the year 405, St. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse (†417) wrote to Pope Innocent I. asking among other things "what books should be received in the Canon of Holy Scripture." The Pontiff responds: "The subjoined brief will show what books should be received into the Canon of Holy Scripture. These are therefore (the books) concerning which thou hast

*This decree is not found the same in the different codices. It is by some ascribed to Damasus (A. D. 366—A. D. 384); by others to Gelasius (A. D. 492—A. D. 496); and by others to Hormisdas (A. D. 514—A. D. 523). Cornely believes that it was originally a decree of Damasus, which was afterwards enlarged by Gelasius. All agree that it was an authentic promulgation from the Roman See in that period. Hefele Conciliengesch. II. 620.

wished the admonition of a longed for voice. The five books of Moses.... The book of Jesus, son of Nave, one book of Judges, the four books of Kings and Ruth, sixteen books of Prophets, *five books of Solomon*, the Psalter; also of historical books, one book of Job, one of *Tobias*, one of Esther, one of *Judith*, *two of Maccabees*, two of Ezra and two of Paralipomenon." In all these canons Baruch is considered an integral part of Jeremiah. The canons of Gelasius and Innocent *are not ex cathedra definitions*, but plain statements of the belief and usages of the Church from her central authority.

The testimony of the fourth and fifth centuries to the divinity of the deuterocanonical Scriptures is evinced in the four great codices of that period: The Vatican and Sinaitic of the fourth century, and the Alexandrian and Codex of St. Ephrem of the fifth century. An accurate description of these codices will be given in the course of our treatise. Suffice it to say here that they all make no discrimination between the protocanonical and deuterocanonical books.

The Ethiopian Version of Scripture, made in the fourth century, and the Armenian version, made in the beginning of the fifth century, contain all the books canonized by the Council of Trent. At what time the deuterocanonical books were placed in the Syriac translation known as the Peshito is not known, but they were there in the time of St. Ephrem (†379), as we shall see in the course of the present work; hence, we may add the testimony of the Syriac Peshito to the data for the deuterocanonical books.

Sacred archæology also affords proofs for the divinity of the deuterocanonical books. In the Catacombs, we find frequent representations from the deuterocanonical books, proving that those books were a part of the deposit of faith of the Church of the Martyrs. The recent researches in subterranean Rome has clearly demonstrated this proof, as can be seen in the works of Vincenzi (Sessio IV. Conc. Trid.); Malou (Lecture de la Bible II. 144); Garrucci (Storia dell' Arte Christiana), and others. The constant and universal tradition and usage of the first three centuries are corroborated in the fourth and fifth century by the express declarations and praxis of Fathers, by solemn decrees of Councils and Popes, and by the preserved evidences of the practical life of the Church.

The adversaries of the deuterocanonical books bring against us the authority of the Fathers who have edited canons in

which the deuterocanonical books find no place. Preeminent for age and authority among these is St. Athanasius, the decus orthodoxiæ.*

We reproduce here the entire quotation from which the opposition of Athanasius is inferred; "Since many have indeed tried to place in order those books which are called Apocrypha, and mix them with the divinely inspired Scripture which we have received upon certain testimony *as the Fathers handed down to us*, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it has seemed good to me also, the brethren exhorting, to compute in the Canon, as I have learned, from the beginning, and in order, the books that have been handed down and are believed to be divine, that everyone that has been seduced may convict the seducers, and he who has persevered incorrupt may joyously remember these. The books of the Old Testament are in number *twenty-two*; for so many, as I have heard, are the elements (of speech) with the Hebrews. In this order, and by these names, they are severally enumerated: The first is Genesis, then Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua son of Nun, Judges and Ruth follow; then the four books of Kings, of which the first and second are considered as one, and, in like manner, the third and fourth. Following these the two books of Paralipomenon are also considered as one, as also the first and second of Ezra. Then come the book of Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles and Job; then the Prophets of whom twelve are considered as one book. Then Isaiah, Jeremiah and with him *Baruch*, the Lamentations, and the *Epistle*; then follow Ezechiel and Daniel, thus far the books of the Old Testament."

After enumerating the complete Canon of the New Testament, he continues: "These are the fountains of salvation, so that who thirsts may be filled by their discourses; in these alone, the Christian doctrine is taught. Let no one add to them or take anything from them. But for greater accuracy, I deem it necessary to add this also, *that there are, forsooth, other books besides these, which, indeed, are not placed in*

*St. Athanasius was descended of an illustrious family of Alexandria. He was ordained deacon by St. Alexander, whom in 326 he succeeded in the see of Alexandria. He was the Charles Martel against the Arians in the Council of Nice, and combated this dreadful heresy throughout his life. His long episcopate of more than forty years was a perpetually troubled one. Many times he was forced to fly to the exile of the desert to escape his insidious foes. He is the great patristic authority on the Trinity and the Incarnation.

the Canon, but which the Fathers decreed should be read to those who have lately come into the fold, and seek to be catechized, and who study to learn the Christian doctrine. (These are): The Wisdom of Solomon and the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Esther, Judith, Tobias, the so-called Doctrine of the Apostles, and Pastor. Therefore, while the former are in the Canon, and these latter are read, *there is no mention of the Apocrypha*, which are the figment of heretics who arbitrarily write books, to which they assign dates, that by the specious semblance of antiquity they may find occasion to deceive the simple." Ep. Fest. 29.

To judge rightly St. Athanasius' attitude towards Holy Scripture, we must recall what has been said respecting Meliton. We must readily admit that in these ages a *distinction was made between the two classes of books, but it did not deny divine inspiration to the deuterocanonical works*. A greater dignity was given by some Fathers to the books that had come down to the Church from the Jews; but these same Fathers testify to the veneration in which the deuterocanonical works were held by the Church, and to the part they played in the life of the faithful. It must also be borne in mind that Athanasius flourished in Alexandria the fertile source of Apocrypha, and in his zeal to repel the inventions of heretics he was most conservative in treating the Canon. His location of Esther among the deuterocanonical books is unique, and was probably caused by the sanguinary character of the book, which also led some Jews to doubt of its divine inspiration.

His omission of Maccabees seems to be an oversight since he adverts to their history in his writings. We do not seek to establish that the status of the two classes of books was the same with Athanasius; but we judge it evident from his writings that he venerated these same books as divine, although not equal in extrinsic authority to the books officially handed down from the Jews. The testimony of Athanasius that the Fathers of the Church had decreed that these books should be read in the Church manifests clearly the Church's attitude towards these books; and the following passages, taken from the writings of Athanasius, show how deeply he also had drunk from these founts.

Sap. XIV. 12.

"Initium enim fornicationis est exquisitio idolorum: et adinventio illorum corruptio vitæ est—."

Athanas. Oratio Contra Gentes, 9.

"—quod et Dei sapientia his verbis declarat: 'Initium fornicationis est exquisitio idolorum.'"

Sap. XIV. 12—21.

“Initium fornicationis, etc.”

Sap. XIV. 21.

“Et haec fuit vitae humanae deceptio : quoniam aut affectui, aut regibus deservientes homines, incommunicabile nomen lapidibus et lignis imposuerunt.”

Sap. XIII. 5.

“—a magnitudine enim speciei, et creaturae cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri—.”

Sap. VI. 19.

“Cura ergo disciplinae dilectio est : et dilectio custodia legum illius est : custoditio autem legum consummatio incorruptionis est—.”

Sap. II. 23, 24.

“Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit illum. Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum—.”

Sap. I. 11.

“Custodite ergo vos a murmuratione, quae nihil prodest, et a detractatione parcite linguae, quoniam sermo obscurus in vacuum non ibit : os autem, quod mentitur, occidit animam.”

Tob. XII. 7.

“Sacramentum regis abscondere, etc.”

Ibid.

“Haec...jam olim *Scriptura* his verbis complexa est : ‘Initium fornicationis, etc.’ ” Pergit usque ad Vers. 21.

Ibid. 17.

“—sed cum incommunicabile, ut loquitur *Scriptura*, Dei nomen et honorem iis qui non dii sed mortales homines fuere ascribere studuerunt—.”

Ibid. 44.

“Ex magnitudine et pulchritudine rerum creaturarum convenienter Creator conspicitur.”

S. Athanas. De Incarnatione Dei, 4.

“—sicuti Sapientia ait : ‘Observatio legum confirmatio est incorruptionis.’ ”

Ibid.

“—ut et Sapientia his verbis testatur : ‘Deus creavit hominem ut incorruptus esset, et imaginem propriae aeternitatis : invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in mundum.’ ”

Ath. Apolog. et contra Arianos, 3.

“—nec timeant illud quod in Sacris Litteris scriptum est : . . . ‘Os quod mentitur occidit animam.’ ”

Ibid. 11.

“—cum oporteat, ut scriptum est : ‘Sacramentum regis abscondere.’ ”

This quotation is not made use of by Athanasius, but is found in an apologetic treatise directed to him by a synod held at Alexandria, of the bishops of Egypt, Thebais, Libya and Pentapolis. It is thus the testimony of the East to the divinity of the deuterocanonical works.

In the letter of St. Alexander of Alexandriae to his co-laborer, we find the following :

Eccli. XXX. 4.

"Mortuus est pater ejus, et quasi non est mortuus: similem enim reliquit sibi post se."

Baruch III. 12.

"Dereliquisti fontem sapientiae—."

Ibid.

Sap. VII. 25.

"Vapor est enim virtutis Dei, etc."

Eccli. XV. 9.

"Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris."

Sap. I. 11.

(Already quoted.)

Tob. IV. 19.

"Consilium semper a sapiente perquire."

Sap. III. 5.

"In paucis vexati, in multis bene disponentur, quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit illos dignos se."

Ibid. 66.

"Mortuus est enim, ait quodam in loco S. Scriptura, pater ejus et quasi non est mortuus."

St. Ath. De Decretis Synod. Nicenae, 12.

"Verbum item Israellem objurgans ait: 'Dereliquisti fontem sapientiae.'"

Ibid. 15.

"Hujus porro sapientiae fontem esse Deum nos docet Baruch, ubi videlicet redarguitur Israel fontem sapientiae dereliquisse."

S. Ath. De Sententia Dionysii, 15.

"—congruenter rursum Christus vapor dictus est: 'Est enim,' inquit, 'vapor virtutis Dei.'"

Idem Epist. ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae, 3.

"Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris."

Idem Apolog. ad Const. Imp. 5.

"Nam os quod mentitur occidit animam."

Ibid. 17.

"Scriptum est: 'Ab omni sapiente consilium accipe.'"

Idem Apolog. De Fuga Sua, 19.

"Nam sicut aurum in fornace probatos, ut ait Sapientia, 'invenit illos Dominus dignos se.'"

Sap. II. 21.

“Haec cogitaverunt, et erraverunt: excaecavit enim illos malitia eorum.”

Eccl. XIX. 26.

“Ex visu cognoscitur vir, et ab occurso faciei cognoscitur sensatus.”

Baruch IV. 20, 22.

“Exui me stola pacis, indui autem me sacco obsecrationis, et clamabo ad Altissimum in diebus meis. Ego enim speravi in aeternum, salutem vestram et venit mihi gaudium a sancto, etc.”

Dan. XIII. 42.

“Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeternae, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant.”

Baruch III. 12.

“Dereliquisti fontem sapientiae—.”

Eccli. XXIV. 12.

“Tunc praecepit, et dixit mihi Creator omnium: et qui creavit me, requievit in tabernaculo meo—.”

Sap. XIII. 5.

“—a magnitudine enim speciei et creaturae, cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri—.”

Judith XIII. 15.

“—non enim quasi homo, sic Deus comminabitur, neque sicut filius hominis ad iracundiam inflammabitur.”

Ibid. 71.

“In his itaque eorum mentem excaecavit malitia.”

Idem Contra Arianos Orat.

I. 4.

“—sapientia ait: ‘Ex verbis suis cognoscitur vir.’”

Ibid. 12.

“Susanna quoque aiebat: ‘Deus sempiternae.’ Baruch item scripsit: ‘Clamabo ad Deum sempiternum in diebus meis.’ Et paulo post: ‘Ego enim speravi in sempiternum salutem vestram et venit mihi gaudium a Sancto.’”

Ibid. 13.

“Et apud Dan.: ‘Exclamavit voce magna Susanna et dixit: Deus aeternae, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant.’”

Ibid. 19.

“—item apud Baruch scriptum est: ‘Dereliquistis fontem sapientiae.’”

Idem Contra Arianos, Orat.

II. 4.

“—vel si ipse de seipso ait: ‘Dominus creavit me.’”

Ibid. 32.

“Siquidem ex magnitudine et pulchritudine rerum creatarum, illarum Creator convenienter conspicitur.”

Ibid. 35.

“‘Deus autem non ut homo est, quemadmodum *testatur Scriptura*.’”

Baruch III. 12.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. IX. 2.

“—et sapientia tua constituisti hominem, ut dominaretur creaturae, quae a te facta est—.”

Baruch III. 36.

“Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum.”

Sap. VI. 26.

“Multitudo autem sapientum sanitas est orbis terrarum: et rex sapiens stabilimentum populi est.”

Eccli. I. 10.

“Et effudit illam super omnia opera sua, et super omnem carnem secundum datum suum, et prae-buit illam diligentibus se.”

Dan. XIV. 4.

“Qui respondens, ait ei: Quia non colo idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum, qui creavit caelum, et terram, et habet potestatem omnis carnis.”

Dan. XIII. 45.

“Cumque duceretur ad mortem, suscitavit Dominus spiritum sanctum pueri junioris, cujus nomen Daniel —.”

Baruch III. 1.

“Et nunc, Domine omnipotens, Deus Israel, anima in angustiis, et spiritus anxius clamat ad te.”

Dan. III. 86.

“Benedicite spiritus, et animae iustorum, Domino; laudate et superexaltate eum in saecula.”

Ibid. 42.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 45.

“Et in libro Sapientiae legitur: ‘Et sapientia tua constituisti hominem ut dominaretur creaturis quae a te factae sunt.’”

Ibid. 49.

“Et Baruch: ‘Hic est Deus noster, non aestimabitur alius adversus eum.’”

Ibid. 79.

“Vel si nulla est sapientia, cur multitudo sapientum in Scriptura memoratur?”

Ibid.

“— ut hisce verbis testatur filius Sirach: ‘Effudit illam in omnia opera sua cum omni carne, secundum donationem suam, et prae-buit illam diligentibus se.’”

Idem Contra Arianos, Orat.

III. 30.

“Item Daniel Astyagi dixit: ‘Ego idola manufacta non colo, sed Deum viventem qui coelum et terram creavit, et in omnem carnem dominatum habet.’”

S. Athanas. Epist. I. ad Serapionem, 5.

“Et apud Danielelem: ‘Suscitavit Deus Spiritum pueri junioris cujus nomen Daniel, et exclamavit voce magna: Mundus ego sum a sanguine hujus.’”

Ibid. 7.

“Baruch item his verbis precatur: ‘Anima in angustiis et spiritus anxius clamat ad te,’ et in *Hymno trium Puerorum*. ‘Benedicite spiritus et animae iustorum Domino.’”

Baruch III. 10, 12.

"Quid est Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es? Dereliquisti fontem sapientiae."

Sap. I. 5.

"Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, quae sunt sine intellectu."

Sap. XII. 1.

"O quam bonus et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus!"

Dan. III. 57.

"Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino, etc."

Sap. I. 7.

"Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, etc."

Dan. XIV. 4.

"Qui respondens, ait ei: 'Quia non colo idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum, qui creavit coelum, et terram et habet potestatem omnis carnis.'"

Eccli. I. 32.

"— exsecratio autem peccatori, cultura Dei."

Dan. XIII. 42.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: 'Deus aeterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant.'"

Baruch III. 36—38.

"Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam dis-

Ibid. 19.

"Et iterum apud Baruch: 'Quid est Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es? dereliquisti fontem sapientiae.'"

Ibid. 26.

"'Spiritus sanctus,' inquit, 'disciplinae fugiet dolum, et auferet se a cogitationibus quae sunt sine intellectu.'"

Ibid. 25.

"— iterum in Sapientia legitur: 'Tuus enim incorruptus spiritus est in omnibus.'"

Idem Epist. II. ad Serap. 6.

"Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino."

Idem Epist. III. ad Serap. 4.

"Ita enim scriptum est: 'Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.'"

Idem Epist. IV. ad Serap. 21.

"Ita quoque Daniel libere Darium affatus est: 'Non veneror idola manufacta, sed viventem Deum qui creavit coelum et terram, et habet potestatem omnis carnis.'"

S. Ath. Vita S. Antonii, 28.

"— nam 'exsecratio peccatori est pietas erga Deum.'"

Ibid. 31.

"—solusque Deus novit omnia antequam fiant."

St. Athan. De Incarnat. et contra Arianos (In fine).

"—quemadmodum et Jeremias dicit: 'Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus

ciplinæ, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Sap. II. 24.

"Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum—."

Dan. III. 57—62 ; 88.

Baruch III. 12.

(Already quoted.)

Baruch III. 12—13.

"Dereliquisti fontem sapientiæ ; nam si in via Dei ambulasses, habitasses utique in pace sempiterna."

Sap. V. 3.

"—dicentes intra se, poenitentiam agentes, et prae angustia spiritus gementes: Hi sunt, quos habuimus aliquando in derisum, et in similitudinem impropertii."

Eccli. XXXVIII. 9.

"Fili, in tua infirmitate ne despicias te ipsum, sed ora Dominum, et ipse curabit te."

eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam scientiæ, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris visus est et cum hominibus conversatus est.' "

St. Athanas. Contra Apollinarium, Lib. I. 7.

"Invidia autem diaboli mors intravit in mundum."

Ibid. 15.

Repetit idem.

St. Ath. De Trinitate et S. Spiritu, 2.

"Tres quoque sancti martyres, Ananias Azarias et Misael, in fornace ignis positi in terra Chaldaeorum, cum admirabiliter Deus calorem ignis ad temperatum refrigerium convertisset, universam creaturam adhortantes secum laudare Deum, sic incipiunt: 'Benedicite, etc.' " Citat majorem partem Cantici Trium Puerorum.

Ibid. 19.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 20.

"—dicit: 'Dereliquisti fontem sapientiæ; viam Domini si fuisses ingressus, utique habitares in pace in æternum tempus.' "

St. Ath. Sermo Major De Fide, 28.

"Hic est quem habuimus aliquando in derisionem—."

St. Ath. Fragment De Amuletis.

"—coelesti sapientiæ obsequens dicenti: 'Fili, in tempore infirmitatis tuæ ne despicias, sed ora Dominum, et ipse curabit te.' "

- Eccli. XV. 9.
(Already quoted.)
- Dan. III. 50.
(Already quoted.)
- Sap. VII. 27.
"Et cum sit una, omnia potest:
et in se permanens omnia innovat,
et per nationes in animas sanctas
se transfert, amicos Dei et pro-
phetas constituit."
- Sap. II. 12.
"Circumveniamus ergo justum,
quoniam inutilis est nobis, etc."
- Eccli. XXVII. 29.
"Et qui foveam fodit, incidet
in eam, etc."
- Sap. II. 12.
(Already quoted.)
- Dan. XII.
- Eccli. XV. 9.
(Already quoted.)
- Baruch II. 35.
"Et statuam illis testamentum
alterum sempiternum, ut sim illis
in Deum, et ipsi erunt mihi in
populum, etc."
- Eccli. II. 1.
"Fili, accedens ad servitutem
Dei, sta in iustitia, et timore, et
præpara animam tuam ad tenta-
tionem."
- Eccli. XVIII. 6.
"Cum consummaverit homo,
tunc incipiet, etc."
- Idem, Epist. VII. 4.
(Already quoted.)
- Idem, Epist. X. 3.
(Already quoted.)
- Ibid. 4.
"—prout de Sapientia testatur
Salomon 'quæ cum una sit,
omnia potest, et in se manens
omnia renovat, et cum ad sanctas
animas accedet, tunc Dei ama-
tores et prophetas efficit.'"
- Idem, Epist. XI. 5.
"Circumveniamus justum, quia
nobis minime placet."
- Ibidem.
"Qui foveam proximo suo
fodit in eandem incidet."
- Idem, Epist. XIX.
(Already quoted.)
- Idem, Epist. ad Marcellinum, 9.
"Spiritu edoctus quisque ser-
monem administrat ita ut....
aliquando historias præscribant
ut Daniel Susannæ—."
- Ibid. 29.
(Already quoted.)
- S. Ath. Expositio in Ps.
LXXVII. 10.
"Novam Evangelii traditionem
dicit atque illud: 'Ecce dies
venit, et disponam cum eis tes-
tamentum novum.'"
- Idem, in Ps. CXVII.
"—juxta illud: 'Accedis ad
serviendum Domino, præpara
animam tuam ad tentationem.'"
- Idem, Ps. CXVIII. 60.
Repetit idem.
- Ibidem 96.
"—juxta illud: 'Cum con-
summatur homo, tunc incipit.'"

Baruch III. 38.

"Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Dan. XIII. 20.

"Ecce, ostia pomarii clausa sunt, et nemo nos videt, et nos in concupiscentia tui sumus, etc."

Eccli. XXIII. 22.

"Anima calida quasi ignis ardens non exstinguetur, donec aliquid glutiat."

Dan. XIII.

Eccli. VI. 36.

"Et si videris sensatum, evigila ad eum, et gradus ostiorum illius exterat pes tuus."

Eccli. XLIII. 7.

"A luna signum diei festi, etc."

Maccab. Passim.

St. Ath. De Titulis Psalmorum, De Ps. LXXVII. 137.

"Et in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est. (Repetit idem in Ps. XCIII.)

St. Athan. Fragmenta in Math.

"Eodem quoque modo senes duo cum Susannae dixissent: 'Ecce in concupiscentia tui sumus —.'"

Ibid.

"— juxta Sapientiae verbum: 'Anima calida est ut ignis accensus.'"

Ibid.

"Daniel vero lascivos senes sycophantiae causa a se damnatos juxta legem Moysis ultus est."

Ibid. De Falsis Prophetis.

"Si videris sapientem aliquem, ex consilio Sapientiae, mane vigila ad illum, stationes portarum ejus terat pes tuus, ut ab eo ediscas legis umbras et gratiarum dona."

Ibid. De Lunaticis.

"— Sapientia ita loquente: 'A luna, signum diei festi.'"

Expositio in Ps. LXXVIII.

"*Carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae.* Quomodo enim sancti non fuerunt quorum sanguis effusus est pro legis observantia, ex quorum erant numero Maccabaei?"

No man can say that S. Athanasius simply considered these books as pious productions, somewhat like to our Imitation of Christ. Quoting a text from Judith, as we have seen above, *Contra Arianos* II. 38, he explicitly adds "*ut testatur Scriptura.*"

His insertion of Pastor and the *Doctrina Apostolorum* among the books of the second canon is a critical error of his own, and not warranted by the usage of the Church. Canon-

icity and divinity were not in the mind of Athanasius convertible terms. There had been no official promulgation of a canon, and hence, he applied the term to the list of books which of old had received the sanction of the Synagogue. We feel warranted, then, in saying that as a witness of tradition in his practical use of Scripture the weight of Athanasius' authority is with us, while, in his capacity of critic, he accords to the deuterocanonical books in general a veneration which the Church never gave to any but divine books.

We omit the *Synopsis Scripturae*, formerly falsely ascribed to Athanasius, since it covers the same ground as the testimony already quoted.

Another Father whose authority is invoked against us is St. Cyrill of Jerusalem.*

The testimony upon which his authority is invoked against us is found in his fourth Catechesis, Chapters 33, 35, and 36. The following excerpts will illustrate his position :

"Studiously also learn *from the Church* what are the books of the Old Testament, and what, of the New. Read to me nothing of the Apocrypha. For thou, who art ignorant of those books which are recognized and received by all, why dost thou wretchedly lose thy labor about those which are doubtful and controverted? Read the *divine* Scriptures, the *twenty-two* books of the Old Testament, which the seventy-two interpreters translated. * * * Read these *twenty-two books*, and have naught to do with the Apocrypha. These alone studiously meditate and handle, which we also read in the Church with certain confidence. Much more prudent and more pious were the Apostles and the ancient bishops, the rectors of the Church, who handed them down. Thou, therefore, being a child of the Church, overstep not the established laws." Continuing, he gives the same canon as that of Athanasius, except that he conjoins Ruth with Judges, and includes Esther, thus

*St. Cyrill of Jerusalem was born about the year 315 A. D. He was ordained deacon by St. Macarius of Jerusalem, and priest by St. Maximus, whom he succeeded in the See of Jerusalem in the year 350 A. D. His episcopate was troubled by the opposition of the Arians, then powerful in the East. He was often exiled by the intrigues of these, and was marked for death by Julian the Apostate, but the death of Julian prevented the execution of his project. Cyrill died in his see in 386. In one of his letters to Christians he testifies to a marvelous luminous apparition of a cross which extended from Mt. Calvary to Mt. Olivet, which was witnessed by many for several hours. His chief works are his Catecheses to the Catechumens and Neophytes. Although some of Cyrill's opinions are strange, he was a staunch defender of the faith, and merits to be considered a coryphaeus in patristic theology.

preserving the number twenty-two. And he adds: "But let all the other (books) be held outside (the canon) in a second (inferior) order. And whatever are not read in the churches, do thou not read these even privately."

In truthfully weighing this testimony, we find in the first sentence the adoption of our criterion of inspiration: "*Studiously also learn from the Church what are the books of the Old Testament, and what of the New.*" In the enunciation of this eternal verity, Cyrill spoke in the name of the whole Church. It was always believed, and always will be believed by those of the faith of Christ, that it was the province of the Church to regulate the code of Scripture. This every Father believed and taught. Neither does Cyrill characterize as apocryphal the deuterocanonical books. He considered them doubtful and of an inferior rank, and hence, exhorts the catechumens to make use of those concerning which there was no doubt. In forbidding the converts to read privately the books which were not read in the Church, he tacitly allows such private reading of the deuterocanonical books. The spirit of the Church at Jerusalem was extremely conservative, tinged with Judaism. Naturally for such, the books which the synagogue did not recognize would be regarded with some disfavor. Cyrill was influenced by the trend of religious thought reigning at Jerusalem. He sacrificed nothing by his strict views on the canon. The protocanonical books are the most useful; the Church had not defined the Canon; and Cyrill safeguarded the rights of the Church by bidding everyone go to her for the Canon. The protocanonical and deuterocanonical books were not made absolutely equal until the decree of the Council of Trent. The Fathers considered the latter as useful, edifying, and most of the Fathers considered them of divine origin, but they, in general, accorded them a less dignity and veneration than that given the protocanonical books. The slight doubt that reigned in some churches regarding their divine origin induced Cyrill to place them in an inferior rank. In the uncertainty of religious thought of his time, he judged it better that the neophytes should devote their study to the absolutely certain sources of divine truth. Were Cyrill alive to-day, he would *learn from the Church to receive the complete Canon.*

In his practical use of Scripture, Cyrill follows the usage of the Church, and often quotes the deuterocanonical books, as the following examples will show:

Dan. III. 27, 29.

“—quia justus es in omnibus, quae fecisti nobis, et universa opera tua vera, et viae tuae rectae, et omnia judicia tua vera. Peccavimus enim, et inique egimus, etc.”

Eccli. III. 22.

“Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris: sed quae praecepit tibi Deus, illa cogita semper, et in pluribus operibus ejus ne fueris curiosus.”

Sap. XIII. 2.

“—sed aut ignem, aut spiritum, aut citatum aërem, aut gyrum stellarum, aut nimiam aquam, aut solem et lunam, rectores orbis terrarum deos putaverunt.”

Sap. XIII. 5.

“—a magnitudine enim speciei et creaturae, cognoscibiliter poterit creator horum videri—.”

Eccli. XLIII. 2.

“Sol in aspectu annuntians in exitu, vas admirabile opus excelsi.”

Sap. XIII. 5.

“—a magnitudine enim speciei et creaturae, cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri—.”

Catech. II. XVI.

“—illicque pro malorum remedio dicebant: ‘Justus es, Domine, in omnibus quae fecisti nobis: peccavimus enim et inique egimus.’”

Catech. VI. 4.

“Profundiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne investigates: quae tibi praecepta sunt, ea mente agita.”

Ibid. 8.

“Deum nonnulli ignem esse senserunt.”

Catech. IX. 2.

“—juxta Salomonem qui ait: ‘nam ex magnitudine et pulchritudine creaturarum, proportionem servata, procreator earum conspicitur.’”

Ibid. 6.

“—nonne admirari oportet eum qui in solis fabricam inspexit? nam modici vasis apparens vim ingentem complectitur; ab oriente apparens et in occidentem usque lumen emittens.”

Ibid. 16.

“—et ex his quae dicta lectaeque sunt, quaeque ipse reperire aut cogitare poteris, ‘ex magnitudine et pulchritudine creaturarum, proportionem servata, Auctorem earum conspicias.’”

Baruch III. 36, 38.

"Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Eccli. III. 22.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. II. 24.

"Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum—."

Eccli. IV. 36.

"Non sit porrecta manus tua ad accipiendum, et ad dandum collecta."

Dsn. XIV. 35.

"Et apprehendit eum Angelus Domini in vertice ejus, et portavit eum capillo capitis sui."

Sap. VI. 17.

"Quoniam dignos se ipsa circumcui quaerens, et in viis ostendit se illis hilariter, et in omni providentia occurrit illis."

Dan. XIII. 42—45.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia, antequam fiant, tu scis, quoniam falsum testimonium tulerunt contra me, et ecce, morior, cum nihil horum fecerim, quae isti malitiose composuerunt adversum me. Exaudivit autem Dominus vocem ejus. Cumque duceretur ad mortem, suscitavit Dominus spiritum sanctum pueri junioris, cujus nomen Daniel —."

Catech. XI. 15.

"—audi Prophetam dicentem: 'Hic est Deus noster, non reputabitur alius adversus eum. Invenit omnem viam scientiae, et dedit eam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto a se. Post haec in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.'"

Ibid. 19.

"Ne extollas te ipsum, ne cadas. Quae tibi mandata sunt ea sola meditare."

Catech. XII. 5.

"At maximum hoc opificiorum Dei in paradiso choros agens *inde diaboli ejecit invidia.*"

Catech. XIII. 8.

"Nec enim ad accipiendum tantum porrecta, verum etiam ad operandum prompta tibi sit manus."

Catech. XIV. 25.

"Si enim Habacuc ab angelo translatus est, per comam sui capitis portatus, etc."

Catech. XVI. 19.

"— tantum illi ostia aperimus; *circumit enim quaerens dignos.*"

Ibid. 31.

"Idem (Spiritus Sanctus) sapientem effecit Danielis animam ut seniorum judex esset adolescens. Damnata fuerat casta Susanna tamquam impudica; vindex nullus; quis enim eam a principibus eripuisset? Ad mortem ducebatur, in manibus lictorum jam erat.... *scriptum est enim*: 'Suscitavit Deus Spiritum sanctum in puero juvenculo.'"

Eccli. XXXIV. 9.

"Qui non est tentatus, quid scit?"

Catech. XXIII. Mystagogica, V. 17.

"— et quomodo alicubi dictum est: 'Vir non tentatus, non est probatus.'"

We must admit that Cyrill's use of deuterocanonical Scripture is more restricted than that of other writers, but it is sufficient to show how the general belief and usage of the Church overcame the critical views of the individual. The force of such general acceptance of the Church may easily be judged from this alone, that in the very Catecheses in which he recommends to the Catechumens the use of only the proto-canonical books, he himself employs the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.

There is also alleged against us the authority of Epiphanius.*

The passage upon which his opposition to the deuterocanonical works is founded, occurs in the fourth chapter of the treatise on Weights and Measures. In this Chapter, he endeavors to make the number of canonical books of the Old Testament accord with the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Of course, he only enumerates the books of the Jewish Canon. The closing words of the chapter are: "Regarding the two books that are written in verse, that is, the Wisdom of Solomon, which is called Panaretus, and the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, the grandson of Jesus, who wrote this book of Wisdom in Hebrew, which his grandson Jesus translated into Greek, although they are useful and profitable, they are by no means placed in the *Canon of Scripture*. Hence, they

*St. Epiphanius was born in Palestine, about the year 310 A. D. His youth was spent in the life of a solitary in the desert. He founded at the age of twenty a monastery in the desert, and devoted himself to the study of sacred and profane writers. The result of his continued application to reading is apparent in his works. In 366 he was made Bishop of Salamina the metropolis of Cyprus. In the capacity of bishop, he was a sturdy bulwark against the teeming heresies of that age. He bitterly opposed the theories of Origen, and, in his zeal to anathematize him, was discourteous to John Chrysostom. His imprudent zeal often led him to encroach on the jurisdiction of other bishops. He died on a return voyage by sea from Constantinople to Cyprus in 403. The works of Epiphanius exhibit a vast erudition, marred by a lack of criticism, and by the insertion of many fables. He was a compiler more than an original thinker. His style is harsh, negligent, obscure, and often without logical sequence. He lacked the power and discerning mind to master and order the vast amount that he had read. His chief works are his Panarium or Treatise against the Heresies, the Anchorage, the Treatise of the Weights and Measures of the Jews, and a treatise concerning the twelve precious stones of the rational of the High Priest of the Jews.

were not placed in the Ark of the testament." The obscurity and lack of critical acumen of the writer appear in this short extract. It is evident that he supposes that the divine books of the Jews were placed in the Ark of the covenant, whereas only the Pentateuch was therein placed. The term canonical with Epiphanius, signified the official approbation by the Synagogue. Being a native of Palestine, his mind was in a measure tinged by Judaizing theories. In his day, the deuterocanonical books were not officially canonized by any universal authority. They had the sanction of usage and the veneration of the Church, but this did not make them equal in extrinsic authority to the books that Jew and Christian had always considered divine. Although Epiphanius speaks only of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, his words equally apply to the other deuterocanonical books, since their history has always been the same. The reason that Tobias, Judith and Maccabees receive no recognition from Cyrill and Epiphanius, is most probably that they are not so useful to impart dogmatic truths. Cornely and others think that Epiphanius, in giving in this place the restricted Jewish Canon, tacitly infers the existence of an enlarged Christian Canon. We fail to find this opinion credible. Everything seems to demonstrate that the canonization spoken of in those days was simply the official sanction of the Synagogue. This was the one and only Canon that these Fathers recognized, but in excluding the other books from it, they did not deny them divinity, although many accorded them an inferior dignity. All the books were read; all were venerated by the faithful; but the books of the first Canon had the external sanction of the Synagogue, which raised them theoretically above the others. It was only in the Council of Trent, that the official declaration of the Church made the two classes perfectly equal. Now, such official declaration being wanting, it is not strange that these Fathers theoretically treating the question should not place these books in the Canon. Neither is it strange that individuals should have doubted concerning the divinity of these books. It shows the need of the Magisterium of the Church, which entered at the appropriate time, and took away all doubt by her authoritative voice.

That Epiphanius at least considered Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as divine Scripture, appears from the following passage from *Adversus Hæreses*, Hæres. LXXVI. 5: "For if thou wert begotten of the Holy Ghost, and taught by the Apostles and Prophets, this shouldst thou do: Examine all the sacred codices from Genesis to the times of Esther, which are *twenty-*

seven books of the Old Testament, and are enumerated as twenty-two; then the four Holy Gospels....the *Books of Wisdom, that of Solomon, and of the Son of Sirach*, and in fine *all the books of Scripture.*" Hence, Epiphanius, as it were, made two classes of the Old Testament Scriptures; the books canonized by the Jews, and those adopted and used by the Church as Holy Writ. In favor of the former, was the authority of the Synagogue; while all used and venerated the latter, as, individuals, they did not feel warranted in according them a prerogative that the Church had not yet given.

Epiphanius' use of the deuterocanonical books will appear from the following passages:

Eccli. VII. 1.

"Noli facere mala, et non te apprehendent."

Sap. III. 14.

"— et spado, qui non operatus est per manus suas iniquitatem, etc."

Maccab. I. 1.

Dan. XIII. 42.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeternae, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant—."

Eccli. XIII. 20.

"Omnis caro ad similem sibi conjungetur, et omnis homo simili sui sociabitur."

Adversus Haereses, Lib. I.
Haeres. XXIV. 6.

"— quemadmodum *Scriptura* testatur: 'Qui quaerunt mala, mala eos apprehendant.' "

Ibid. Haeres. XXVI. 15.

"Ad haec alio in loco Spiritus Sanctus... hoc modo vaticinatus est: 'Beata sterilis incoquinata, quae nescivit torum in delicto, et spado, qui non operatus est manibus suis iniquitatem.' "

Ibid. Haeres. XXX. 25.

"Quae causa est cur in Maccabaeorum libris scriptum sit: '— e Cittiensium terra genus quodam esse propagatum.' "

Ibid. 31.

"Novit enim omnia Deus antequam fiant, '*ut est Scriptum.*' "

Ibid. Haeres. XXXII. 8.

"Quoniam avis omnis secundum genus suum congregatur, et omnis homo simili sui sociabitur '*ait Scriptura.*' "

Eccli. XLIII. 26.

“Qui navigant mare, enarrent pericula ejus; et audientes auribus nostris admirabimur.”

Eccli. XIV. 5.

“Qui sibi nequam est, cui alii bonus erit?”

Sap. VII. 2.

“Decem mensium tempore coagulatus sum in sanguine, etc.”

Baruch III. 36—38.

“Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Baruch III. 36.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XX. 2.

“Concupiscentia spadonis devirginabit juvenculam—.”

Eccli. XXVII. 2.

“Sicut in medio compaginis lapidum palus figitur sic et inter medium venditionis et emptionis angustiaabitur peccatum.”

Sap. I. 13.

“Quoniam Deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione vivorum.”

Ibid. Haeres. XLII. 9.

“— ut haec in nobis vera sit Scripturae sententia : ‘Qui navigant mare, virtutes Domini narant.’ ”

Ibid. Haeres. XLII. Refut. 70.

“Quis seipsum in praeceps impellit, impletque quod scriptum est : ‘Qui sibi nequam est, cui bonus erit?’ ”

Ibid. Lib. II. Haeres. II. 29.

“In quo ad Salomonis dictum illud alluisse videntur : ‘Decem mensium spatio concretus in sanguine.’ ”

Ibid. Haeres. LVII. 2.

“— ut Scriptura declarat : ‘Hic est Deus tuus ; non reputabitur alius ad ipsum. Invenit omnem viam scientiae et dedit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.’ ”

Ibid. 9.

“Scriptum est, inquit : ‘Iste Deus est noster, et non aestimabitur alius.’ ”

Ibid. Haeres. LVIII. 4.

“—a Sapiente dicitur : ‘Concupiscentia spadonis devirginabit juvenculam.’ ”

Ibid. Haeres. LIX. 7.

“Atque ‘ut palus,’ inquit, ‘inter duos lapides conteritur, sic peccatum in medio ejus qui emit et vendit.’ ”

Ibid. Haeres. LXIV. 19.

“Deus enim mortem non fecit, nec delectatur in perditione viventium. Invidia vero diaboli mors introvit in mundum,’ ut per *Salomonem Sapientia testatur.* ”

Sap. I. 14.

"Creavit enim, ut essent omnia : et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum : et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii, nec inferorum regnum in terra."

Sap. II. 23.

"Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit illum."

Sap. III. 1—4.

"Justorum autem animae in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis. Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori: et aestimata est afflictio exitus illorum: et quod a nobis est iter, exterminium: illi autem sunt in pace. Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est."

Sap. VII. 2.

"—decem mensium tempore coagulatus sum in sanguine, ex semine hominis, et delectamento somni conveniente."

Eccli. X. 13.

"Cum enim morietur homo, hereditabit serpentes, et bestias, et vermes."

Sap. III. 4—6.

"Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est. In paucis vexati, in multis bene disponuntur: quoniam Deus tentavit eos, et invenit illos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in fornace pro-

Ibid. Haeres. LXIV. 31.

"—id quod Sapientia confirmat his verbis: 'Creavit enim ut essent omnia Deus; et salutare sunt mundi generationes. Nec est in illis medicamentum exitii.'"

Ibid. 34.

"Creavit enim, ait Sapientia, hominem in incorruptione; ad imaginem aeternitatis suae fecit illum."

Ibid. 36.

"Idem vero per Salomonem in eo libro qui Sapientia inscribitur ostendit ubi: 'Justorum,' inquit, 'animae in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum. Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, et aestimata est afflictio exitus illorum, et quod a nobis est iter, exterminium. Illi autem sunt in pace, et spes illorum immortalitate plena est.'"

Ibid. 39.

"—Christi corpus non ex voluntate viri, ac voluptate somnique congressione in iniquitatibus esse susceptum."

Ibid.

"Quam ob causam sapiens ille Sirach ita pronuntiat: 'Cum enim morietur homo, haereditabit serpentes, et bestias, et vermes.'"

Ibid. 48.

"Quam vero consentanea iis de martyribus a Salomone pronuntiata sint, attendite. Neque enim *aliarum Scripturarum testimonio* caremus: 'Deus,' inquit, 'tentavit eos, et invenit eos dignos se. Tamquam aurum in for-

bavit illos, et quasi holocausti hostiam accepit illos, et in tempore erit respectus illorum."

Sap. I. 4.

"— quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis."

Sap. IV. 12.

"Fascinatio enim nugacitatis obscurat bona, et inconstantia concupiscentiae transvertit sensum sine malitia."

Sap. IV. 8—12.

"Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna etc."

Sap. IV. 13—14.

"Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa, placita enim erat Deo anima illius: propter hoc properavit educere illum de medio iniquitatum; populi autem videntes, et non intelligentes, nec ponentes in praeconiis talia —."

Baruch III. 36.

"Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum."

Ibid. 37.

"Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo."

nace probavit illos; et sicut holocaustum suavitatis accepit illos; et in tempore visitationis illorum, etc.' Cum antea dixisset: 'Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes illorum immortalitate plena est. In paucis correpti magna beneficia consequentur.'"

Ibid. 54.

"Praeterea Salomon: 'In malevolam,' inquit, 'animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore obnoxio peccato.'"

Ibid. Haeres. LXV. 1.

"Nam in illo *Scripturae dictum* illud impletur: 'Fascinatio enim nugacitatis obscurat bona, et inconstantia concupiscentiae transvertit mentem sine malitia.'"

Ibid. Haeres. LXVII. 4.

"Hic igitur: 'Senectus,' inquit, 'venerabilis non longaeva, etc.'"

Ibid.

"Ut autem de pueris loqui illum appareat statim adjicit: 'Consummatus in brevi, (quasi dicat: mortuus juvenis) implevit tempora multa. Placita enim erat Domino anima illius: propterea festinavit eum educere de medio malitiae.'"

Ibid. Haeres. LXIX. 31.

"Alter cum ipso minime comparabitur."

Ibid.

"Quid porro? Ut de Filio sermonem esse cognoscas, deinceps ista subjecit: 'Invenit omnem viam scientiae et dedit illam.'"

Ibid. 38.

“Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Ibid. 37—38.

Ibid. 38.

Esther XIII. 9.

“— et dixit : Domine, Domine, rex omnipotens, in ditione enim tua cuncta sunt posita, et non est, qui possit tuae resistere voluntati, si decreveris salvare Israel.”

Baruch III. 37—38.

Sap. I. 7.

“Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum : et hoc, quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis.”

Eccli. XIV. 5.

“Qui sibi nequam est, cui alii bonus erit ? et non jucundabitur in bonis suis.”

Sap. IX. 14.

“Cogitationes enim mortalium timidae, et incertae providentiae nostrae —.”

Baruch III. 38.

“Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.”

Ibid.

“Tum postea : ‘ In terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.’ ”

Ibid. 53.

Ibid. 55.

Ibid. Lib. III. Haeres. LXX. 7.

“Sed et illud proinde certum, posse illum quae velit efficere : ‘ Nullus est enim qui ejus voluntati resistat.’ ”

Ibid. Haeres. LXXI. 3.

“Qui invenit omnem viam scientiae. Exstitisse vero divina Scriptura non dubitat. Nam quae sequuntur ante illum exstitisse declarant. Velut quod omnem viam scientiae reperisse dicatur, deinde in terris visus esse.”

Ibid. Haeres. LXXIV.

“Spiritus enim Domini replevit orbem terrarum.”

Ibid. Haeres. LXXVI. Confut. VIII.

“Ecquis igitur illius miserebitur, qui sibi ipsi malus, nemini alteri bonus est ?”

Ibid. LXXVI. Confut. XXXI.

“— siquidem divina majestas, Patris inquam et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, angelorum mentes omnes longo intervallo superat, nedum *hominum quorum timidae cogitationes.*”

St. Epiph. Expositio Fidei XVI.

“— ac denique verus ut apparet Filius, et illud *Propheta vaticinium expleret* : ‘ Et post haec enim in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.’ ”

The frequency with which this passage is quoted by the Fathers manifests that they considered it a *classic text to prove the Incarnation*.

Sap. XIV. 12.

"Initium enim fornicationis est exquisitio idolorum—."

Eccli. III. 22.

"Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris: sed quae praecepit tibi Deus, illa cogita semper, et in pluribus operibus ejus ne fueris curiosus."

Dan. III. 57.

"Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino—."

St. Epiph. Ancoratus II.

"Initium quippe fornicationis est exquisitio idolorum,' *ut ait Scriptura*."

Ibid. XII.

"Etenim cum nos *Scriptura* reprehendit his verbis: 'Quae praecepta tibi sunt, haec cogita; neque arcanis et occultis tibi opus est: et altiora te ne quaesieris, ac profundiora te ne inquiras.'"

Ibid. XXIV.

"—et creaturas a Creatore discernentes, hunc in modum (tres pueri in fornace) locuti sunt: 'Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino.'"

He repeats this passage and other portions of the Benedictus in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Chapters.

Sap. X. 21.

"—quoniam sapientia aperuit os mutorum, et linguas infantium fecit disertas."

Ibid. XXXI.

"—quique balbutientium linguam disertam praestitit, etc."

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius."

Ibid. XLII.

"Ad haec Salomon aliam quamdam sapientiam appellat: 'Amavi,' inquit, 'pulchritudinem ejus et eam mihi sponsam duxi.'"

Baruch III. 38.

"Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Ibid. LXXVIII.

"Christus autem Deus e coelo, verbum e Maria caro factum est hominemque suscepit, et nobiscum, ut ait Scriptura, versatus est."

Esther XIII. 9.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. XCVI.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. II. 23.

"Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inextermabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit illum."

St. Epiph. Epist. ad Joan. Episcopum Hieros. Cap. VI.

"Dicit enim (Salomon) in Sapientia quae titulo ejus inscribitur: 'Creavit Deus incorruptum hominem, et imaginem suae proprietatis dedit ei.'"

Here, in the clearest terms, Epiphanius makes known that his exclusion of a book from the list of those called canonical, was not equivalent to denying it the authority of divine Scripture. He certainly believed that he was quoting the revealed word, when he introduces these passages in the solemn formulæ, "ut ait Scriptura," "Scriptum est," etc. Neither did he quote these passages at random, not adverting to the fact that they were not in the Canon. He often *specifies the book, and speaks of the authors*. We believe that had the other deuterocanonical books been equally serviceable for dogmatic argument, he would have drawn also from them as from Scriptural sources. At least, our adversaries must admit that Epiphanius is a staunch supporter of the divinity of at least three deuterocanonical books, and also of the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel, and that his exclusion of the deuterocanonical books from the list then termed canonical, cannot be construed to signify non-inspiration of the same.

Among the adversaries of the deuterocanonical books is placed Gregory Nazianzenus.*

*Gregory Nazianzenus, takes his distinctive title from Nazianzus, a small town in the south-west of Cappadocia, which is not known to the early geographers, and owes its chief importance to its connection with our author. It is impossible to fix with exactness the date of his birth; according to the Bollandists it should be placed before the year 300. His father at first an infidel, was converted by his wife Nonna, and afterwards was Bishop of Nazianzus; his mother St. Nonna, considered the infant Gregory as given her in answer to her prayers.

Gregory studied at Cæsarea, Alexandria and Athens, and became proficient in Greek oratory and poetry. He contracted in youth a friendship for St. Basil, which lasted through life. The two sought together the solitude of the desert, whence Gregory was afterwards summoned to assist his aged father in the cares of the Episcopate. He was soon after ordained priest by his father, and then, bishop by St. Basil. Gregory, however, soon after abandoned his see for the solitude, but emerged thence again at the instance of his decrepit father, and executed the episcopal functions in Nazianzus without assuming the name of bishop. After the death of his parent, he again sought the desert, but was brought thence by his friends, and placed in the See of Constantinople. He was favored by Theodosius the Great, and resisted the swarming heresies of the time, chief among which was the heresy of Arius.

The perfidy and envy of his enemies induced him to resign again the See

Two passages in Gregory's works form the basis of his pretended opposition to the deuterocanonical books. The first passage occurs in *Carmen I. 13*:

"Accipe a me selectum hunc, amice, numerum,
Sunt quidem historici libri omnes duodecim,
Antiquioris Hebraicae sapientiae:
Primus Genesis, deinde Exodus et Leviticus;
Postea Numeri, tum Deuteronomium,
Deinde Josue et Judices; Ruth octavus est.
Nonus decimusque liber, res gestae Regum,
Et Paralipomena; Esdras habes ultimo loco.
Quinque versibus scripti sunt, quorum primus Job,
Postea David, tum Salomonis tres,
Ecclesiastes, Canticum, et Proverbia.
Similiter quinque Spiritus prophetici;
Ac uno quidem continentur libri duodecim:
Osee, et Amos, et Micheas tertius;
Deinde Joel, postea Jonas, Abdias,
Nahum, Habacuc et Sophonias,
Aggaeus, deinde Zacharias, Malachias,
Uno hi continentur libro: secundo Isaias,
Tertio qui vocatus est Jeremias ab infantia,
Quarto Ezechiel, quinto Danielis gratia.
Veteres quidem numeravi duos et virginti libros
Hebraeorum elementorum numero respondententes."

After enumerating in succession all the books of the New Testament, excepting the Apocalypse, he concludes:

"Si quid est extra hunc numerum non est ex germanis Scripturis."

In the celebrated *Carmen ad Seleucum*, a Canon occurs differing from the foregoing only in this, that he admits in it Esther, which did not appear in the first *Carmen*, and also the Apocalypse with the qualification:

"Apocalypsim autem Johannis
Quidam vero admittunt, pars vero major
Spuriam asserunt."

Basing their judgment on this difference in the Canons, and on the testimony of some codices, some have denied to Gregory the authorship of the *Carmen ad Seleucum*; and have attributed it to Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium (344—394), the friend of Gregory, called by him the "irreproachable pontiff," the "angel," and "hero of truth." The opinion rests principally on the authority of Combefis, the editor of Amphilochius'

of Constantinople, and he finally sought the solitude of the desert again, where he died in 389 A. D.

Gregory was by nature severe, and leaned to the life of an ascetic. His vast erudition, caused Jerome to journey to Constantinople to hear him. His writings are at times excessively ornate, and sometimes uncritical. His chief works are fifty-five orations, a great number of letters, and many poems.

works, and in my judgment has little foundation. I see no good reason for denying to Gregory this Carmen, since the presence of Esther and the Apocalypse therein would simply show that Gregory, in endeavoring to follow the trend of religious thought, could not be consistent in excluding books which the Church considered divine.

Gregory concludes his canon in the Carmen ad Seleucum with these words:

—“His certissimus
Canon tibi sit divinarum Scripturarum.”

It would seem, at first sight, that these testimonies manifest a certain opposition to the deuterocanonical books. However, in the Carmen ad Seleucum, 252—257, Gregory declares that he allows to the deuterocanonical books a sort of middle place between uninspired and inspired Scripture:

—“Non omnis liber pro certo habendus
Qui venerandum Scripture nomen præfert.
Sunt enim, sunt (ut nonnunquam fit) inscripti falsi nominis
Libri: *nonnulli quidem intermedii sunt ac vicini,*
Ut ita dixerim, veritatis doctrinæ;
Alii vero spurii et magnopere periculosi.”

Gregory accorded to the deuterocanonical books a middle rank. He made a distinction much like that made of old by the Jews in assigning an inferior degree of inspiration to the products of the “Filia vocis.” This was an erroneous explanation of a fact. The fact was, that these books bore the name of divine Scripture; they entered into the deposit of faith of the Church; the faithful learned them by memory; Gregory himself, as we shall see by numerous passages from his writings, had drunk deeply from these fountains.

On the other hand, they were not in the official list of the Synagogue. This alone was sufficient to cast such doubt upon them with the extremely conservative Cappadocian school of which Gregory is a representative exponent, that they stopped short of inserting them in the Canon; at the same time they honored them as sources of divine truth.

The other Cappadocian Fathers, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Cæsarius, frequently cite Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, as they were the books most fitted for dogmatic argument.

Basil quotes Judith:

Judith IX. 4.

“Tu enim fecisti priora, et illa post illa cogitasti, et hoc factum est quod ipse voluisti.”

Lib. De Spiritu Sancto VIII.
19.

“Sicuti Judith: ‘Cogitasti,’ inquit, ‘et præsto fuerunt omnia quæ cogitasti.’”

II. Maccab. VII. 1.

"Contigit autem et septem fratres una cum matre sua apprehensos compelli a rege edere contra fas carnes porcinas, flagris, et taureis cruciatis."

Epist. VI. ad Nectarii uxorem, 1.

"Maccabaeorum mater septem filiorum mortem conspexit, nec ingemuit, nec ignobiles lacrymas effudit, sed gratias agens Deo quod videret eos igne et ferro et acerbissimis verberibus e vinculis carnis exsolvi, Deo quidem probata fuit, celebris vero habita est apud homines."

How deeply Gregory had been influenced by the practical usage of the Church can be learned from the following collated passages:

Dan. XIII. 5.

"Et constituti sunt de populo duo senes iudices in illo anno: de quibus locutus est Dominus: Quia egressa est iniquitas de Babylone a senioribus iudicibus, qui videbantur regere populum."

St. Greg. Naz. Orat. II. 64.

"—nempe quod egressa est iniquitas ex Babylone a senioribus iudicibus qui populum regere videbantur."

Eccli. III. 11.

"Benedictio patris firmat domos filiorum—."

Ibid. 96.

"Benedictio enim Patris firmat domos filiorum."

Sap. V. 15.

"—quoniam spes impii tamquam lanugo est, quae a vento tollitur, etc."

Orat. V. 28.

"—tamquam lanugo quae a vento disjicitur—."

Sap. XVI. 13.

"Tu es enim, Domine, qui vitae et mortis habes potestatem, et deducis ad portas mortis, et reducis—."

Ibid. 29.

"Ecquis novit num Deus qui solvit compeditos, gravemque et '*humis vergentem a portis mortis in altum subvehit*—.'"

Eccli. XXXVIII. 16.

"Fili, in mortuum produc lacrymas, et quasi dira passus, incipe plorare, etc."

Orat. VII. 1.

"Super mortuum plora, et quasi dira passus, incipe plorare."

Sap. III. 15.

"Bonorum enim laborum gloriosus est fructus, etc."

Ibid. 14.

"Bonorum enim laborum gloriosus est fructus."

Sap. V. 10—11.

“ — et tamquam navis, quae pertransit fluctuantem aquam: cujus, cum praeterierit, non est vestigium invenire, neque semitam carinae illius in fluctibus: aut tamquam avis, quae transvolat in aëre, cujus nullum invenitur argumentum itineris, etc.”

Sap. I. 4.

“ — quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Eccli. VI. 14—15.

“ Amicus fidelis, protectio fortis: qui autem invenit illum, invenit thesaurum. Amico fideli nulla est comparatio, et non est digna ponderatio auri et argenti contra bonitatem fidei illius.”

Eccli. I. 2.

“ Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies saeculi quis dinumeravit? Altitudinem coeli, et latitudinem terrae, et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?”

Ibid. 19.

“ Insomnium sumus, minime consistens, spectrum quoddam, quod teneri non potest, avis praetereuntis volatus, navis in mari vestigium non habens, pulvis, vapor, ros matutinus, flos momento nascens et momento marcescens.”

Orat. IX. 2.

“ In malignam enim animam non ingressuram sapientiam recte dictum est.”

Orat. XI. 1.

“ Amico fideli nulla est comparatio; nec ulla est digna ponderatio contra bonitatem illius. Amicus fidelis, protectio fortis.”

Orat. XIV. 30.

“ Sed quis arenam maris et pluviae guttas et abyssi profunditatem metiri... queat?”

The fifteenth oration of St. Gregory is in praise of the Maccabees, whose feast the Church celebrated in his day. Frequently in the course of the oration he adverts to data taken from the first and second Books of Maccabees. The very fact that he composed such an oration, shows clearly, that he recognized the books. Cornely's animadversion here that Gregory has in mind only the fourth book, is erroneous. (Cornely, *Introduc. Gen.* p. 98, note 18.) Gregory in the second paragraph speaks of a book: *qui rationem perturbationibus animi imperare docet*, which evidently refers to the apocryphal fourth book of Maccabees, but this would only show that he united the fourth with the others in collecting his argument. Most of the data of the oration are taken from the first and second Books of Maccabees.

Eccli. XI. 30.

"Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."

Baruch II. 12.

"— peccavimus, impie egimus, inique gessimus, Domine Deus noster, in omnibus justitiis tuis."

Dan. XIV. 33.

"Dixitque angelus Domini ad Habacuc: Fer prandium, quod habes, in Babylonem Danieli, qui est in lacu leonum."

Sap. XI. 21.

"Sed et sine his uno spiritu poterant occidi persecutionem passi ab ipsis factis suis, et dispersi per spiritum virtutis tuae: sed omnia in mensura, et numero et pondere disposuisti."

Dan. XIII.

Sap. I. 7.

"Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, et hoc, quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis."

Orat. XXIX. 17. He calls the Son of God "Imago bonitatis," evidently assuming the phrase from Wisdom VII. 26.

Baruch III. 36, 38.

"Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum.

Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Orat. XVI. 3.

"Nam si, ut ego cum Salomone sentio, hominem ante mortem beatum praedicare non oportet."

Ibid. 12.

"— adjungam: Peccavimus, inique egimus, impietatem fecimus."

Orat. XVIII. 30.

"— aut per prophetam in sublimine raptum satians, ut Danielem, antea cum fame in lacu premeretur."

Orat. XXIV. 1.

"— atque ut hinc initium ducamus, quam commode, pulchrisque Dei mensuris, qui omnia cum pondere et mensura constituit ac moderatur, etc."

Ibid. 10.

"(Deus) qui et Susannam mortis periculo liberavit, et Theclam servavit; illam a saevis senioribus, hanc a tyranno ipsius proco et a matri adhuc crudeliori."

Orat. XXVIII. 8.

"— ait Scriptura... 'Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.'"

Orat. XXX. 13.

"'Hic Deus tuus, et non aestimabitur alius praeter eum.' Et paucis interjectis: 'Post haec in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.'"

Sap. VII. 22.

"Est enim in illa spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis, etc."

Sap. I. 4.

"Quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis."

Sap. III. 11.

"Sapientiam enim, et disciplinam qui abjicit, infelix est: et vacua est spes illorum, et labores sine fructu, et inutilia opera eorum."

Eccli. V. 14.

"Si est tibi intellectus, responde proximo: sin autem, sit manus tua super os tuum, ne capiaris in verbo indisciplinato, et confundaris."

Eccli. VII. 15.

"Noli verbosus esse in multitudine presbyterorum."

Eccli. XI. 27.

"In die bonorum ne immemoris malorum, et in die malorum ne immemor sis bonorum —."

Dan. XIII. 5.

"Et constituti sunt de populo duo senes iudices in illo anno, de quibus locutus est Dominus: Quia egressa est iniquitas de Babylone a senioribus iudicibus, qui videbantur regere populum."

Dan. XIII. 42.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeternae, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia antequam fiant."

Orat. XXXI. 29.

"Spiritus intelligens, multiplex, apertus, clarus, incontaminatus, minimeque impeditus, etc."

Orat. XXXII. 12.

"— quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia."

Ibid. 20.

"— ac Deus faxit ne quid unquam huic occupationi praevertendum ducam, ne alioqui ab ipsa Sapientia miser appeller, ut sapientiam et eruditionem spernens ac pro nihilo ducens."

Ibid. 21.

"Si est tibi sermo prudentiae, inquit ille, nec quisquam prohibebit: sin minus, haereat vinculum labiis tuis."

Ibid.

"Noli celer esse in verbis, admonet Sapiens."

Orat. XXXV. 3.

"In die enim laetitiae, inquit, malorum oblivio est."

Orat. XXXVI. 3.

"— juxta Danielelem egressa est iniquitas a senioribus Babylonicis, qui Israellem regere existimabantur."

Ibid 7.

"— imo non videor, sed perspicuus atque manifestus sum ei qui omnia priusquam oriantur novit."

Eccli. III. 11.

"Benedictio patris firmat domos filiorum: maledictio autem matris eradicat fundamenta."

Eccli. III. 12.

"Ne glorieris in contumelia patris, etc."

Eccli. I. 16.

"Initium sapientiae, timor Domini, et cum fidelibus in vulva concreatus est, cum electis feminis graditur, et cum justis et fidelibus agnoscitur."

Sap. III. 7.

"Fulgebunt justi, et tamquam scintillae in arundinetis discurrent."

Eccli. XXXII. 3.

"—ut laeteris propter illos, et ornamentum gratiae accipias coronam, et dignationem consequaris corrogationis."

Sap. IV. 8.

"Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna, neque annorum numero computata: cani autem sunt sensus hominis."

II. Maccab. VII. 1.

"Contigit autem et septem fratres una cum matre sua apprehensos compelli a rege edere contra fas carnes porcinas, flagris, et taureis cruciatos."

Sap. II. 24.

"Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit, etc."

Orat. XXXVII. 6.

"Item alio loco: 'Benedictio patris firmat domos filiorum; maledictio autem matris eradicat fundamenta.'"

Ibid. 18.

"Quod si hoc etiam probas: 'Fili, ne glorieris de ignominia patris.'"

Orat. XXXIX. 8.

"Unde Salomon nobis legem statuit: 'Principium sapientiae,' inquit, 'posside sapientiam.' Quidnam vocat hoc principium sapientiae? 'Timorem.'"

Orat. XL. 6.

"—quo tempore nimirum justii fulgebunt sicut sol."

Ibid. 18.

"Honore eum complectere ut te ornet, capitique tuo gratiarum coronam nectat."

Orat. XLIII. 23.

"Quis prudentia perinde canus erat, etiam ante canitiem? Quandoquidem hac re senectutem Salomon quoque definivit."

Ibid. 74.

"Mitto septem Maccabaeorum dimicationem qui cum sacerdote et matre in sanguine atque omnis generis tormentis consummati sunt."

Orat. XLIV. 4.

"Quoniam autem invidia diaboli mors in mundum introivit, etc."

The reference to Judith V. 6, in Orat. XLV. 15: "quod et semen Chaldaicum sublatum atque oppressum Scriptura vocat," is somewhat uncertain.

Eccli. III. 11.

"Benedictio patris firmat domos filiorum: maledictio autem matris eradicat fundamenta."

Baruch III. 38.

"Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Eccli. IV. 32.

"Noli resistere contra faciem potentis, nec coneris contra ictum fluvii."

Eccli. XXXI. 32.

"Aequa vita hominibus vinum in sobrietate: si bibas illud moderate, eris sobrius."

St. Greg. Epist. LXI.

"Ita fiet ut ab ea non modo pecunias habeatis, sed maternam etiam benedictionem, filiorum domos fulcientem, consequamini."

Epist. CII.

"—atque ad haec verba confugientes: 'Post haec in terra visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.'"

Epist. CLXXVIII.

"Porro non esse vi cohibendum fluminis cursum, paroemia quoque ipsa docet."

Epist. CLXXXI.

"Sin autem tibi praestantiore monitore opus est, illud quidem monet Salomon ut cum consilio vinum bibas, ne mundi hujus temulentia et vertigine agaris."

These references leave no doubt that Gregory believed that he was there quoting divine Scripture. The whole Church used them, committed them to memory, proved and illustrated their dogmas by them. This influence was so powerful that even the most conservative came under it, and, as we shall see, even those who wished to turn the tide of this tradition were inconsistent. Another oriental authority of this period that is objected against us is the 60th canon of the Council of Laodicea. This canon explicitly defines that the books to be read in the Church are those which we now comprehend in the protocanonical class. The date of the Council of Laodicea is uncertain, but it is generally believed to have been celebrated about the middle of the fourth century. Some have doubted the genuinity of the 60th canon (Herbst, Vincenzi, Malou, Danko), but as it is recognized by Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* I. p. 749—751, we shall not base our treatment of it upon its doubtful character. Admitting all its claims, it simply establishes that some bishops of Phrygia in a particular council refused to allow to be read publicly in the Church any book excepting those that were absolutely certain. We are not endeavoring to prove that the position of protocanonical and deuterocanonical books were equal in the early ages of the Church. Their

equality was wrought by the Council of Trent. What we wish to show is that these books were known to the early Christians, venerated by them, committed to memory by them, and considered by them as the inspired word of God.

The Council in Trullo, which the Greeks hold to be oecumenical, received the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, but, as they also received the Canons of the Council of Carthage, they evidently intended that the decree concerning the canonical Scriptures should be modified in accordance with the complete Canon of the Council of Carthage.

The Greeks also in the Council in Trullo received various Apocryphal documents of the fifth century called the Canons of the Apostles. The 85th canon of this collection is sometimes cited against us, as it does not contain any of the deuterocanonical books, save the books of Maccabees. This canon can have no weight since it embraces three books of Maccabees, two epistles of St. Clement of Rome, and the eight books of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

The Council in Trullo in receiving this Canon could not have excluded the Canon of the Council of Carthage, whose decrees and canons it ratified. In fact, the Council in Trullo expressly stated that the *Constitutiones Apost.* were adulterated, and hence not to be read. It seems, however, due to this canon that the Greeks, even to this day, recognize as canonical three books of Maccabees.

We can scarcely expect the guiding hand of the Holy Ghost in the members who composed the Council in Trullo.

One who candidly examines the data here presented must admit that the Oriental Church during the fourth and fifth centuries recognized and used the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.

Turning now from the East to the west, we meet the first objection taken from the writings of St. Hilary.* The objection is found in the fifteenth paragraph of his Prologue on the Book of Psalms. After seeking mystic reasons for the number eight in the Scriptures, he proceeds as follows :

*St. Hilary was born in Poitiers in France in the opening years of the fourth century. His parents were pagans of noble rank. They procured for their son every educational advantage ; and the youth, applying himself with diligence soon came to be regarded as the most learned man of his age. His reading of the Holy Scriptures brought him to recognize the truth of the Christian faith, which he, his wife, and child Abra embraced. He was consecrated Bishop of Poitiers in 350, or 355 and became the staunch defender of the Church against Arianism. The Arian Saturninus of Arles banished Hilary to Phrygia. He was called from his exile to be present at the Council

“And this is the cause that the law of the Old Testament is divided into 22 books, that they might agree with the number of letters. These books are arranged according to the traditions of the ancients, so that five are of Moses, the sixth is of Jesus Nave, the seventh is Judges and Ruth, the first and second of Kings form the eighth; the third and fourth (of Kings) form the ninth; the two books of Paralipomenon form the tenth; the discourses of the days of Ezra form the eleventh; the book of Psalms, the twelfth; Solomon’s proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticle of Canticles form the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth; the twelve Prophets form the sixteenth; while Isaiah, then Jeremiah, the Lamentations and the Epistle, Daniel, Ezechiel, Job, and Esther complete the number of twenty-two books.” Hilary gives only the protocanonical works, and then continues:

“To some it has seemed good to add Tobias and Judith, and thus constitute 24 books according to the Greek alphabet, etc.”

We see here an excessive mysticism impelling a man to reject or admit a book for the sole purpose of completing a mystic number. This tendency had been brought into patristic thought by Origen and the Alexandrian school. Hilary does not reject the deuterocanonical books, but considers the protocanonical as forming a class by themselves. Hilary’s weak, unsubstantial arguments are attributable to the man impressed by the spirit of his age. The great current of tradition is greater than any one man, and drew Hilary with it, so that we find him ranking the deuterocanonical books on an equal footing with the others, as the following quotations will show:

Eccli. I. 33.

“Fili, concupiscens sapientiam,
conserva justitiam, et Deus prae-
bebit illam tibi.”

St. Hilary Pral. in Ps. 20.

“—secundum id quod dictum
est: ‘Desiderasti sapientiam?
Serva mandata et Dominus
praestabit tibi eandem.’”

of Selencia; in which council he made such head against the Arians that to rid themselves of such a powerful antagonist, they sent him back to France. The people received him as a hero from the arena, victorious over the heretics. He set in order his diocese, and there passed the remaining years of his holy life. He died in 367 or 368. His most celebrated work is his Twelve Books on the Trinity, composed during his exile in Phrygia. This treatise is a classic work on the Trinity. He has left also Commentaries on the Psalms and Gospels, a treatise *De Fide Orientalium*, and numerous other shorter works.

Eccli. XI. 30.

"Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."

Dan. XIII. 56.

"Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, etc."

Eccli. I. 16.

"Initium sapientiae, timor Domini, etc."

Baruch III. 38.

"Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Sap. XVII. 1.

"Magna sunt enim judicia tua, Domine, et inenarrabilia, etc."

Sap. VII. 27.

"Et cum sit una, omnia potest: et in se permanens, omnia innovat, et per nationes in animas sanctas se transfert: amicos Dei et prophetas constituit."

Sap. I. 7.

"Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, etc."

II. Maccab. VI. 18 et seqq.
and VII. 1 et seqq.

Tract. in XIV. Ps. 14.

"Idcirco apud Salomonem omnis laus in exitu canitur."

Tract. in LII. Ps. 19.

"Sed et Daniel presbyteros condemnans ita dicit: 'Non semen Abraham sed semen Chanaan et non Juda.'"

Tract. in Ps. LXVI. 9.

"Et per Salomonem: 'Initium sapientiae timor Domini est.'"

Tract. in Ps. LXVIII. 19.

"—postea in terris visus sit, et inter homines conversatus sit."

Tract. in Ps. CXVIII. 8.

"—et rursum *propheta*: 'Magna enim sunt judicia tua, et inenarrabilia.'"

Ibid. Littera V. 9.

"Si Apostoli docent, prior ille docuit: 'Constituit enim Sapientia amicos Dei et prophetas.'"

Ibid. Littera XIX. 8.

"Et Spiritus Dei, secundum Prophetam, replevit orbem terrarum."

Tract. in Ps. CXXV. 4.

"Testes sunt mihi tres pueri inter flammam cantantes (Dan. III. 24 et seqq.), testis Daniel in fame leonum prophetae prandio saturatus (Dan. XIV. 35); testis Eleazar inter jura dominorum patriis suis legibus liber; testes cum matre sua martyres septem, Deo gratias inter nova mortis tormenta referentes."

Judith XVI. 3.

"Dominus conterens bella,
Dominus nomen est illi."

Tract. in Ps. CXXV. 6.

"—et cantantes *ex Lege*: 'Dominus conterens bella, Dominus nomen est illi.' "

Certainly Hilary denied not inspiration to a book which he honored by the august name of the "Law."

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a
juventute mea, et quæsivi spon-
sam mihi eam assumere, et ama-
tor factus sum formae illius."

Tract. in Ps. CXXVIII. 9.

"Salomon itaque ait: 'Quæ-
sivi sapientiam sponsam adducere
mihi ipsi.' "

Ibid. 3.

"Generositatem illius glorifi-
cat contubernium habens Dei:
sed et omnium Dominus dilexit
illam—."

Ibid.

"—hujus sponsae suae opes
memorat dicens: 'Honestatem
glorificat convictum Dei habens,
et omnium Dominus dilexit
eam.' "

Ibid. 8.

"Et si multitudinem scientiae
desiderat quis, scit praeterita, et
de futuris aestimat, etc."

Ibid.

"—et si multam quis cogniti-
onem desiderat, novit et quae a
principio sunt, et quae futura
sunt conspicit."

Ibid. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid.

"—de qua et rursum ait: 'Ju-
dicavi igitur hanc adducere ad
convivendum mecum, et amator
factus sum pulchritudinis ejus.' "

Tob. XII. 12.

"Quando orabas cum lacry-
mis, et sepeliebas mortuos, et
derelinquebas prandium tuum,
et mortuos abscondebas per diem
in domo tua, et nocte sepeliebas
eos, ego obtuli orationem tuam
Domino."

Tract. in Ps. CXXIX. 7.

"Sunt, secundum Raphael ad
Tobiam loquentem, angeli assis-
tentes ante claritatem Dei, et
orationes deprecantium ad Deum
deferentes."

II. Maccab. VI. 21.

"Hi autem, qui astabant, ini-
qua miseratione commoti, prop-
ter antiquam viri amicitiam, tol-
lentes eum secreto, rogabant
afferri carnes, quibus vesci ei
licebat, ut simularetur mandu-
casse, sicut rex imperaverat de
sacrificii carnibus—."

Tract. in Ps. CXXXIV. 25.

"Sanctus etiam Eleazar, cum
a principibus populi sui degus-
tare ementitum sacrificium coge-
retur, gloriam martyrii sub hac
eadem voce consummat, sciens,
etc."

Sap. I. 7.

"Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, etc."

Eccli. XXVIII. 28—29.

"Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia, et seras. Aurum tuum et argentum tuum confla, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos—."

Sap. II. 12—13.

"Circumveniamus ergo justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis, et contrarius est operibus nostris, . . . et filium Dei se nominat."

Sap. XIII. 5.

"— a magnitudine enim speciei et creaturae, cognoscibiliter poterit Creator horum videri —."

Dan. XIII. 42.

"Exclamavit autem voce magna Susanna, et dixit: Deus aeternae, qui absconditorum es cognitor, qui nosti omnia, antequam fiant —."

II. Maccab. VII. 28.

"Peto, nate, ut aspicias ad cœlum et terram, et ad omnia quae in eis sunt, et intelligas, quia ex nihilo fecit illa Deus, et hominum genus —."

II. Maccab. VII. 9.

"—et in ultimo spiritu constitutus, sic ait: Tu quidem, scelestissime, in praesenti vita nos perdis: sed Rex mundi defunctos nos pro suis legibus in aeternae vitae resurrectione suscitabit."

Tract. in Ps. CXXXV. 11.

"— docet *propheta* dicens: 'Spiritus Dei replevit orbem terrarum.'"

Tract. in Ps. CXL. 5.

"— ita monemur: 'Ecce circumvalla possessionem tuam spinis; argentum et aurum tuum constitue, et ori tuo fac ostium, et seram, et verbis tuis jugum et mensuram.'"

Tract. de Ps. XLI. 12.

"Vox cataractae fuit: 'Optimamus justum, quia inutilis est nobis, et contrarius est operibus nostris, et filium Dei se nominat.'"

De Trinitate Lib. I. 7.

"— hunc de Deo pulcherrimae sententiae modum prophetis vocibus apprehendit: 'De magnitudine enim operum et pulchritudine creaturarum consequenter generationum Conditor conspicitur.'"

Ibid. Lib. IV. 8.

"— sicut beata Susanna dicit: 'Deus aeternae, absconditorum cognitor, sciens omnia ante generationem eorum.'"

Ibid. 16.

"Omnia enim *secundum Prophetam* facta ex nihilo sunt."

Lib. Contra Const. Imp. 6.

"— sciat a martyre esse dictum regi Antiocho: 'Tu quidem, iniquus, de presenti vita nos perdis, sed Rex mundi defunctos nos pro suis legibus in aeternam vitam in resurrectione suscitabit.'"

Eccli. XXI. 1.

"Fili, peccasti? non adjicias iterum: sed et de pristinis deprecare, ut tibi dimittentur."

Sap. II. 23.

"Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, etc."

Sap. VI. 8.

"Non enim subtrahet personam cujusquam Deus, nec veretur magnitudinem cujusquam; quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit, et aequaliter cura est illi de omnibus."

Ex Operibus Historicis Frag.
III. 24.

"Nec Dominum audiunt dicentem: 'Peccasti? quiesce.'"

Epistola VIII.

"Salomon clamat dicens: 'Deus condidit hominem ad immortalitatem.'"

Ibid. IX.

"Clamat Propheta dicens: 'Et pauperem et divitem ego feci, et pro omnibus aequalis cura est mihi.'"

Hilary has here explicitly canonized every deuterocanonical book. He sought the mystic number in the books that the Hebrews received, not with the view to exclude the others from divine inspiration, but only classifying the Scriptures of the Old Testament in two general categories, which existed down to the time of the Council of Trent.

The next objection which is urged against us is taken from the fragmentary writings of Rufinus.* The objection is taken from the *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum* 36—38. "And therefore it seems apposite to clearly enumerate, as we have received from the testimonies of the Fathers, the books of the Old and New Testaments, which, according to the

*Rufinus was born at Concordia, a small village of Italy, towards the middle of the 4th century. He early devoted himself to the acquisition of knowledge, for which cause he took up his abode at Aquileja, whose renown as a seat of learning had merited for it the name of the second Rome. A desire for sanctity drew him into a monastery in this city, wherein St. Jerome first met him. There was formed between Jerome and Rufinus the closest friendship, so that when Jerome left Aquileja to journey through France and Germany, Rufinus, unconsolable by the separation, went in search of him.

Rufinus visited Egypt, and there formed a lasting friendship with the celebrated St. Melania. He suffered many persecutions from the Arians. He was sent into exile, from which Melania ransomed him, and both retired to Palestine.

The esteem in which Jerome at this time held Rufinus may be known from the following, written to a friend in Jerusalem: "You will see shine in Rufinus the character of sanctity, while I am but dust. My feeble eyes can scarce bear the effulgence of his virtues. He comes even now from the cleansing crucible of persecution, and is now whiter than snow, while I am stained by all sorts of sins."

Rufinus built a monastery on Mt. Olivet, and there labored zealously

tradition of the ancients, are believed to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, and delivered to the Church." Then follows a list of only the protocanonical works. Continuing, he says : "It is to be known, however, that there are other books which have been called by the Fathers not canonical but ecclesiastical. Such are the Wisdom which is called of Salomon, and the other Wisdom which is called of the Son of Sirach, which book in the Latin tongue is called by the general term of Ecclesiasticus, by which term not the author but the quality of the Scripture is designated. Of the same order are the books of Tobias and Judith and the books of Maccabees, and in the New Testament the book which is called the Pastor of Hermas, and the Two Ways or Choice of Peter. All these books, they (the Fathers) wished to be read in the churches, but not to be used for the confirmation of dogma."

The testimony of Rufinus well illustrates the position of the deuterocanonical books in that age. The Church, as the divine institution of Christ, used them, and the faithful drew their spiritual teaching from them. At the same time, some of the Fathers induced a scientific distinction between them and the books of the first canon. This scientific distinction was purely a *critical judgment of the Fathers*, and was not aimed at denying to these books divine inspiration. There had been no decree of the Church, and these books had not as much *extrinsically* in their favor as the others. The extremely conservative spirit of the Fathers was content to use them as divine Scripture in their practical use of Scripture ; while, in drawing up official lists of Scriptures, they hesitated to make them equal with the books which the Church had received from the Synagogue.

and fruitfully in apostolic work. Having become conversant with Greek while in Alexandria, he translated into Latin various works of the Greek tongue. Among others, he translated the Principles of Origen. This led to a rupture with St. Jerome, and there is nothing so bitter in patristic literature as Jerome's subsequent invective against Rufinus. This division was a cause of much scandal in the Church. That Rufinus led a saintly life, can not be doubted, but it seems quite certain that he became in his later years infected with the errors of Origen. Rufinus declared that he had acted as a mere translator of the works of Origen, and Pope Anastasius, before whom he was cited, declared that he would leave to God to judge of his intention. We must do the same, but in justification to St. Jerome, it must be said that his zeal for orthodoxy caused him to repudiate the man whom he had once called friend.

The most important of Rufinus' works are : *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum*, *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum*, *Historia Monachorum*, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *Apologia contra Hieronymum* and an *Apologia ad Anastasium Papam*. He died in Sicily in 410.

In the growth and development of doctrine, this hesitancy has been excluded by the vital power in the Church. In the few writings of Rufinus which remain to us, we find the following quotations of deuterocanonical Scripture :

Eccli. XXXIV. 9.

"Qui non est tentatus, quid scit? Vir in multis expertus, cogitabit multa; et qui multa didicit, enarrabit intellectum."

Benedictio Gad 3.

"— ita enim *Scriptura* dicit: 'Qui non est tentatus, non est probabilis.'"

Eccli. XI. 30.

"Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."

Benedictio Joseph 3.

"— sed et *sanctae Scripturae sententia est*: 'Ne laudaveris quemquam ante obitum.'"

Baruch III. 36—38.

"Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius adversus eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae, et tradidit illam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est."

Comment. in Symbolum Apost. 5.

"Quod et Propheta praedixerat ubi ait: 'Hic Deus noster, non reputabitur alter ad eum. Invenit omnem viam disciplinae, et dedit eam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo: post haec in terris visus est et inter homines conversatus est.'"

Sap. III. 7.

"Fulgebunt justi, et tamquam scintillae in arundinetis discurrent."

Ibid. 46.

"— non erit difficile credere etiam illa quae *Prophetarum praedixerant*: 'Quod justi scilicet fulgebunt sicut sol, et sicut splendor firmamenti in regno Dei.'"

Certainly the man who quoted these lines believed that he was employing Holy Scripture.

In his *Apologia Contra Hieronymum*, Lib. II. from the 32d to the 37th paragraph, Rufinus bitterly inveighs against St. Jerome for having dared to cut off the deuterocanonical books.*

*An ut divinarum Scripturarum libros, quos ad plenissimum fidei Instrumentum Ecclesiis Christi Apostoli tradiderunt, nova nunc et a Judaeis mutata interpretatione mutares?... Quis praesumerit sacras Sancti Spiritus voces et divina Volumina temerare? Quis praeter te divino muneri et Apostolorum haereditati manus intulerit.

Et quidem cum ingens copia fuisse ex initio in Ecclesiis Dei, et praecipue Jerosolymis eorum, qui ex circumcisione crediderant, referatur, in quibus utique linguae utriusque perfectam fuisse scientiam, et legis peritiam probabilem, administrati pontificatus testatur officium. Quis ergo in ista eru-

Hence in justice and right, Rufinus must be considered in every way favorable to the deuterocanonical works. We now come to the Achilles of our adversaries, St. Jerome, a man more versed in the Scriptures than any other of the Fathers up to his day. He has in many places, in no dubious terms, expressed his opposition to the deuterocanonical books. As Jerome is inseparably linked with the Latin Vulgate, we deem it not amiss to insert here an abstract of his life. He was born about the year 346 in Stridon, a small village on the confines of Pannonia and Dalmatia.

His parents were property holders, and afforded Jerome a liberal education. Though born of Catholic parents, he was not baptized in his infancy. Infant baptism was not then the custom. After finishing his juvenile studies at home, he was sent to Rome, and studied rhetoric under Aelius Donatus. Jerome's youth could not have been exempt from error, for he confesses in his VII. Epistle: "Ye know the difficult way of adolescence in which I also stumbled." And in his XLVIII. Epistle, 20: "I extol to the heavens, virginity, not that I possess it, but that I admire that which I do not possess." He was accustomed, with other young men of like age and mind with himself, to visit the Catacombs. Such mode of life manifested a serious bent, and he was finally baptized in the Catholic faith, when about twenty years of age. After completing his studies in Rome, he travelled through Gaul, seeking knowledge from

ditorum virorum copia ausus est Instrumentum divinum, quod Apostoli Ecclesiis tradiderunt, et depositum Sancti Spiritus compilare? An non est compilare cum quaedam quidem immutantur, et error dicitur corrigi? Nam omnis illa historia de Susanna, quae castitatis exemplum praebebat Ecclesiis Dei, ab isto abscissa est et abjecta atque posthabita. Trium puerorum hymnus, qui maxime diebus solemnibus in Ecclesia Dei canitur, ab isto e loco suo penitus erasus est. Et quid per singula commemoro de his, quorum comprehendere numerum nequeo? De quo ut omittam illud dicere, quod Septuaginta duorum virorum per cellulas interpretantium unam et consonam vocem, dubitandum non est, Spiritus Sancti inspiratione prolatam, et majoris id debere esse auctoritatis, quam id quod ab uno homine, sibi Barraba aspirante, translatus est. Ut ergo hoc omittam, vide quid dicimus, verbi causa. Petrus Romanae Ecclesiae per viginti et quatuor annos praefuit: dubitandum non est, quin sicut caetera, quae ad instructionem pertinent, etiam librorum Instrumenta Ecclesiae ipse tradiderit, quae utique jam tunc, ipso sedente et docente, recitabantur? Quid ergo? Decepit Petrus Apostolus Christi Ecclesiam, et libros ei falsos et nihil veritatis continentes tradidit, et cum sciret, quod verum est haberi apud Judaeos, apud Christianos volebat haberi quod falsum est? Sed fortasse dicit, quia sine literis erat Petrus, et sciebat quidem Judaeorum libros magis esse veros, quam istos, qui erant in Ecclesia: sed interpretari non poterat propter sermonis imperitiam? Et quid? Nihil in isto agebat ignea lingua per Spiritum Sanctum caelitus data? Non ergo omnibus linguis loquebantur Apostoli?... .

learned men and from the libraries. He settled some time at Treves, where the first promptings to the higher life were recognized by him. Having determined to leave the world, and consecrate himself to God, he returned to his home and adjusted his patrimony. Thence he travelled through Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, into Syria, and coming to Antioch, resided there for some time, where he heard Apollinaris explain the Scriptures, but favored not his heretical dogma. Jerome now determined to seek solitude, and there devote his life to Scriptural studies. For this reason, he sought the desert of Chalcis, which was on the confines of Syria, bordering on the land of the Saracens. He was now about 28 years old. The desert of Chalcis was peopled by a sort of community of hermits, who lived under the guidance of Marcus the presbyter. Jerome speaks pathetically of his struggles to overcome his passions while in this solitude. In his letter to Eustochium, Ep. XXII. 7: "O, in my solitude and in that vast desert, which, burnt by the sun's heat, afforded a wild habitation to the monks, how oft I imagined myself in the midst of the luxuries of Rome! I sat alone, because I was filled with bitterness. My uncomely limbs were rough with sackcloth, and my squalid skin became as black as an Ethiopian's. Tears every day, groans every day; and if ever the sleep which hung on my eye-lids overcame my resistance, I knocked against the ground my bare bones, which scarce hung together. I say nought of food and drink, since

—quomodo non pervidebant per spiritum, quod futurum esset tempus post quadringentos fere annos, quando Ecclesia, cognito eo quod ab Apostolis non sibi esset tradita veritas veteris Instrumenti, legatos mitteret ad istos, quos illi tunc Circumcisionem vocabant, obsecrans et exorans, ut sibi de veritate, quae apud ipsos est, aliquid largirentur? Per totos istos quadringentos annos errasse se, et ignorasse quod verum est, fateretur? Adscitam se quidem esse ex Gentibus sponsam Christo per Apostolos: sed non ab eis veris monilibus exornatam: putasse se lapides esse pretiosos, nunc autem deprehendisse, quod non sunt verae istae gemmae, quas sibi Apostoli Christi imposuerant: erubescere se ad publicum procedere, falsis et non veris lapidibus adornatam, et ideo rogare se, ut vel Barrabam illum quem aliquando, ut Christo nuberet, spreverat, mittant ad se qui possit eum uno electo ex suis viro ornata sibi vera, quae Apostoli non praestiterant, reparare?...

Tua verba sunt, post quadringentos annos non debere simplices Latinorum aures novae doctrinae voce pulsari. Modo tu dicis: Omnis qui putabat Susannam nuptis et innuptis exemplum pudicitiae praestitisse, erravit. Non est verum. Et omnis qui putabat, quod puer Daniel Spiritu Sancto fuerit repletus, et arguerit adulteros senes, erravit: non erat verum. Et omnis Ecclesia per orbem terrarum, sive eorum qui in corpore sunt, sive eorum qui ad Dominum perrexerunt, sive illi sancti Confessores fuerunt, seu etiam sancti Martyres, quicumque Hymnum trium puerorum in Ecclesia Domini cecinerunt, omnes erraverunt, et falsa cecinerunt. Modo ergo nobis post quadringentos annos Legis veritas empta pretio de Synagoga procedit.

the monks, even when ill, use only cold water, and it is thought a sin of luxury to take anything cooked. And I, who through fear of hell had condemned myself to such a prison, and became the companion of scorpions and wild beasts, oft seemed to be in the dances of maidens. My face was pale from fastings, but my mind was tempestuous with lustful desires; in my cold body, the sole incentive of lust heated the man, dead before his death, within his own yet living flesh. . . . I remember in my wailings to have often passed the day as well as the night, and not to have ceased from beating my breast till, the Lord intervening, peace came. I feared my cell as though it were conscious of my thoughts. Angry and unmerciful towards myself, I wandered alone through the deserts. If ever I saw the hollow of a valley, or the rough peak of a mountain, or an abrupt rock, there was the place of my prayer, there the prison of my miserable flesh, and, the Lord is my witness, after many tears, after much fixing of my eyes in heaven, sometimes I seemed to be among the cohorts of angels, and happy and rejoicing, I sang: 'We shall run after thee to the odour of thy ointments.'"

To divert his mind from lustful thoughts, he took up the study of Hebrew, as he tells us in his letter to Rusticus, Epist. 125, 12: "When I was young, and the solitude of the desert encompassed me, I could not endure the incentives of vice and the ardor of my nature, which, although I had broken by frequent fastings, my mind surged with (lustful) thoughts. To overcome this, I gave myself into the tutelage of a certain one of the Hebrews who had believed, in order that, after the rhetorical niceties of Quintillian, the rivers of Cicero, the gravity of Fronto, and soft grace of Pliny, I might learn a (mere) alphabet, and, ponder on harsh and grating words. What labor I endured, what difficulty I underwent, how oft I despaired, how oft I ceased, and, through the desire of knowledge, again began; my conscience bears witness; and not only the conscience of me who suffered, but also of those who lived with me. And I thank God that, from this bitter seed of my studies, I now gather sweet fruits."

The sweet fruits were the deeper insight into God's preparatory dispensation in the Old Law, which only those who know the Hebrew tongue can attain. Some have thought that Jerome learned Greek also in this hermitage, but it seems more probable that he acquired that tongue in the curriculum of his studies at Rome. He could not have listened to the lectures of Apollinaris at Antioch, unless

he knew Greek, his language. Jerome's impulsive character made him many enemies. A dissension arose about the succession to the See of Antioch, Jerome was drawn into it, and his relations became so strained with the monks, that in the spring of 379 he left his solitude, and returned to Antioch. While in the solitude, he had a vision in which he seemed to stand before the throne of God, and be condemned that he was not a Christian but a Ciceronian. This event tempered his love for the profane classics, and inclined him ever more to the Scriptures.

The party of the orthodox but unwise Paulinus had triumphed at Antioch, and, as Jerome had favored his cause, he found welcome in that city. He was by the said Paulinus ordained priest. In 380 he went to Constantinople and studied Scripture under Gregory Nazianzen. In 382 Jerome, Paulinus of Antioch, and St. Epiphanius were summoned to Rome by Pope Damasus to take part in the Roman Synod held in that year. After the close of the Synod, Jerome remained at Rome in the capacity of oriental secretary to Damasus. At this time he undertook, at the command of Damasus, a revision of the Psalter, which continued in use in the Church down to the times of Pius V. He next extended his labors to revising the New Testament, which he "restored according to the original Greek." Jerome's relations with Damasus were very close. Most of Jerome's Scriptural work at this time was done at Damasus request. The vehemence and intolerance of Jerome's nature, can be gleaned from the following passage, Epist. XXXIII. 4. It was written concerning the condemnation of Origen: "Rome consents to his condemnation; it brings together its senate against him, not because of the novelty of his doctrines, not because of heresy, as the *dogs who are mad against him* now pretend; but because they could not bear the glory of his eloquence and his knowledge, and because when he spoke they were made to appear as mutes."*

A few years later, he abused Rufinus in a similar manner because he sustained the defense of Origen. Like violent changes of opinion characterize his whole life. His judgments are not uniform and consistent, and this is to be taken into account when adducing him as an authority.

Jerome had made enemies among the clergy of Rome. Rome was in a state of moral and political decline, and Jerome longed for the quiet of the desert.

*Jerome was accustomed to call the clergy of Rome the Senate of Pharisees.

Paulinus and Jerome were the guests at Rome of the noble and wealthy lady Paula, the heiress of the Aemilian race. She had three daughters, Blesilla who died in a youthful widowhood, Eustochium, who took the virgin's vow, and Paulina who married Pammachius, the friend of Jerome. With these and certain other noble ladies, Jerome formed a sort of circle. They withdrew from the corrupt social and political life, and devoted their time to meditation, works of charity, and the study of the Scriptures, which Jerome expounded. When Damasus died, Jerome found that it would be uncongenial to live in Rome. Siricius, the successor of Damasus had no sympathy with him, and the clergy were almost all opposed to him. In 384 he set out from Rome and journeyed through Cyprus into Syria, and remained some time at Antioch. Thence he journeyed in company with Paula and Eustochium down through Palestine, visiting the places made memorable by the life of Our Lord.

In *Praef. 2 ad Paralip.* he describes the finis of this journey: "As those who have seen Athens better understand Grecian history; and as he, who has traveled from Troas through Leucadia and the Acroceraunian mountains to Sicily, and thence to the mouth of the Tiber, will better understand the third book of Virgil, thus a man will more clearly understand the Scriptures, if he shall have seen Judea with his own eyes, and shall have examined the memorials of the old cities, and the names of places whether unchanged or changed. Hence we took the pains to undergo this labor with most learned Hebrews, that we might journey through the country of which all the churches of Christ speak. Coming to Caesarea, Jerome came upon the Hexapla of Origen, and from this copied all the books of the Old Testament. He descended into Egypt and listened at Alexandria to Didymus, the celebrated teacher of Scripture: "My head was now sprinkled with gray hairs," he says, "and seemed more fit for the master than the disciple; but I went to Alexandria, I heard Didymus, and, for many things, am thankful to him."

From Alexandria Jerome went to Bethlehem, where he spent his remaining years in an ascetical life. A monastery was built of which Jerome was head, and a convent, over which Paula presided. Both the patrimony of Paula and Jerome were expended in this work. Jerome lived in a cell close to the monastery, and it is in this period of his life that his greatest works were executed. He exercised a general

supervision over the monks and was sought by learned men from all parts of the world. Sulpicius Severus, who spent six months with him at Bethlehem, thus describes his life: "He is wholly absorbed in reading, he takes no rest by day or by night; he is ever reading or writing something." Jerome was a man of great physical endurance. His literary activity at Bethlehem may be compared to that of Origen. He translated the book of Tobias in a single night, and even, when ill, he dictated from his couch to an amanuensis.

To perfect his knowledge of Hebrew, he employed a Jew to teach him, and, as this preceptor feared the fanaticism of his race, the lessons were given by night. Jerome speaks of these things in his *Epist. ad Pammachius*, 84, 3: "With most great labor, and great price did I have Baranina by night as preceptor. He feared the Jews, and was to me another Nicodemus." Coupled with this, he assiduously studied the Fathers and writers of the Church. Villarsi declares, that no one, Greek or Latin, read more authors than Jerome. In the year 389 Jerome began the great work of his life, a translation of the proto-canonical books of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew. He was not able to devote all his time to the great work, but it was the chief object of his labors for fifteen years. He also translated the deuterocanonical books of Tobias and Judith from Chaldean exemplars. This translation of Jerome forms our Vulgate, concerning which we shall speak later. His translation of the Psalter from the Hebrew was not received into the Vulgate; its place was occupied by the Psalter which he revised from the Hexaplar text of Origen at Caesarea. Jerome died at Bethlehem, according to the Chronicle of Prosper, in the year 420, and was interred close to the Grotto of the Nativity of Our Saviour. His body was afterwards brought to the Church of St. Maria Maggiore in Rome. Jerome is rightly considered as one of the greatest of the Fathers. His character was not without defects. He was scornful and resentful in controversy, and somewhat sensitive as to the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries. But he was without avarice, great of heart, diligent in work and nobly tenacious of the main objects to which he devoted his life.

He was a man of iron will, when he saw principle and duty before him, a strong man, whom no motives could divert from what he deemed just and right. The saddest event of his whole life was his violent quarrel with Rufinus, whom he vituperated even after his death. Rufinus died in Sicily in 410, and Jerome thus speaks of his death in the opening

chapter of his Commentary on Ezechiel: "The scorpion lies underground between Enceladus and Porphyryon, and the hydra of many heads has at last ceased to hiss against me." "Tantaene animis coelestibus irae?"

Jerome's attitude towards the deuterocanonical books was not consistent. At times he bitterly attacks them, as in the following passages.

In his celebrated Prologus Galeatus, after the enumeration of the protocanonical books, he continues: "Whatever is outside of these is to be placed among the Apocrypha. Therefore the Wisdom which is commonly ascribed to Solomon, and the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobias, and Pastor are not in the Canon. The first Book of Maccabees I found in Hebrew, the second is originally Greek, as appears from the diction."

Again in the Preface to Ezra: "What is not received by them, (the Hebrews) and what is not of the twenty-four Ancients (the protocanonical books) *is to be repulsed far from one.*"

In his Preface to the Books of Solomon: "There exist also Panaretus, the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and another of the pseudepigrapha which is called the Wisdom of Solomon. The first, I found in Hebrew, not called Ecclesiasticus, as with the Latins, but Parables: the second is nowhere with the Hebrews and the very style savors of Greek eloquence, and some of the old writers have ascribed it to Philo the Jew. As, therefore, the Church reads Judith, Tobias, and the books of Maccabees, but does not hold them canonical, thus let her read these two volumes for the edification of the people, not for the confirmation of Ecclesiastical dogmas."

In his Praef. in Esther: "To this book the received Latin version has added various ragged patches of words, adding the things which might be suggested by the theme." Here is an evident condemnation of the deuterocanonical fragments of Esther.

Writing to Laeta, Epist. 107, 12, on the mode of instructing her daughter, he says: "Let her shun all Apocrypha (the deuterocanonical books), and if ever she should read them, not for confirmation of dogmas, but out of reverence for the words, let her know that they are not of those who appear in the titles, *and that there are many false things intermingled in them*, and that one has need of great prudence to seek the *gold in the slime.*" In his Commentary on Daniel, although he comments the deuterocanonical fragments, he is inclined to think that

they are fables of Greek origin. It does not increase our esteem of Jerome's critique to find that one cause of his doubt of the fragments is that in the XIV. Chapter, first verse, the King of Babylon is said to cry out with a loud voice; whereas Jerome had maintained that only the saints are said in Scripture to cry out with a loud voice.

In his prologue to Daniel, he justifies himself for having fixed an obelus to the fragments of Daniel, alleging that "Origen, and Eusebius, and Apollinaris and other church-writers and doctors of Greece declare that these visions have no place with the Hebrews, and that they needed not to respond to Porphyrius in defense of those things to which the Holy Scriptures gave no authority."

In his prologue to Jeremiah he declares that he has omitted the book of Baruch, and the pseudepigraphic Epistle of Jeremiah, "setting at naught the rage of his calumniators." We have no wish to minimize Jerome's opposition to the deuterocanonical books. At times it was pronounced and violent. But he could, at most, only be termed a violent doubter. He never was calm and constant in his rejection of those books. The fact that, in such strange opposition, he was at variance with all his contemporaries, made him waver, and *we find more quotations from deuterocanonical Scripture in Jerome, than in any other writer yet quoted*. Oft when opposed by his adversaries for his scriptural views he vented his resentment upon the books themselves. Then, when asked by a friend, he would calmly discuss the merits of these same writings. He translated Tobias from the Chaldaic at the instance of Chromatius and Heliodorus, the bishops, "judging it better to displease the Pharisees, in order to grant the requests of the bishops." Praef. in Lib. Tob.

In Jerome's mind there was ever a conflict between two principles. By conviction and education he was a Christian, moulded by Christian tradition. His higher studies had made him in a certain sense a Jew. The weird quaint beauty of the Hebrew tongue, the deeper insight into the substance of the Old Law which only Hebraists can have, the conviction that of all the Christian writers of his time, he alone knew Hebrew, made him look with disfavor upon the books which the Jews rejected. It is an evidence in favor of the deuterocanonical books that they retained their place in the list of Scripture after the many tests, to which they were subjected. The genius of Jerome was not able to draw even one Father to entertain his views on the deuterocanonical works. He fluctu-

ated between his reverence for the Christian tradition, and his respect for the synagogue till his death, and contradicted himself many times in his views on the books in question.

Dan. XIII. 61.

"Et consurrexerunt adversus duos presbyteros (convicerat enim eos Daniel ex ore suo falsum dixisse testimonium) feceruntque, eis sicut male egerant adversus proximum."

Dan. XIV. 35.

"Et apprehendit eum Angelus Domini in vertice ejus, et portavit eum capillo capitis sui, posuitque eum in Babylone supralacum in impetu spiritus sui."

Sap. I. 11.

"Custodite ergo vos a murmuratione, quae nihil prodest, et a detractatione parcite linguae, quoniam sermo obscurus in vacuum non ibit: os autem, quod mentitur, occidit animam."

Sap. VI. 7.

"Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur."

Dan. XIII. 51.

"Et dixit ad eos Daniel: Separate illos ab invicem procul, et dijudicabo eos."

Judith XIII. 10.

"— et percussit bis in cervicem ejus, et abscidit caput ejus, et abstulit conopeum ejus a columnis, et evolvit corpus ejus truncum."

Esther XIV. 11.

"Ne tradas, Domines, ceptum tuum his, qui non sunt, etc."

St. Jerome, Epist. I. 9.

"Nunc Susanna nobilis fide omnium subeat mentibus, quae iniquo damnata iudicio, Spiritu Sancto puerum replente, salvata est. Ecce non dispar in utraque misericordia Domini. Illa liberata per judicem, ne iret ad gladium; haec a iudice damnata, absoluta per gladium est."

Epist. III. 1.

"O si nunc mihi Dominus Jesus Christus... Habacuc ad Danielem translationem concederet!"

Epist. XIV. 6.

"Os autem quod mentitur occidit animam."

Ibid. 9.

"Potentes potenter tormenta patientur."

Ibid.

"Presbyteros puer Daniel iudicat."

Epist. XXII. 21.

"Tunc Holofernis caput Judith continens amputavit."

Epist. XLVIII. 14.

"Ne tradas, inquit Esther, hereditatem his qui non sunt, idolis scilicet et daemonibus."

Sap. II. 23.

“Quoniam Deus creavit hominem inexterminabilem, et ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit illum.”

Judith VIII. 6, et XIII. 9, 10.

Epist. LI. 6.

“Dicit enim (Salomon) in Sapientia quae titulo ejus inscribitur: ‘Creavit Deus incorruptum hominem, et imaginem suae proprietatis dedit ei.’”

Epist. LIV. 16.

“Legimus in Judith (si cui tamen placet volumen recipere) viduam confectam jejuniis et habitu lugubri sordidatam, quae non lugebat mortuum virum sed squalore corporis, Sponsi quaerebat adventum. Video armatam gladio manum cruentam dexteram. Recognosco caput Holofernis de mediis hostibus reportatum.’”

Eccli. XXV. 12.

“Beatus, qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti.”

Epist. LVII. 1.

“Legerat enim (Paulus) illud Jesu: ‘Beatus qui in aures loquitur audientis.’”

Certainly Jerome does not wish to say that Paul committed to memory apocryphal Scripture.

Eccli. III. 33.

“Ignem ardentem extinguit aqua, et eleemosyna resistit peccatis—.”

Epist. LXVI. 5.

“—sciens scriptum: ‘Sicut aqua extinguit ignem; ita eleemosyna, peccatum.’”

Eccli. IV. 25.

“Est enim confusio adducens peccatum, et est confusio adducens gloriam et gratiam.”

Ibid. 5.

“Est confusio quae ducit ad mortem, et est confusio quae ducit ad vitam.”

Eccli. XI. 27.

“In die bonorum ne immemoris malorum: et in die malorum ne immemoris bonorum—.”

Epist. LXXVII. 6.

“—scilicet in die bona malorum non oblita est.”

Sap. IV. 11.

“—raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, aut ne fictio deciperet animam illius.”

Epist. LXXIX. 2.

“Raptus est ne malitia mutaret mentem ejus, quia placita erat Deo anima illius.”

Sap. IV. 8.

"Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna, neque annorum numero computata: cani autem sunt sensus hominis."

Sap. I. 7.

"Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, etc."

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius."

A testimony that can be joined with those of Jerome is that of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, which was translated by Jerome. It is designated as Epist. C. in Migne's Works of Jerome. In the Ninth Paragraph Theophilus speaks of the Maccabees as follows:

II. Maccab. Passim.

Ibid. 6.

"Canis enim hominis sunt sapientia ejus."

Epist. XCVIII. 13.

"Et alibi legimus: 'Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.' Quod nunquam *Scriptura* memoraret nisi irrationabilia quaeque et inanima illius nomine complerentur."

Ibid. 19.

"—et in illius perseverantes amore cantabimus: 'Amator fui pulchritudinis ejus.'"

"Quid memorem insignes Maccabaeorum victorias? qui, ne illicitis carnibus vescerentur, et communes tangerent cibos, corpora obtulere cruciatibus: totiusque orbis in *ecclesiis Christi laudibus praedicantur*, fortiores poenis, ardentiores quibus comburentur ignibus."

Could the universal Church give such honor to apocryphal martyrs?

Sap. IX. 15.

"—corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem."

Eccli. XXII. 6.

"Musica in luctu importuna narratio."

Epist. CVIII. 22.

"Si non erit sublata diversitate sexus eadem corpora non resurgent: 'Aggravat enim terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem.'"

Epist. CXVIII. I.

"*Divina Scriptura loquitur*: 'Musica in luctu, intempestiva narratio.'"

If words can express thoughts, the man who penned these lines believed that he was quoting the inspired word of God.

Eccli. XXVII. 28.

"Qui in altum mittit lapidem, super caput ejus cadet ; et plaga dolosa dolosi dividet vulnera."

Esther XIV. 16.

"Tu scis necessitatem meam, quod abominer signum superbiae et gloriae meae, quod est super caput meum in diebus ostentationis meae, et detester illud quasi pannum menstruatae, etc."

Eccli. IV. 28.

"— nec retineas verbum in tempore salutis."

Eccli. XXVIII. 28.

"Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire, et ori tuo facito ostia et seras."

Eccli. XXVIII. 29—30.

"Aurum tuum et argentum tuum confla, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos : et attende, ne forte labaris in lingua —."

Eccli. III. 20.

"Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam —."

Eccli. X. 10.

"Quoniam a Deo profecta est sapientia, etc."

Epist. CXXV. 19.

"Et alibi : 'Qui mittit in altum lapidem, recidet in caput ejus.'"

Epist. CXXX. 4.

"Oderat ornatum suum et cum Esther loquebatur ad Dominum : 'Tu nosti quod oderim insigne capitis mei, et tantae ducam immunditiae velut pannum menstruatae.'"

Epist. CXLVIII. 2.

"— illud mecum Scripturae reputans : 'Tempus tacendi, et tempus loquendi.' Et iterum : 'Ne retineas verbum in tempore salutis.'"

Ibid. 16.

"Noli," *inquit Scriptura*, 'consentaneus esse, etc.' Et alibi : 'Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam.'"

Ibid. 18.

"Unde *Scriptura dicit* : 'Argentum et aurum tuum confla, et verbis tuis facito stateram et frenos ori tuo rectos : et attende ne forte labaris lingua.'"

Ibid. 20.

"Unde *Scriptura dicit* : 'Quanto magnus es ; humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam.'"

St. Jerome, Interpretatio Lib. Didymi, 10.

"Dominus," *inquit*, 'dabit sapientiam, et a facie ejus sapientia et intellectus procedit.'"

Sap. VI. 26.

"Multitudo autem sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum; et rex sapiens stabilimentum populi est."

Tob. IV. 16.

"Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, etc."

Sap. XI. 27.

"Parcis autem omnibus, quoniam tua sunt, Domine, qui amas animas."

Dan. XIII. Passim.

Sap. VI. 7.

"Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur."

Sap. I. 4—5.

"Quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis. Spiritus enim sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, quae sunt sine intellectu, et corripietur a superveniente iniquitate."

Sap. I. 11.

"Custodite ergo vos a murratione, quae nihil prodest, et a detractatione parcite linguae, quoniam sermo obscurus in vacuum non ibit: os autem, quod mentitur, occidit animam."

Ibid. 21.

"Multitudo quippe sapientium, salus mundi."

Ibid. 39.

"Quod tibi non vis fieri, etc."

Ibid. 46.

"— juxta illud quod alibi scribitur: 'Parces autem omnibus, Domine amator animarum, quia tuae sunt, neque enim odies quos fecisti.'"

Adversus Jovinian, 25.

"Erat igitur Daniel adhuc puer, et notus populo vel propter interpretationem somniorum regis vel propter Susannae liberationem et occisionem presbyterorum."

Adversus Jov. Lib. II. 25.

"— quanto majoris criminis, tanto majoris et poenae. 'Potentes enim potenter tormenta patientur.'"

Apologia Adversus Rufinum
17.

"Loquitur et Sapientia quam sub nomine Salomonis legimus: 'In malevolam animam nunquam intrabit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis. Spiritus enim Sanctus eruditionis fugiet dolum et recedet a cogitationibus stultis.'"

Adversus Rufinum Lib. III. 26.

"Os quod mentitur occidit animam."

Eccli. III. 22.

"Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris, etc."

II. Maccab. V. Passim.

Tob. XII. 7.

"Etenim sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est, etc."

Eccli. I. 33.

"Fili, concupiscens sapientiam, conserva justitiam, et Deus praebebit illam tibi."

Eccli. XXVII. 29.

"Et qui foveam fodit, incidet in eam: et qui statuit lapidem proximo, offendet in eo: et qui laqueum alii ponit, peribit in illo."

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. II. 12.

"Circumveniamus ergo justum, quoniam inutilis est nobis, etc."

Dan. XIII. Passim.

Adversus Pelagianos Lib. I. 33.

"Respondet stultae interrogationi tuae liber Sapientiae: 'Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris.'"

Adversus Pelagianos Lib. II. 30.

"Antiochus Epiphanius rex crudelissimus subvertit altare, ipsamque justitiam fecit conculcari, quia concessum erat a Domino, causasque reddit propter peccata plurima."

Comment. in Eccles. Cap. VIII.

"Et hoc est quod in libro Tobiae scribitur: 'Mysterium regis abscondere bonum est.'"

Ibid. Cap. IX.

"Dato nobis itaque praecepto quod dicit: 'Desiderasti sapientiam, serva mandata, et Dominus ministrabit tibi eam.'"

Ibid. Cap. X.

"Siquidem et alibi ipse Salomon ait: 'Qui statuit laqueam, capiatur in illo.'"

Comment. in Isaïam, Cap. I. Vers. 24.

"— de quibus *scriptum est*: 'potentes potenter tormenta patientur.'"

Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. III. Vers. 1.

"—cogitastis consilium pessimum dicentes: 'Alligemus justum, quia inutilis est nobis.'"

Ibid. Vers. 2.

"Et inveteratos dierum malorum duos presbyteros juxta Theodotionem in Danielis principio legimus."

Sap. IV. 8.

"Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna, neque annorum numero computata: cani autem sunt sensus hominis."

Ibid.

"— de qua scriptum est: 'Canities hominum, prudentia est.'"

Ibid. Vers. 3.

"Unde et illud in *nostris libris* legimus: 'Amici tibi sint plurimi, consiliarius autem unus de mille.'"

Eccli. VII. 6.

"Noli quaerere fieri iudex, nisi valeas virtute irrumpere iniquitates, etc."

Ibid. Vers. 7.

"—aliudque mandatum: 'Ne quaeras iudex fieri: ne forte non possis auferre iniquitates.'"

Eccli. XI. 30.

"Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam, quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir."

Ibid. Vers. 12.

"—nec praevenit sententiam iudicis sui, *dicente Scriptura sancta*: 'Ne beatum dicas quemquam hominem ante mortem.'"

Ecccli. XIII. 1.

"Qui tetigerit picem, inquinabitur ab ea, etc."

Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. VI. Vers. 5.

"Ex quo ostenditur noxium esse vivere cum peccatoribus: 'Qui enim tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea.'"

Esther. Passim.

Ibid. Lib. V. Cap. XIV. Vers. 2.

"Potest et in Assueri temporibus intelligi, quando, occiso Holoferne, hostilis ab Israel est caesus exercitus."

Dan. XIII. 56.

"Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, species decepit te, etc."

Ibid. Lib. VII. Cap. XXIII.

Vers. 12.

"Unde et ad senem adulterum dicitur: 'Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te.'"

Sap. IV. 8.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Lib. VIII. Cap. XXIV.

Vers. 21.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. I. 33.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Cap. XXVI. Vers. 4.

"Unde et in alio loco scribitur: 'Desiderasti sapientiam, serva mandata, et Dominus tribuet tibi eam.'"

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. IX. 6.

“Nam et si quis erit consummatus inter filios hominum, si ab illo abfuerit sapientia tua, in nihilum computabitur.”

Eccli. X. 9.

“Avaro autem nihil est scelestius. Quid superbit terra et cinis?”

Sap. III. 13, 14.

“Maledicta creatura eorum, quoniam felix est sterilis, et incoquinata, quae nescivit thorum in delicto, habebit fructum in respectione animarum sanctarum: et spado, qui non operatus est per manus suas iniquitatem, nec cogitavit adversus Deum nequissima: dabitur enim illi fidei donum electum, et sors in templo Dei acceptissima.”

Sap. I. 1.

“Diligite justitiam, qui iudicatis terram. Sentite de Domino in bonitate, etc.”

Eccli. XXV. 12.

“— beatus, qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti —.”

Sap. I. 4.

“Quoniam in malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Ibid. Lib. IX. Cap. XVIII.

Vers. 23 et seqq.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Cap. XXIX. Vers. 15, 16.

“—cum scriptum sit de Dei Sapientia: ‘Si enim quis perfectus fuerit in filiis hominum absque tua sapientia, in nihil reputabitur.’”

Ibid. Lib. XIV. Praef.

“De quo scribitur: ‘Quid glorietur terra et cinis?’”

Ibid. Lib. XV. Cap. LVI.

Vers. 4, 5.

“Qui sint eunuchi supra diximus... quibus loquitur et Sapientia quae titulo Salomonis inscribitur: ‘Beata sterilis immaculata, quae non cognovit stratum in delicto; habebit fructum in visitatione animarum. Et eunuchus qui non est operatus manu iniquitatem, neque cogitavit contra Dominum mala. Dabitur enim fidei ejus electa gratia et pars in templo Domini delectabilis.’”

Ibid. Cap. LVI. Vers. 10—12.

“— et audiamus Scripturam monentem: ‘Sapite de Domino in bonitate.’”

Ibid. Lib. XVI. Praef.

“Ac ne a profanis tantum sumere videor exemplum, nimirum hoc illud est quod aliis verbis Propheta demonstrat: ‘Beatus qui in aures loquitur audientium.’”

Ibid. Vers. 15.

“Et quomodo in perversam animam non ingreditur sapientia, neque habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis.”

Sap. I. 5.

"Spiritus enim Sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus, etc."

Eccli. XVI. 18.

"Ecce coelum, et coeli coelorum, abyssus, et universa terra, quae in eis sunt, in conspectu illius commovebuntur."

Esther XIV. 16.

"Tu scis necessitatem meam, quod abominer signum superbiae et gloriae meae, quod est super caput meum in diebus ostentationis meae, et detester illud quasi pannum menstruatae, et non portem in diebus silentii mei —."

Esther XIV. 11.

"Ne tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his, qui non sunt, etc."

Eccli. XI. 27, 29.

"In die bonorum ne immemor sis malorum, et in die malorum ne immemor sis bonorum. Malitia horae oblivionem facit luxuriae magnae, et in fine hominis denudatio operum illius."

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid.

Ibid. Lib. XVII. Cap. LXIII.
Vers. 10.

"De quo et in Sapientia reperi-mus quae nomine Salomonis scribitur: 'Sanctus enim Spiritus disciplinae fugiet dolum, et recedet a cogitationibus stultis.'"

Ibid. Vers. 15.

"Denique Salomon qui aedificavit domum Dei, ad eum precans loquitur: 'Coeli coelorum et terra non sufficiunt tibi.'"

Ibid. Lib. XVII. Cap. LXIV.
Vers. 6.

"— cui et Esther diadema suum quod erat regiae potestatis insigne comparat quod nequaquam voluntate sed necessitate portabat: 'Tu scis necessitatem meam: quoniam detestor signum superbiae meae, quod est super caput meum in diebus ostensionis meae: abominor illud sicut pannum menstruum: nec porto in diebus quietis.'"

Ibid. Lib. XVIII. Cap. LXV.
Vers. 3.

"Unde et Esther loquitur ad Dominum: 'Ne tradas haereditatem tuam his qui non sunt.'"

Ibid. Vers. 17, 18.

"— juxta illud quod scriptum est: 'In die bona, oblivio malorum, et alibi: Afflictio horae oblivionem facit deliciarum.'"

Ibid. Vers. 20.

(Oft quoted.)

Comment. in Jerem. Lib. III.
Cap. XII. Vers. 13.

Sap. I. 4.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXII. 11.

"Modicum plora supra mortuum, quoniam requievit."

The same quotation appears in the XXVIII. Chapter, fifth and following verses.

Sap. VIII. 2.

Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius."

Dan. XIII. 56, 57.

"Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei: Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum: sic faciebatis filiabus Israel, et illae timentes loquebantur vobis, sed filia Juda non sustinuit iniquitatem vestram."

Eccli. XXII. 6.

"Musica in luctu importuna narratio, etc."

Sap. VI. 7.

Dan. XIII. 32.

"At iniqui illi jusserunt ut discooperiretur (erat enim cooperta) ut vel sic satiarentur decore ejus."

Dan. XIII. 56.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Lib. IV. Cap. XVIII.
Vers. 18.

"—dicente Scriptura: 'In perversam animam non intrabit Sapientia.'"

Ibid. Cap. XXI. Vers. 14.

"—juxta illud quod scriptum est: Mors viro requies cui clausit Deus viam suam.

Ibid. Lib. V. Cap. XXIX.
Vers. 1 et seqq.

"Et in alio loco (scribit Salomon): 'Hanc exquisivi sponsam accipere mihi, et amator factus sum decoris ejus.'"

Ibid. Cap. XXIX. Vers. 21 et seqq.

"—quorum uni loquitur Daniel: 'Inveterate dierum malorum. Et alteri: Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te, et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum. Sic faciebatis filiabus Israel et illae metuentes loquebantur vobis, sed non filia Juda sustinuit iniquitatem vestram.'"

Comment. in Ezechiel, Praef.

"—nec putavi illam sententiam negligendam: 'Musica in luctu, importuna narratio.'"

Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. V. Vers.
8, 9.

Ibid. Cap. VI. Vers. 9, 10.

"Quam ob causam et in Daniele duo presbyteri praeceperunt revelari Susannam ut nudati corporis decore fruerentur."

Ibid. Lib. IV. Cap. XVI. Vers.
3.

"Mirabilis Daniel qui ad presbyterum delinquentem, et adul-

terio jungentem homicidium puer ausus est dicere : ' Semen Chanaan et non Juda, species decepit te.' "

Sap. VII. 22.

" —est enim in illa spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis, incoquinatus, certus, suavis, amans bonum, acutus, quem nihil vetat, benefaciens—."

Ibid. Vers. 10.

" Nam et in libro Sapientiae qui a quibusdam Salomonis inscribitur, spiritus sapientiae unigenitus et multiplex tenuis et mutabilis appellatur."

In the fifth book Jerome quotes frequently the sentence of Wisdom VI. 7: " Potentes potenter tormenta patientur."

Eccli. XV. 9.

" Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris—."

Lib. V. Cap. XVI. Vers. 59 et seqq.

" Non est pulchra laudatio in ore peccatoris."

Eccli. III. 22.

" Altiora te ne quaesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris : sed quae praecepit tibi Deus, illa cogita semper, et in pluribus operibus ejus ne fueris curiosus."

Ibid. Lib. VI. Cap. XVIII. Vers. 6 et seqq.

" Sed et illud quod alibi dicitur : ' Majora te non requiras, et fortiora te non scruteris.' "

Eccli. XXXII. 1.

" Rectorem te posuerunt ? noli extolli : esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis."

Ibid.

" De quibus scriptum est : ' Principem te constituerunt ? ne eleveris : esto inter eos quasi unus ex ipsis.' "

Eccli. X. 9.

" Avaro autem nihil est scelestius. Quid superbit terra et cinis ?"

Ibid.

" —cui illud convenit : ' Quid gloriatur terra et cinis ?' "

Esther XIV. 11.

" Ne tradas, Domine, sceptrum tuum his, qui non sunt, etc."

Ibid. Lib. VIII. Cap. XXVII. Vers. 19.

" Unde et Esther contra idola loquens : ' Ne tradas,' inquit, ' sceptrum tuum his qui non sunt.' "

The same quotation occurs again in the thirty-third verse of the same chapter of the commentary.

Sap. VI. 7.

“Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia: potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur.”

Eccli. I. 2.

“Arenam maris, et pluviae guttas, et dies saeculi quis dinumeravit? Altitudinem caeli, et latitudinem terrae, et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?”

Eccli. XXVII. 29.

“Et qui foveam fodit, incidet in eam, etc.”

Eccli. XX. 32.

“Sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus: quae utilitas in utrisque?”

Eccli. VII. 6.

“Noli quaerere fieri iudex, nisi valeas virtute irrumpere iniquitates: ne forte extimescas faciem potentis, et ponas scandalum in aequitate tua.”

Eccli. III. 29.

“Cor nequam gravabitur in doloribus, et peccator adjiciet ad peccandum.”

Eccli. XXXII. 1.

“Rectorem te posuerunt? noli extolli: esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis.”

Eccli. I. 2.

(Already quoted.)

N

Ibid. Lib. IX. Cap. XXIX.
Vers. 8 et seqq.

Ibid. Cap. XXX. Vers. 20 et seqq.

“Et in alio loco: ‘Abyssum et sapientiam quis investigabit?’”

Ibid. Lib. X. Cap. XXXII.
Vers. 17 et seqq.

“Qui enim fodit foveam incidet in eam.”

Ibid. Cap. XXXIII. Vers. 1 et seqq.

“De magistris negligentibus Salomon loquitur: ‘Sapientia abscondita, et thesauros occultus, quae utilitas in utrisque?’”

Ibid. Lib. XI. Cap. XXXIV. 1.

“Unde magnopere cavendum est et observanda illa praecepta: ‘Ne quaeras iudex fieri, ne forte non possis auferre iniquitates.’ Et iterum: ‘Quanto major es, tanto magis te humilia, et in conspectu Domini invenies gratiam.’ Et rursum: ‘Ducem te constituerunt, ne eleveris: sed esto inter eos quasi unus ex illis.’”

Ibid. Lib. XIII. Cap. XLIII.
Vers. 13 et seqq.

“Scriptum est: ‘Abyssum et sapientiam quis investigabit?’”

Eccli. XXXII. 1.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXVIII. 29.

“— et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos.”

Ibid. Cap. XLV. 9.

Ibid. Vers. 10 et seqq.

“— dicente Scriptura: ‘Sermonibus tuis facies stateram et appendiculum.’”

Sap. I. 4.

(Already quoted.)

Comment. in Daniel, Cap. II.

Vers. 21.

“In perversam autem animam non introibit sapientia.”

In this same chapter he inveighs against the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel. In the 23d verse he says: “And observe that Daniel is of the sons of Juda, not a priest as the *fable of Bel* declares.” Coming to the Canticle of the youths in the fiery furnace, he prefaces his commentary on it as follows: “Hitherto the Hebrews read: what follows even to the end of the Canticle of the three youths is not contained in Hebrew; concerning which, lest we may seem to have passed it by, a few words are to be said.” He then proceeds to comment it in the same manner as the other portions of the book.

I. et II. Maccab. Passim.

Ibid. Cap. VIII. Vers. 14.

“Legamus Maccabaeorum libros et Josephi historiam.”

Ibid. Cap. XI. Vers. 34, 35.

“Lege Maccabaeorum libros.”

Ibid. Cap. XII. Vers. 1 et seqq.

“Ponit quoque historiam de Maccabaeis in qua dicitur multos Judaeorum sub Mathathia et Juda Maccabaeo ad eremum confugisse, et latuisse in speluncis et in cavernis petrarum, et post victoriam processisse.

Sap. IV. 8.

(Oft quoted.)

Comment. in Osee Lib. Cap. VII. 8, 10.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. III. 13.

“Maledicta creatura eorum, quoniam felix est sterilis, et incoinquinata, quae nescivit thorum in delicto, etc.”

Ibid. Cap. X. Vers. 14.

“Beata sterilis immaculata quae non cognovit cubile in peccato.”

Sap. III. 16.

Filii autem adulterorum in in-
consummatione erunt, et ab ini-
quo thoro semen exterminabi-
tur."

Ibid.

"Ex iniquo enim concubitu
semen peribit."

He quotes again Sap. VI. 7, in Lib. III. Cap. XI. Vers.
8 et 9.

Dan. XIII. 56.

"Et, amoto eo, jussit venire,
alium, et dixit ei: Semen Cha-
naan et non Juda, species decepit
te, et concupiscentia subvertit
cor tuum —."

Ibid. Cap. XII. Vers. 7, 8.

"Semen Chanaan et non Juda,
species decepit te."

Eccli. XVI. 19.

"— montes simul, et colles, et
fundamenta terrae; cum con-
spexerit illa Deus, tremore con-
cutientur."

Comment. in Amos, Lib. II.
Cap. IV. Vers. 12, 13.

"Iste est qui firmat tonitruum,
sive montes confirmat, ad cujus
vocem *coelorum cardines et terrae
fundamenta quatiantur.*"

Eccli. XV. 9.

"Non est speciosa laus in ore
peccatoris."

Ibid. Cap. V. Vers. 25.

"— quia non est pulchra lau-
datio in ore peccatoris."

In Lib. III. Cap. VI. Vers. 7 et seqq., he quotes again
Sap. VI. 7.

Ibid. Vers. 12, he repeats Esther XIV. 11.

Tob. XIV. 5—6 (juxta LXX.)

"Magnopere autem senuit: et
vocavit filium suum et filios ejus,
et dixit ei: fili, accipe filios tuos:
ecce senui, et ad exeundum e
vita sum: abi in Mediam, fili,
quoniam credidi quaecumque lo-
cutus est Jonas Propheta de
Ninive quia subvertetur."

In Jonam, Prologus.

"Liber quoque Tobiae, licet
non habeatur in Canone, tamen
quia usurpatur ab Ecclesiasticis
viris, tale quid memorat, dicente
Tobia ad filium suum: 'Fili, ecce
senui, et in eo sum ut revertar de
vita mea: tolle filios meos, et
vade in mediam; fili, scio enim
quae locutus est Jonas propheta
de Ninive, quoniam subverte-
tur.'"

When Jerome speaks of the Canon, he evidently means the
collection of the Jews. He clearly testifies here that tradition
favored Tobias, although it was not received by the Jews, and
he is disposed to give a certain reverence to the book on ac-
count of its use by the Fathers.

Judith XVI. 3.

"Dominus conterens bella,
Dominus nomen est illi.

Eccli. XX. 31.

"Xenia et dona excaecant
oculos judicum, et quasi mutus
in ore avertit correptiones eo-
rum."

Eccli. VI. 7.

"Si possides amicum, in tenta-
tione posside eum, etc."

Eccli. IV. 25.

"Est enim confusio adducens
peccatum, et est confusio addu-
cens gloriam et gratiam."

In Nahum, Cap. III. Vers. 8 seqq., he quotes again the oft-
quoted sentence from Dan. XIII. 56.

Dan. XIV. 35.

"Et apprehendit eum Angelus
Domini in vertice ejus, et porta-
vit eum capillo capitis sui, posu-
itque eum in Babylone supra
lacum in impetu spiritus sui."

Eccli. I. 2.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XX. 32.

"Sapientia absconsa et the-
saurus invisus: quae utilitas in
utrisque?"

Comment. in Michaeam, Lib.
I. Cap. II. Vers. 6, 8.

"Recedente autem pace et
auxilio Dei, quia restiterant Do-
mino, de quo dicitur: 'Dominus
conterens bella, Dominus nomen
ei.'"

Ibid. Cap. III. Vers. 9 et seqq.

"Munera excaecant oculos
etiam Sapientium, et quasi fre-
num in ore avertunt increpatio-
nem."

Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. VII. Vers.

5, 7.

"Unde dicitur: 'Si habes
amicum, in tentatione posside
eum.'"

Ibid. Vers. 14 seqq.

"— et erunt in confusione
quae ducit ad vitam."

Prologus in Habacuc.

"—Daniel docere te poterit,
ad quem in lacum leonum Haba-
cuc cum prandio mittitur."

Comment. in Habacuc, Lib. II.

Cap. III. Vers. 11, seqq.

"Et pulchre opinionem phan-
tasiae altitudinem vocat juxta
Jesum filium Sirach, qui ait:
'Abyssum et sapientiam quis in-
vestigabit?'"

Comment. in Sophoniam, Cap.

II. Vers. 3, 4.

"—hoc est, alios doceant: 'Sa-
pientia enim abscondita et the-
saurus non comparens, quae util-
itas in ambobus?'"

Dan. XIII. 56.

“Et, amoto eo, jussit venire alium, et dixit ei : Semen Chanaan, et non Juda, etc.”

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XXVII. 28.

“Qui in altum mittit lapidem, super caput ejus cadet : et plaga dolosa dolosi dividet vulnera.”

Judith. Passim.

Eccli. IV. 10.

“In judicando esto pupillis misericors ut pater, et pro viro matri illorum—.”

Sap. I. 2.

“—quoniam invenitur ab his, qui non tentant illum : apparet autem eis, qui fidem habent in illum—.”

Sap. IX. 15.

“Corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.”

Maccab. Passim.

Ibid. Vers. 8 seqq.

“Et ad presbyteros cupientes sub figura Susannae Ecclesiae corrumpere castitatem dicat Daniel : ‘Hoc est judicium Dei, Semen Chanaan et non Juda.’”

Ibid. Cap. III. Vers. 8, 9.

Ibid. Vers. 19, 20.

“—et de Jesu filio Sirach testimonium proferamus : ‘Qui mittit lapidem in excelsum, super caput suum mittit.’”

Comment. in Haggai, Cap. I. Vers. 5, 6.

“Similiter qui penitus non bibit, siti peribit, sicut et in Judith (si quis tamen vult librum recipere mulieris) et parvuli siti perierunt.”

Comment. in Zachariam, Lib.

II. Cap. VII. Vers. 8 et seqq.

“Viduam quoque et pupillum de quibus nobis praeceptum est : ‘Esto pupillis pater, et pro viro matri eorum, judicans pupillum et justificans viduam.’”

Ibid. Cap. VIII. Vers. 21, 22.

“Appropinquit enim Dominus his qui non tentant eum, et ostendit faciem suam his qui non sunt increduli.”

Ibid. Cap. IX. Vers. 15, 16.

“—quia aggravat terrena habitatio sensum multa curantem.”

Ibid. Cap. X. Vers. I. seqq.

“Ita felicitas Maccabaeorum tempore promissa est, quando sancti lapides elevati sunt super terram, etc.”

Sap. I. 14.

"Creavit enim, ut essent omnia: et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum: et non est in illis medicamentum exterminii, nec inferorum regnum in terra."

Sap. IX. 16—18.

"Quae autem in caelis sunt quis investigabit? Sensum autem tuum quis sciet, nisi tu dederis sapientiam, et miseris spiritum sanctum tuum de altissimis: et sic correctae sint semitae eorum, qui sunt in terris, et quae tibi placent didicerint homines?"

Sap. IV. 8.

"Senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna, neque annorum numero computata: cani autem sunt sensus hominis."

Sap. VI. 7.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXV. 12.

"Beatus, qui invenit amicum verum, et qui enarrat justitiam auri audienti."

Sap. VI. 7.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. I. 6.

"Benignus est enim spiritus sapientiae, et non liberabit maledicum a labiis suis, quoniam renum illius testis est Deus, et cordis illius scrutator est verus, et linguae ejus auditor."

Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. XII. Vers. 9.

"Unde in Sapiencia quae Salomonis inscribitur (si cui tamen placet librum recipere) scriptum reperimus: 'Creavit ut essent omnia, et salutare generationes mundi, et non erit eis venenum mortiferum.'"

Ibid.

"Et in supradicto volumine continetur: 'Quae in coelo sunt quis investigabit? nisi quod tu dedisti sapientiam, et Spiritum Sanctum misisti de excelsis, et sic correctae sunt semitae eorum qui versantur in terra; et quae tibi placent eruditi sunt homines.'"

Ibid. Cap. XIV. Vers. 9.

"—de quo *scriptum est*: 'Canis hominis sapientia ejus.'"

Comment. in Malach. Cap. II.
Vers. 1, 2.

Ibid. Cap. III. Vers. 7 seqq.

"—et consequetur illud de quo scriptum est: 'Beatus qui in aures loquitur audientium.'"

Comment. in Evang. Math.
Lib. I. Cap. V. Vers. 13.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Cap. VI. Vers. 7.

"Deus enim non verborum sed cordis auditor est."

Judith V.

Ibid. Cap. VIII. Vers. 18.

Tob. IV. 16.

Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. XXI.
Vers. 28.

"Quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, vide, ne tu aliquando alteri facias."

"— hoc est : 'Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris.'"

Sap. XII. 1.

Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas
Lib. I. Cap. III. 2.

"O quam bonus et suavis est, Domine, spiritus tuus in omnibus."

"— de quo (Spiritu Sancto) alibi scribitur : 'Incorruptus Spiritus est in omnibus.'"

II. Maccab. VI. et VII. Passim.

Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. III. 14.

"Eleazarus quoque nonagenarius sub Antiocho rege Syriae, et cum septem filiis gloriosa mater, utrum maledictos eos aestimaturi fuerint, an omni laude dignissimos?"

Sap. XI. 25.

Comment. in Epist. ad Ephesios Lib. I. Cap. I. 6.

"Diligis enim omnia quae sunt, et nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti : nec enim odiens aliquid constituisti, aut fecisti."

"Dicitur quippe ad Deum : 'Diligis omnia, et nihil abjicis eorum quae fecisti. Neque enim odio quid habens condidisti.'"

Sap. IX. 15.

Ibid. Lib. II. Cap. IV. 2.

"— corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem."

"Corruptibile enim corpus aggravat animam, et terrenum hoc tabernaculum sensum opprimit multa curantem.'"

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

Ibid. 4.

"Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol ; nam stultus sicut luna mutatur."

"— neque in morem stulti quasi luna mutetur."

Sap. VI. 7.

Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. V. 30.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. I. 11.

Breviarium in Psalmos, Ps. IV.

"Custodite ergo vos a murmuratione, quae nihil prodest, et a detractatione parcite linguae, quoniam sermo obscurus in vacuum non ibit : os autem, quod mentitur, occidit animam."

"Os enim quod mentitur occidit animam."

Sap. VII. 27.

"Et cum sit una, omnia potest, et in se permanens omnia innovat, et per nationes in animas sanctas se transfert; amicos Dei et prophetas constituit."

Eccli. I. 16.

"Initium sapientiae, timor Domini, etc."

Maccab. Passim.

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

"Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol; nam stultus sicut luna mutatur."

Eccli. XIV. 18.

"Omnis caro sicut foenum veterascet, et sicut folium fructificans in arbore viridi."

Eccli. X. 9.

"Avaro autem nihil est scelestius. Quid superbit terra et cinis?"

Eccli. III. 17.

"— et in justitia aedificatur tibi, et in die tribulationis commemorabitur tui, et sicut in sereno glacies solvantur peccata tua."

Sap. I. 11.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. VIII. 2.

"Hanc amavi, et exquisivi a juventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi eam assumere, et amator factus sum formae illius."

Ibid. Ps. IX.

"Et alibi (ipse Deus ait): Anima justi sedes sapientiae."

Ibid. Ps. XXXIII.

"Ut illud: 'Initium sapientiae, timor Domini.'"

Ibid.

"Filii Maccabaeorum vel modo unusquisque sanctus clamaverunt, et illos et modo unumquemque ex omnibus tribulationibus liberat."

Ibid. Ps. LXVII.

"Insipiens enim sicut luna mutatur."

Ibid. Ps. LXXXIII.

"Illa autem caro de qua dicitur: Omnis caro foenum, non desiderat Dominum."

Ibid. Ps. CXII.

"Quia de terra et putredine peccatorum nostrorum erexit nos, ut illud: 'Quid superbis, pulvis et terra?' — fiat nobis illud quod scriptum est: 'Sicut glacies in sereno solvantur peccata tua.'"

Ibid. Ps. CXIX.

"— nostras interficimus animas quod mentimur: 'Os enim quod mentitur occidit animam.'"

Liber De Expositione Psalmorum, Ps. CXXVII.

"Dicit Salomon quia voluerit sapientiam ducere scilicet sponsam."

These are the quotations which a cursory examination of Jerome's works reveals. We see in them that he quoted with great frequency the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture.

Three causes are usually assigned for the doubts that prevailed among some Fathers concerning the deuterocanonical books.

1.—Disputations between Jew and Christian were frequent in those days. The chief intellectual adversaries of the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries, were Jews, and the works of the Fathers of this period are filled with refutations of their attacks. As the Jews rejected the deuterocanonical books, the Fathers were obliged to draw Scriptural materials from the protocanonical writings. Hence, gradually these were preferred in authority to the deuterocanonical books; and, as they furnished all that was needed from a source accepted by both sides, the deuterocanonical works were often given a secondary place, and sometimes left out altogether.

2.—A second cause is found in Origen's critical edition of the Hexapla. In this work, which we shall describe more fully in the progress of this work, Origen compared the Septuagint text with the Hebrew and other Greek texts, then existing, marking the passages which were in the Septuagint, and not found in the Hebrew by an *ὁβελὸς*. Copies made from this text, reproducing the diacritic points, soon filled the East. Now the Alexandrian grammarians were wont to use the *ὁβελὸς*, to denote a spurious passage. Origen's intention was evidently not to brand these books and fragments as spurious, but the error arose in the East especially to distrust what was denoted by this sign.

3.—Finally, the fourth and fifth centuries were an age fertile in heresies, apocryphal productions, absurd fables, and fictitious revelations, and in their caution against what was spurious, the Fathers sometimes erred in slowness to receive those books which have in their favor all the evidence that is necessary, and that we have a right to expect. It was by them judged safer to refuse the quality of Canonicity to an inspired book, than, by excessive credulity, to approve an Apocryphal work. These causes operated principally in the East, and thence the most of the opposition came. The growth of the status of the deuterocanonical books might be compared to that of a healthy tree. It lost now and then a branch, in whose stead, it acquired new ones, and kept on growing till it filled the whole world, and now enjoys a firm unshaken hold

on all those who hold to the Church of Christ. It did this because there was in it a divine vigor, which came not from the branches, nor was impaired by their occasional dropping off. There never was any conflict between the Fathers on this point, for in practice, they were a unit. The lists they drew up were mere disciplinary opinions, which never entered to change their practical use of the Scripture.

We find at first the most doubt in the East. This line of thought was brought into the West by Jerome; and while the doubt gradually passed away in the East, we find the influence of Jerome, in the subsequent centuries, engendering some doubts in the minds of Fathers and theologians of the Western Catholic world. We shall pass in brief review the centuries from the fifth down to the Council of Trent.

CHAPTER X.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

The Hexaplar version of Syriac Scriptures made by Paul of Tella, in 616, contains all the deuterocanonical works.

DIONYSIUS, surnamed the little, approved the catalogue of Scriptures promulgated by the Council of Carthage in 419, which embraced all the deuterocanonical works.*

CASSIODORUS, writing for his monks a sort of introduction to the Holy Scriptures, sets forth three catalogues of Holy Books.†

*Dionysius, surnamed the little, on account of his low stature, was a native of Scythia. He came to Rome, and was abbot of a monastery in that city. He was the inventor of the mode of reckoning the years of the Christian era since the birth of Christ, which method is erroneous by several years. He is the author of a "Codex Canonum" and other minor works. His death is placed about the year 540, in the reign of Justinian.

†Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator belonged to a family most probably of Syrian origin, who were established at Scylaceum in Bruttium in the fifth century. His father was administrator of Sicily in 489, when Theodoric took Italy, and he filled high positions under Theodoric. Cassiodorus was born about 490 or perhaps a little later. He filled important public offices under the Gothic sovereigns, Theodoric Athalaric, Theodahat and Witiges. About the year 537, Cassiodorus renounced his public charges and retired to the Monasterium Vivariense, founded by himself at Scylaceum, where he devoted his life to study and prayer. His death is placed about the year 583. He was a prolific writer. He devoted much time to Scriptural studies, and gave thought that the monks of Vivarium should have good texts of Scripture. The monastery possessed an excellent library and many choice manuscripts. Many excellent manuscript texts of the Vulgate of Jerome were copied by the monks of Cassiodorus and spread through the world.

The first list is that of *Prologus Galeatus*, the helmeted prologue of Jerome. The second list is the Canon of St. Augustine from his *Doctrina Christiana*, which we have already reproduced in full. This third list of Cassiodorus is identical with the catalogue of the Vulgate, except a slight variation in the order of the books.

Cassiodorus was more reverential than critical. He plainly received all the deuterocanonical books, and failed to see any repudiation of them in the celebrated Prologue of Jerome. He certainly can be claimed as a witness of a tradition in the sixth century, which accorded to the deuterocanonical books the quality of divinity.

It is evident that, in the East, in the sixth and seventh centuries, the deuterocanonical books were held to be canonical, since the schismatic churches of the Chaldean Nestorians, the Jacobite Monophysites, Syrians, Ethiopians, Armenians and Copts, all have the deuterocanonical Scriptures in equal place with the other divine books.*

It is needless to attend to the absurd catalogue of Junilius Africanus, an obscure bishop of Africa in the sixth century. This list places Chronicles, Job, and Ezra with Tobias, Judith, Esther, and Maccabees among the *non-canonical* books.†

His opinion represents the tradition of no church or sect, nor is it found in any writer of note, and is rejected by everybody.

An unfavorable testimony is found in the work "De Sectis" of Leontius of Byzantium, a priest of Constantinople in the sixth century. He drew up a Canon of only the protocanonical books excepting Esther, and declared that, "these are the books which are held Canonical in the Church." Leontius lived many years in the monastery of St. Saba, near Jerusalem, and the ideas of the Church of Jerusalem are reflected in his works. It can be said of him, as of Cyrill that exclusion from *canonicity* was not with him exclusion from *divinity*. With them the *divine* books of the Old Testament were arranged in two classes *canonical* and *non-canonical*. They used the latter as divine Scripture without according it the preeminence of canonicity. Leontius used in several places quotations from deuterocanonical works as *divine Scripture*.

*Assemann, Bibliotheca Orientalis, III.

†Junil. Afric. De part. div. Legis I. 3-7. Migne 68, 16 et seqq.

The opponents of our Thesis cite at this juncture St. Gregory the Great.*

In the Moral Treatises XIX. 21, citing a passage from Maccabees, he prefaces the citation by saying: "We shall not act rashly, if we accept a testimony of books, which, although not *canonical*, have been published for the edification of the Church."

In the phraseology of St. Gregory, *canonical* signified something over and above divine. It signified those books concerning which the whole world, with one accord, united in proclaiming the word of God. The other books were divine, were used as sources of divine teaching by the Church, but there was lacking the authoritative decree of the Church making them equal to the former in rank. The Jews of old made such distinction regarding the Law and the Hagiographa. All came from God, but the Law was preeminent. The influence of St. Jerome was strong upon St. Gregory. The tradition of the Church drew him with it to use freely, as divine Scripture, the deuterocanonical books; while the doubts of Jerome moved him to hesitate in his critical opinion to accord to these books a prerogative of which Jerome doubted. Had the Church not settled the issue in the Council of Trent, there would, doubtless, be many Catholics yet who would refuse to make equal the books of the first and second Canons. Christ established a Church to step in and regulate Catholic thought at opportune times, and her aid was needed in settling, once for all, the discussion of the Canon of Scripture. This isolated doubt from St. Gregory reflects merely a critical opinion, biased by Gregory's esteem for St. Jerome. To show what was St. Gregory's

*St. Gregory, surnamed the Great, was born of an illustrious Roman family, and was pretor of Rome in 573. Despising the inanity of worldly grandeur, he retired into a monastery which he had built under the patronage of St. Andrew. Pope Pelagius II. drew him from his retreat and made him one of the seven deacons of Rome. He then sent him as Nuncio to Constantinople, to implore the succour of Tiberius II. against the Lombards. At his return, he was made secretary to Pelagius, after Pelagius' death, by unanimous consent of people and clergy, he was created Pope. He strove to avoid the papal dignity, but in vain; he was created Pope in 590. His reign was characterized by great ability and holiness. He by divine aid, checked a pestilence that ravaged Rome, extinguished the schism of the *Three Chapters*; evangelized England through means of St. Austin, reformed the divine office, reformed the clergy, checked the ambition of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, and upheld the rights of the Holy See. Gregory died in 604. His principal writings are his Moral Treatises, his Dialogues, and exegetical Treatises on Holy Scripture. He had more piety than learning, and his exegesis is excessively mystic.

opinion as witness of tradition, we have excerpted the following deuterocanonical quotations from the English edition of some of Gregory's works, published by members of the English Church at Oxford, in 1844 :

Eccli. II. 14.

"Wo to them that are of a double heart, and to wicked lips, and to the hands that do evil, and to the sinner that goeth on the earth two ways."

Com. on Job, Bk. I. 36.

"Hence it is well said by a certain wise man : 'Woe to the sinner that goeth two ways.'"

Eccli. II. 16.

"Wo to them, that have lost patience, and that have forsaken the right ways, and have gone aside into crooked ways."

Ibid. 55.

"For it is hence that it is said of the reprobate: 'Woe unto you that have lost patience.'"

Sap. I. 7.

"For the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world : and that, which containeth all things, hath knowledge of the voice."

Ibid. Bk. II. 20.

"Hence it is written concerning His Spirit: 'For the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world.'"

Eccli. XXIV. 8.

"I alone have compassed the circuit of heaven, etc."

Ibid.

"Hence it is that His Wisdom saith: 'I alone compassed the circuit of heaven.'"

Eccli. XXXII. 26.

"And beware of thy own children, and take heed of them of thy household."

Ibid. Bk. III. 13.

"For hence it is written : 'Beware of thine own children, and take heed to thyself from thy servants.'"

Eccli. XI. 27.

"In the day of good things be not unmindful of evils ; and in the day of evils be not unmindful of good things."

Ibid. 16.

"For it is hence written : 'In the day of prosperity be not unmindful of affliction, and in the day of affliction be not unmindful of prosperity.'"

Sap. XII. 15.

"For so much then as thou art just, thou orderest all things justly : thinking it not agreeable

Ibid. 26.

"It is hence that a Wise Man saith to the Father : 'Forasmuch then as Thou art righteous Thy-

to thy power, to condemn him, who deserveth not to be punished."

Eccli. IV. 24.

"For there is a shame that bringeth sin, and there is a shame that bringeth glory and grace."

Eccli. XXI. 1.

"My son, hast thou sinned? do so no more: but for thy former sins also pray that they may be forgiven thee."

Eccli. II. 1.

"Son, when thou comest to the service of God, stand in justice, and in fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation."

Eccli. I. 33.

"Son, if thou desire wisdom, keep justice, and God will give her to thee."

Sap. IX. 15.

"For the corruptible body is a load upon the soul, and the earthly habitation presseth down the mind that museth upon many things.

Sap. IX. 16.

"And hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth: and with labour do we find the things that are before us. But the things that are in heaven, who shall search out?"

self, Thou orderest all things righteously; Thou condemnest Him too that deserveth not to be punished.' "*"

Comment. on Job. Bk. IV. 32.

"Of which it is said by one: 'There is a shame which is glory and grace.'"

Ibid. 39.

"And against this it is rightly said by one: 'My son, hast thou sinned? add not again thereto.'"

Ibid. 42.

"For so it is written: 'My son, if thou come to serve the Lord, stand in righteousness and in fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation.'"

Ibid. 61.

Ibid. 68.

"For it is written: 'For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things.'"

Ibid. Bk. V. 12.

"That wise man had seen himself to be encompassed with darkness, when he said: 'And with labour do we find the things that are before us; but the things that are in heaven who shall search out?'"

*Gregory has here followed a reading different from that of the Vulgate, but it is not a question of his critical handling of texts, but of his approbation of Wisdom; and this, the present reading evidences.

Sap. IV. 11.

"He was taken away lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul."

Eccli. V. 4.

"Say not : I have sinned, and what harm hath befallen me? for the most High is a patient rewarder."

Sap. IX. 15.

(Already quoted.)

Sap. VII. 26.

"For she is the brightness of eternal light, and the unspotted mirror of God's Majesty, and the image of his goodness."

Sap. XII. 18.

"But thou being master of power, judgest with tranquility, etc."

Sap. II. 24.

"But by the envy of the devil, death came into the world."

Sap. V. 21.

"And he will sharpen his severe wrath for a spear, and the whole world shall fight with him against the unwise."

Ibid. 34.

"If God in His providential dealings did not carry off the righteous, Wisdom would never have said of the righteous man : 'Yea, speedily was he taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding.'"

Ibid. 35.

"For because, as it is written, 'For the Lord is a long-suffering rewarder.'"

Ibid. 58.

"And because in this life, whatever degree of virtue a man may have advanced to, he still feels the sting of corruption, 'For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things.'"

Ibid. 64.

"And as the Wise Man, in the setting forth of Wisdom, saith concerning the same Son : 'For She is the brightness of the everlasting light.'"

Ibid. 78.

"—since it is written : 'But Thou, Lord, judgest with tranquility.'"

Ibid. 85.

"Of whom also it is written : 'Nevertheless, through envy of the devil came death into the world.'"

Ibid. Bk. VI. 14.

"The wise man testifies concerning God : 'And the world shall fight with Him against the unwise.'"

Sap. XVI. 20.

"Instead of which things thou didst feed thy people with the food of Angels, and gavest them bread from heaven prepared without labour, having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste."

Tobias IV. 16.

"See thou never do to another what thou wouldst hate to have done to thee by another."

Eccli. XII. 8.

"A friend shall not be known in prosperity, and an enemy shall not be hidden in adversity."

Eccli. II. 16.

"Woe to them, that have lost patience, and that have forsaken the right ways, and have gone aside into crooked ways."

Sap. XI. 24.

"But thou hast mercy upon all, because thou canst do all things, and winkest at the sins of men for the sake of repentance."

Sap. IX. 15.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XXXIV. 7.

"For dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their trust in them."

Sap. IX. 15.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 22.

"Hence it is said by the wise man of the sweetness of manna: 'Thou didst send them from heaven bread prepared without their labour, having in itself all delight, and the sweetness of every taste.'"

Ibid. 54.

"Hence the wise man saith: 'Do not that to any which thou wouldst not have done to thyself.'"

Ibid. Bk. VII. 29.

"Whence a certain wise man saith rightly: 'A friend cannot be known in prosperity; and an enemy cannot be hidden in adversity.'"

Ibid. 45.

"Hence it is that it was spoken by one that was wise: 'Woe unto you that have lost patience.'"

Ibid. Bk. VIII. 31.

"—as it is written: 'And wink-est at the sins of men for their repentance.'"

Ibid. 12.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 42.

"For except dreams were very frequently caused to come in illusion by our secret enemy, the wise man would never have pointed this out by saying: 'For dreams and vain illusions have deceived many.'"

Ibid. 50.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XL. 1.

"Great labour is created for all men, and a heavy yoke is upon the children of Adam, from the day of their coming out of their mother's womb, until the day of their burial into the mother of all."

Sap. V. 6.

"Therefore we have erred from the way of truth, and the light of justice hath not shined unto us, and the sun of understanding hath not risen upon us."

Eccli. I. 13.

"With him that feareth the Lord it shall go well in the latter end, and in the day of his death he shall be blessed."

Sap. II. 12.

"Let us therefore lie in wait for the just, because he is not for our turn, and he is contrary to our doings, and upbraideth us with transgressions of the law, and divulgeth against us the sins of our way of life."

Eccli. VII. 40.

"In all thy works remember thy last end, and thou shalt never sin."

Sap. VI. 7 et 9.

"For to him that is little, mercy is granted : but the mighty shall be mightily tormented. But a greater punishment is ready for the more mighty."

Ibid. 55.

"The burthens of which state of infirmity that wise man rightly regarding, exclaims : 'A heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb till the day that they return to the mother of all things.'"

Ibid. 76.

"And as the ungodly that are cast away in the Judgment, are described in the book of Wisdom as saying : 'We have erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun rose not upon us.'"

Ibid. 88.

"Of this it is said again : 'Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last.'"

Ibid. Bk. IX. 89.

"And the sons of perdition in their persecutions say concerning that same Redeemer : 'And He is clean contrary to our doings'; and soon afterwards : 'For His life is not like other men's.'"

Ibid. 92.

"Hence again it is written : 'Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember thine end, and thou shalt never do amiss.'"

Ibid. 98.

"For hence it is written : 'But mighty men shall be mightily tormented, and stronger torment shall come upon the stronger ones.'"

Tob. IV. 16.

"See thou never do to another what thou wouldst hate to have done to thee by another."

Eccli. VII. 15.

"Be not full of words in a multitude of ancients, and repeat not the word in thy prayer."

Eccli. I. 13.

"With him that feareth the Lord it shall go well in the latter end, and in the day of his death he shall be blessed."

Eccli. XXXIV. 2.

"The man that giveth heed to lying visions, is like him that catcheth at a shadow and followeth after the wind."

Sap. III. 2.

"In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die: and their departure was taken for misery."

Sap. XII. 18.

"But thou, being master of power, judgest with tranquillity, and with great favour disposest of us: for thy power is at hand when thou wilt."

Sap. XVII. 10.

"For whereas wickedness is fearful, it beareth witness of its condemnation: for a troubled conscience always forecasteth grievous things."

Ibid. Bk. X. 8.

"And the love of our neighbour is carried down into two precepts, since, on the one hand, it is said by a certain righteous man: 'Do that to no man which thou hatest.'"

Ibid. 28.

"For we should call to mind what is said: 'Do not repeat a word in thy prayer.'"

Ibid. 35.

"Hence it is written: 'Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last.'"

Ibid. Bk. XI. 68.

"Hence it is well written concerning him, 'that he hath followed a shadow.'"

Ibid. Bk. XII. 6.

"—that amidst the hands of the persecutors his body is bereft of life; for according to the words of Wisdom: 'In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die, and their departure is taken for misery.'"

Ibid. 14.

"Whence it is said to Him: 'But Thou, Ruler of power, judgest with tranquillity, and orderest us with exceeding great regard.'"

Ibid. 46.

"Whence it is written: 'For whereas wickedness is timorous, she gives witness to condemnation.'"

Eccli. XI. 27.

"In the day of good things, be not unmindful of evils : and in the day of evils, be not unmindful of good things."

Eccli. X. 15.

"Because his heart is departed from him that made him ; for pride is the beginning of all sin : he that holdeth it, shall be filled with maledictions, and it shall ruin him in the end."

Eccli. XXII. 2.

"The sluggard is pelted with the dung of oxen : and every one that toucheth him will shake his hands."

Sap. I. 4.

"For wisdom will not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sins."

Eccli. III. 22.

"Seek not the things that are too high for thee, and search not into things above thy ability."

Sap. IX. 15.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XXII. 6.

"A tale out of time is like music in mourning : but the stripes and instruction *of* wisdom *are never out of* time."

Sap. I. 11.

"— and the mouth that beliieth, killeth the soul."

Sap. V. 8—9.

"What hath pride profited us ? or what advantage hath the boast-

Ibid. Bk. XIII. 48.

"—as when it is written : ' In the day of prosperity, be not forgetful of affliction, and in the day of affliction, be not forgetful of prosperity.' "

Ibid. Bk. XIV. 19.

"If then sin is death, 'the first-born of death' may not unsuitably be taken for pride, in that it is written : 'Pride is the beginning of all sin.' "

Ibid. Bk. XV. 5.

"Whence it is written : 'A slothful man is pelted with the dung of oxen.' "

Ibid. 9.

"It is written : 'For into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter.' "

Ibid. Bk. XVI. 8.

"And again : 'Seek not out the things that are too deep for thee ; neither search the things that are above thy strength.' "

Ibid. Bk. XVII. 39.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. Bk. XVIII. 2.

"Since neither is it allowable to suppose that under infliction of chastenings he used music, when Truth saith by *His Scripture* : 'Music in mourning is as a tale out of season.' "

Ibid. 5.

"But seeing that it is written : 'The mouth that beliieth slayeth the soul.' "

Ibid. 29.

"Those also are slow in 'opening their eyes,' who, as Wisdom

ing of riches brought us? All those things are passed away like a shadow, and like a post that runneth on."

Eccli. II. 5.

"For gold and silver are tried in the fire; but acceptable men, in the furnace of humiliation."

Eccli. XXXVIII. 25.

"The wisdom of a scribe cometh by his time of leisure: and he that is less in action, shall receive wisdom."

Sap. IX. 15.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XV. 3.

"With the bread of life and understanding, she shall feed him, and give him the water of wholesome wisdom to drink—"

Sap. IV. 8—9.

"For venerable old age is not that of long time, nor counted by the number of years: but the understanding of a man is grey hairs, and a spotless life is old age."

I. Maccab. VI. 46.

"And he went between the feet of the elephant, and put himself under it, and slew it: and it fell to the ground upon him, and he died there."

is witness, are described as going in the time of their condemnation to say: 'What hath pride profited us? or what good hath riches with our vaunting brought us? All these things are passed away like a shadow, and as a post that hasteth by.'"

Ibid. 40.

"Whence it is written: 'For gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity.'"

Ibid. 68.

"And hence it is said elsewhere: 'Write wisdom in the time of leisure. And he that is lessened in doing, even he shall win her.'"

Ibid. 71.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. Bk. XIX. 9.

"Again, by water sacred knowledge is denoted, as it is said: 'And give him the water of wisdom to drink.'"

Ibid. 26.

"But *Holy Scripture* is used to call those 'elders,' not who are ripe by amount of years alone, but by ancientness of character. Hence it was said by one that was wise: 'For venerable old age is not that of long time, nor counted by the number of years; but the understanding of a man is gray hairs, and a spotless life is old age.'"

Ibid. 34.

"With reference to which particular we are not acting irregularly, if from the books, though not canonical, yet brought out for the edifying of the Church,

Eccli. XXX. 24.

"Have pity on thy own soul,
pleasing God, etc."

Eccli. XIV. 5.

"He that is evil to himself, to
whom will he be good? etc."

Sap. XII. 18.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. V. 4.

"Say not: I have sinned, and
what harm hath befallen me?
for the most High is a patient
rewarder."

Sap. IX. 15.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. II. 11—12.

"My children, behold the gen-
erations of men: and know ye
that no one hath hoped in the
Lord, and hath been confounded.
For who hath continued in his
commandment, and hath been
forsaken? or who hath called
upon him, and he despised him?"

Eccli. IV. 18—19.

"For she walketh with him in
in temptation, and at the first she
chooseth him. She will bring
upon him fear and dread and
trial: and she will scourge him
with the affliction of her dis-
cipline, till she try him by her
laws, and trust his soul."

we bring forward testimony.
Thus Eleazar in the battle smote
and brought down an elephant,
but fell under the very beast that
he killed."

Ibid. 38.

"Whence it is written: 'Have
mercy upon thine own soul by
pleasing God.'"

Ibid.

"Whence it is also said by one
that was wise: 'He that is evil
to himself, to whom will he be
good?'"

Ibid. 46.

"—He, of whom it is written:
'But Thou, Lord, judgest with
tranquility.'"

Ibid.

"He, of whom it is written
again: 'The Lord is a patient
rewarder.'"

Ibid. Bk. XX. 8.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 51.

"And when it is written again:
'Did ever any trust in the Lord
and was confounded? or did
any abide in His commandments,
and was forsaken? or whom did
He ever despise, that called upon
Him?'"

Ibid.

"Whence too it is rightly said
by one of Wisdom: 'For at the
first she will walk with him by
crooked ways, and bring fear
and dread upon him, and tor-
ment him with her discipline until
she try him in his thoughts.'"

Eccli. I. 13.

"With him that feareth the Lord it shall go well in the latter end, etc."

Eccli. XVIII. 15—17.

"My son, in thy good deeds make no complaint, and when thou givest anything, add not grief by an evil word. Shall not the dew assuage the heat? so also the good word is better than the gift. Lo, is not a word better than a gift? but both *are* with a justified man."

Eccli. XX. 32.

"Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is not seen: what profit is there in them both?"

Sap. VII. 15.

"And God hath given to me to speak as I would, and to conceive thoughts worthy of those things that are given me: because he is the guide of wisdom, and the director of the wise."

Eccli. X. 15.

"—pride is the beginning of all sin—."

Sap. III. 5.

"Afflicted in few things, in many they shall be rewarded: because God hath tried them, and found them worthy of himself."

Eccli. II. 1.

"Son, when thou comest to the service of God, stand in justice, and in fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation."

Ibid. 56.

"As it is written: 'To him that feareth God it shall go well at the last.'"

Ibid. Bk. XXI. 29.

"To which persons it is well said by the Book of Ecclesiasticus: 'To every gift give not the bitterness of an evil word.' And again: 'Lo, a word is better than a gift, and both are with a man that is justified.'"

Ibid. Bk. XXII. 7.

"And excepting that gold had a something of a like sort with wisdom, that wise man would never have said: 'Wisdom hidden from sight, and a treasure that is not seen, what use is there in either?'"

Ibid. Bk. XXIII. 31.

"Whence a certain wise man well said: 'May God grant me to speak these things according to my sentence.'"

Ibid. 44.

"And it is written: 'Pride is the beginning of all sin.'"

Ibid. 52.

"It is hence said of them by Wisdom: 'God proved them, and found them worthy for Himself.'"

Ibid. Bk. XXIV. 27.

"To keep security from generating carelessness, it is written: 'My son, in coming to the service of God, stand in justice and fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation.'"

Sap. III. 7.

"The just shall shine, and shall run to and fro like sparks among the reeds."

Eccli. XXXII. 1.

"Have they made thee ruler? be not lifted up: be among them as one of them."

Sap. VI. 5.

"Horribly and speedily will he appear to you: for a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule."

Eccli. V. 4.

"Say not: I have sinned, and what harm hath befallen me? etc."

Sap. XIII. 5.

"For by the greatness of the beauty, and of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen, so as to be known thereby."

Sap. VI. 17.

"For she goeth about seeking such as are worthy of her, and she sheweth herself to them cheerfully in the ways, and meeteth them with all providence."

Eccli. III. 22.

(Before quoted.)

Sap. IX. 15.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 49.

"—that it is said by Wisdom: 'The righteous shall shine, and shall run to and fro like sparks among the reeds.'"

Ibid. 52.

"Against this pride it is said in the Book Ecclesiasticus: 'Have they appointed thee a ruler? Be not lifted up, but be among them as one of them.'"

Ibid. 54.

"But it is rightly said by the Book of Wisdom of the coming of the strict Judge: 'Horribly and speedily will He appear, for a very sharp judgment shall be to them who are in high places.'"

Ibid. Bk. XXV. 6.

"To whom it is said by a certain wise man: 'Say not, I have sinned, and what harm hath happened to me?'"

Ibid. Bk. XXVI. 17.

"Whence also it is written in the Book of Wisdom: 'For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures the Maker of them can be intelligently seen.'"

Ibid.

"For hence it is written of Wisdom: 'She sheweth herself cheerfully unto them in the ways, and meeteth them in all forethought.'"

Ibid. 27.

(Before quoted.)

Ibid. Bk. XXVII. 45.

(Oft quoted.)

Sap. XVII. 10.

"For whereas wickedness is fearful, it beareth witness of its condemnation."

Eccli. III. 17.

"And in justice thou shalt be built up, and in the day of affliction thou shalt be remembered: and thy sins shall melt away as the ice in the fair warm weather."

Sap. II. 24.

"But by the envy of the devil, death came into the world."

Sap. VII. 24.

"For wisdom is more active than all active things: and reacheth everywhere by reason of her purity."

Eccli. V. 7.

"For mercy and wrath quickly come from him, and his wrath looketh upon sinners."

Sap. IX. 15.

(Already quoted.)

Eccli. XV. 9.

"Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner."

Eccli. X. 15.

"—pride is the beginning of all sin —."

Sap. XII. 18.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 48.

"Whence it is well said by a certain wise man: 'When wickedness is fearful, it beareth testimony to its own condemnation.'"

Ibid. 53.

"Whence it is well said by a certain wise man: 'As ice in fair weather, so shall thy sins be melted away.'"

Ibid. Bk. XXIX. 15.

"Of what other is he a member, but of him, of whom it is written: 'Through envy of the devil came death into the world?'"

Ibid. 24.

"Whence also the spirit of wisdom is described as *full of motion*, that by means of that which is nowhere absent, He might be described as meeting us everywhere.'"

Ibid. 54.

"For it is written: 'For mercy and wrath come from Him.'"

Ibid. Bk. XXX. 15.

(Already quoted.)

Ibid. 74.

"—because, as it is written: 'Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner.'"

Ibid. Bk. XXXI. 87.

"For pride is the root of all evil, of which it is said, as *Scripture* bears witness: 'Pride is the beginning of all sin.'"

Ibid. Bk. XXXII. 9.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. X. 15.

(Oft quoted.)

Ibid. 11.

(Oft quoted.)

Eccli. XXIX. 33.

"Give place to the honorable presence of my friends: for I want my house, my brother being to be lodged with me."

Ibid. 19.

"That many are hay, but yet are protected by the favour of sanctity, a certain wise man well points out saying: 'Pass over, O stranger, and furnish a table.'"

Sap. III. 7.

"The just shall shine, and shall run to and fro like sparks among the reeds."

Ibid. Bk. XXXIII. 7.

"Again, by 'rush' or 'reed' is expressed the brightness of temporal glory, as is said of the righteous by Wisdom: 'The righteous shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks in the reed-bed.'"

Eccli. V. 6—7.

"And say not: The mercy of the Lord is great, he will have mercy on the multitude of my sins. For mercy and wrath quickly come from him, and his wrath looketh upon sinners."

Ibid. 23.

"For hence it is said by a certain wise man: 'Say not, the mercies of the Lord are many, He will not be mindful of my sins.'"

Eccli. XXI. 10.

"The congregation of sinners is like tow heaped together, etc."

Ibid. 55.

"Of this unity of the reprobate it is said by a wise man: 'The congregation of sinners is tow gathered together.'"

Sap. V. 6.

"Therefore we have erred from the way of truth, and the light of justice hath not shined unto us, and the sun of understanding hath not risen upon us."

Ibid. Bk. XXXIV. 25.

"For by the 'sun' the Lord is typified, as is said in the Book of Wisdom, that all the ungodly in the day of the last judgment, on knowing their own condemnation, are about to say: 'We have erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun rose not upon us.'"

Eccli. XXVII. 12.

"A holy man continueth in wisdom as the sun : but a fool is changed as the moon."

Eccli. XXXII. 1.

"Have they made thee ruler ? Be not lifted up : be among them as one of them."

Eccli. X. 9.

"But nothing is more wicked than the covetous man. Why is earth and ashes proud ?"

Sap. II. 8—9.

"Let us crown ourselves with roses, before they be withered : let no meadow escape our riot. Let none of us go without his part in luxury : let us everywhere leave tokens of joy : for this is our portion, and this *our* lot."

It is needless to go through the entire works of St. Gregory. These passages taken from the books of his Exposition of Job, are a good specimen of his use of deuterocanonical Scripture. And no man can say that Gregory considered these books as merely pious treatises. He introduces his frequent quotations from them by the solemn formulas : "It is written," etc., and oft declares them the *Scripture of God*. Gregory received the Scriptures, where he learned his faith, from the Catholic Church ; hence, in drawing from his fund of Scriptural knowledge, he made no distinction in practice between the books of the first and second Canon. The fact that Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are most used by him, results from the richness of their moral teaching ; they were adapted to his scope. Quotations from all the deuterocanonical books except Judith and Baruch are found in his works ; but the proving force of these quotations covers all these books, because it gives evidence that he received the edition of Scripture, in which they all stood on equal footing. The question of Canonicity was to

Ibid.

"That the acuteness of wisdom is designated by the 'sun,' is said also in the way of comparison by Solomon : 'A wise man continueth as the sun, a fool changeth as the moon.'"

Ibid. 53.

"—let those hear that which is said by a certain wise man : 'Have they made thee a ruler ? Be not lifted up, but be among them as one of them.'"

Ibid.

"Let all hear : 'Why art thou proud, O earth and ashes ?'"

Ibid. 55.

"The one speaks by his members, saying : 'Let there be no meadow, which our luxury does not pass through ; let us crown ourselves with roses before they be withered ; let us leave everywhere tokens of our joy.'"

him more of a question of discipline. He was willing to receive all the books since the Church used them ; but he did not essay to decide the exact degree of inspiration of the several books.

In the seventh century, three celebrated Fathers flourished in Spain. First among these is St. Isidore of Seville.*

We find the following valuable testimony in the sixth book of the Etymologies of St. Isidore, 3-9: "The Hebrews, on the authority of Ezra, receive twenty-two books of the Old Testament, according to the number of their letters ; and they divide them into three orders, The Law, The Prophets, and The Hagiographa. The first order, The Law, is received in five books, of which the first is Beresith, that is, Genesis ; the second is Veelle Semoth, that is, Exodus ; the third is Vaicra, that is Leviticus ; the fourth is Vajedabber, that is Numbers ; the fifth is Elle hadebarim, that is Deuteronomy. The second order is that of The Prophets, in which is contained eight books, of which the first is Josue ben Nun, which is called in Latin, Jesus Nave ; the second is Sophtim, that is Judges ; the third is Samuel, that is the first of Kings ; the fourth is Melachim, that is the second of Kings ; the fifth is Isaiah ; the sixth, Jeremiah ; the seventh, Ezechiel ; the eighth, Thereazar, which is called the twelve prophets, who on account of their brevity are joined to one another, and considered as one book. The third order is of the Hagiographers, that is the writers of holy things, in which order are nine books, of which, the first is Job ; the second, the Psalter ; the third, Misle, that is the Proverbs of Solomon ; the fourth is Coheleth, that is Ecclesiastes ; the fifth is Sir Hassirim, that is the Canticle of Canticles ; the sixth is Daniel ; the seventh, Dibre hajamim, that is the Words of the Days, that is Paralipomenon ; the eighth is Ezra ; the ninth is Esther. These taken together, five, eight, and nine, make twenty-two books, as were computed above.

Some enumerate Ruth, and Cinoth which is called in Latin, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, with the Hagiographa, and make twenty-four books, according to the twenty-four Ancients, who assist before the Lord.

*The biography of Isidore of Seville, is involved in obscurity. His father was Severianus, of the province of Carthagenia, in Spain. By some he is placed as governor of that province, but this is doubted by others. The precise year of Isidore's birth is uncertain, but we know that he was Archbishop of Seville for nearly forty years, and that he died in 636. He was undoubtedly the greatest man of his time in Spain. He was versed in all the learning of his age, and was well acquainted with the classic and sacred languages, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. The Council of Toledo in 653 called him the Doctor of his age, and the Ornament of the Church. His works are many, and embody all the science of his age.

There is a fourth order with us of those books of the Old Testament, which are not in the Hebrew Canon. The first of these is Wisdom ; the second, Ecclesiasticus ; the third, Tobias ; the fourth, Judith ; the fifth and sixth, the Maccabees. Although the Jews separate these and place them among the Apocrypha, the Church of Christ honors them and promulgates them as divine books." In this list Baruch is not explicitly mentioned, being considered a part of Jeremiah.

In his treatise *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, Bk. I. XI. 4, 5, 7, St. Isidore writes thus: "In the first place, the books of the Law, that is of Moses, are five, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Sixteen historical books follow these, viz., Jesus Nave, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, two of Ezra, *Tobias*, Esther, *Judith*, and the two books of *Maccabees*. Then there are sixteen prophetic books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, and the twelve minor Prophets. After these come eight books in verse, which are written in various kinds of metre in Hebrew. They are Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, the *Book of Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and thus there are made up forty-five books of the Old Testament. * * * * These are the *seventy-two canonical books*, and on this account Moses elected the elders, who should prophecy. For this cause, the Lord Jesus sent seventy-two disciples to preach."

The number here agrees with the number of the Council of Trent, but there is a slight variation, in that St. Isidore considers Baruch a part of Jeremiah, and detaches Lamentations as a separate book. Excepting this slight variation, the testimony of Isidore well represents the belief of the Church of his age. The first testimony quoted also explains the writings of preceding Fathers, in constituting a two-fold order of books of the Old Testament: those that were in the *Canon of the Hebrews*, and those that were not, *but which by the Church were honored and promulgated as divine books*. The first were often called by the Fathers the canonical books of the Old Testament, and in excluding the deuterocanonical works from this order, they left them in the second order of Isidore.

In his prologue to the books of the Old Testament, I. 7, 8, we find the following: "Of these (the historical books), the Hebrews do not receive Tobias, Judith, and Maccabees, but the Church ranks them among the Canonical Scriptures. Then follow also those two great books— books of holy teaching, Wis-

dom and Ecclesiasticus; which, although they are said to be written by Jesus the son of Sirach, nevertheless, on account of the similarity of diction, are called of Solomon. And these are acknowledged to have, in the Church, equal authority with the other canonical Scriptures."

St. Isidore does not represent tradition, when he states that Wisdom is said to be the work of Sirach. He was there explaining a fact, and had only the warrant of his own critical knowledge on which to rely; but the fact itself, he received from the Church, and this was that the Church of his day made equal those books, that she afterwards proclaimed equal by solemn decree in the Council of Trent.

The second witness for the Church of Spain, in ST. ILDEFONSUS, the disciple of St. Isidore, afterward Archbishop of Toledo, who died in 669. In his Treatise on Baptism, Chapter LXXIX. he received the Canon of St. Augustine, in St. Augustine's identical words, with perhaps the addition of one word to strengthen the authority of the deuterocanonical books.

ST. EUGENE, bishop of Toledo, who died in 657, sets forth the Canon of St. Isidore in Latin verse.*

There is sometimes invoked against us the authority of St. JOHN DAMASCENE, a priest of Damascus, who flourished about 730 A. D. He has drawn up a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testaments: concerning the former he says: "It is to be observed that there are twenty-two books of the Old Testament, according to the letters of the Hebrew language." The only deuterocanonical works which he mentions, are Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, of which he declares that they are excellent and useful, but are not numbered, nor were they placed in the Ark."

The Damascene is evidently simply stating the status of the deuterocanonical books with the Jews, and in this he is influenced by the extravagant ideas of St. Ephrem. His own judgment of the books is set forth in his declaration that they are excellent and useful, and one could legitimately make the

*" Regula quos fidei commendat noscere libros,
 Hos nostra praesens bibliotheca tenet:
 Quinque priora gerit veneranda volumina Legis;
 Hinc Iosues, optimaque hinc Ruth Moabitica gesta
 Bisbis Regum nectuntur in ordine libri.
 Atque bis octoni concurrunt inde prophetae;
 En Iob, Psalterium, Salomon et Verba dierum,
 Esdrae consequitur Esther, Sapientia, Iesus,
 Tobì et Iudith; concludit haec Machabaeorum;
 Illic Testamenti Veteris finisque modusque."

illation from his testimony; therefore, the Church receives them, because they are excellent and useful, even though not in the Canon of the Jews. His practice warrants the illation, for he quotes both Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as divine Scripture.

At the beginning of the ninth century NICEPHORUS, patriarch of Constantinople, drew up (in his Stichometry) a catalogue of books, which contains twenty-two books. In this list, Baruch finds place, while Esther is passed over in silence. After the list of the canonical books of the Old and the New Testaments, there is placed a list of *ἀντιλεγόμενα* which comprises The Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, The Psalms of Solomon, Esther, Judith, Susanna and Tobias. This list has a close affinity to the Synopsis of the Pseudo-Athanasius, and is of no worth in establishing the tradition of the Church of Constantinople, for at that very time, in virtue of the decree of the Council of Trullo, the Canon of the Carthaginian Council was adopted by the Greek Church. Nicephorus, like many of his time, held in great veneration the ancient documents, which had been preserved. He most probably reproduced here some old writing without essaying to judge its critical value.

PHOTIUS has placed in his *Syntagma Canonum*, the eighty-fifth Canon of the Apostles, the sixtieth Canon of Laodicea, and the twenty-fourth Canon of Carthage.*

From the fact that he receives the decree of the Council of Cathage, it is evident that he is at one with us on the question of the Canon. He evidently believed that the curtailed canons were completed by the decree of Carthage.

*Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, was descended from one of the most illustrious and richest families of that city. His brother Sergius married one of the sisters of the Emperor. Photius made use of his splendid advantages to acquire a vast and varied education. Bardas, the restorer of letters, was his tutor. Photius became eminent in all the departments of human knowledge. His birth and his talents elevated him to the highest dignities, even to become Secretary of State to the Court of Constantinople. After passing through these civil posts, he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and became a great theologian. The character of Photius was 'proud and cunning. By intrigue, he deposed Ignatius the legitimate patriarch of Constantinople, and placed himself on the throne. By flattery, he kept his usurped post, by favor of the Emperor Michel. By similar means, he corrupted the legates of Pope Nicolas I., so that they assisted at the Conciliabulum in 861, and confirmed Photius in the See. On hearing these acts, Pope Nicolas declared null and void the said acts, and anathematized Photius. Photius, in turn, convoked a council at Constantinople in 866, and pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication against the Pope. When Basil, the Macedonian, succeeded Michel in the empire, he deposed Photius, and restored Ignatius. At this

Even after its defection from Rome, the Greek Church has always received the deuterocanonical books. To this Zonaras and Balsamon testify.*

When, in the seventeenth century, CYRILL LUCAR endeavored to introduce protestant ideas into the Greek Church, he failed to expel from the Canon the deuterocanonical books.† Against him the members of the Council of Jerusalem decreed that, "following the rule of the Catholic Church, we call Holy Scripture all those books which Cyrill received from the Council of Laodicea, and in addition those books which Cyrill, unwisely, ignorantly, or rather maliciously called Apocryphal, viz., Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobias, the History of the Dragon (deuterocanonical fragment of Daniel), The History of Susanna (idem), The Maccabees, and The Wisdom of Sirach. We judge that these should be enumerated with the other genuine books of Holy Scripture, as genuine parts of the same Scripture."‡

In the council which Parthenius, Patriarch of Constantinople held in 1638 at Constantinople, in which sat two other patri-

juncture was celebrated at Constantinople the VIII. Oecumenical Council, in which Photius and his partizans were anathematized. Photius composed a chimerical history, in which he made Basil descend from Tiridates, the Armenian King. Basil was, in fact, low-born, and this coup won his favor to Photius, whom he restored in 877. Pope John VIII., deceived by Basil and Photius, at first received him into the communion of the Church of Rome, but afterwards, ascertaining the falsehood of Photius, excommunicated him. The successive Popes, Martin, Adrian and Stephen, anathematized him. It was at this point that Photius brought against the Church of Rome the charge of heresy, in having joined the "Filioque" to the Creed. This was the origin of the Greek schism, which divided the East from the West, and drew from the Church of Christ the Greek world. Photius was finally imprisoned in a monastery by the Emperor Leo the Philosopher; and he died in this retreat in 891. Fleury gives a good resume of the character of Photius in these words: "He was the grandest spirit, and most learned man of his time; but he was, at the same time, a perfect hypocrite: while acting like a villain, he spoke like a saint." The works of Photius are many, characterized by great erudition.

*Zonaras, and Balsamon's Explanation of the Council in Trullo, Chap. II. See Synod. Beveregii, Migne, 137, 524; 138, 122.

†Cyrill Lucar was born in the Isle of Candia in 1572. He studied in Venice, Padua, and in Germany; and in the latter place became imbued with Lutheran ideas. He was placed in the See of Alexandria, and afterwards in that of Constantinople. As it became clear that he embraced the tenets of Lutheranism, the clergy rose against him, and he was exiled to Rhodes. He was soon afterwards restored to his see, and subsequently for six or seven times he was deposed and restored. He was finally strangled, while returning from exile. He had the real qualities of a heretic, presumption and intrigue.

‡Cfr. Kimmel, Monumenta Fidei Orientalis, Jenae, 1850, I. 42.

archs and one hundred and twenty bishops, a synodical letter was drawn up and sent to the provincial synod convened at Jassy, in which the opinion of Cyril Lucar, who expunged from Holy Scripture holy and canonical books, and as such received by the holy synods, is declared to be heresy, breathing forth from all parts, and utterly contrary to the orthodox faith.* In later centuries, Protestant ideas have invaded in some part the Russian Church to the extent that Philaretos (†1868) authorized the following catechismal text, and this was approved by the Synod :

“Q. How many are the books of the old Testament?

A. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Athanasius the Great, and St. John Damascene reckon them at *twenty-two*; agreeing therein with the Jews, who so reckon them in the Hebrew tongue. Athanas. Ep. XXXIX. de Test. [Fest.] J. Damasc. Theol. l. IV. c. 17.

Q. Why should we attend to the reckoning of the Hebrews?

A. Because, as the Apostle Paul says, *unto them were committed the oracles of God*: and the sacred books of the Old Testament have been received from the Hebrew Church of that Testament by the Christian Church of the New.

Q. How do St. Cyril and St. Athanasius enumerate the Books of the Old Testament?

A. As follows: 1. The book of Genesis: 2. Exodus: 3. Leviticus: 4. The book of Numbers: 5. Deuteronomy: 6. The book of Jesus the son of Nun: 7. The book of Judges, and with it, as an appendix, the book of Ruth: 8. The first and second books of Kings, as two parts of one book: 9. The third and fourth books of Kings: 10. The first and second books of Paralipomena: 11. The first book of Esdras, and the second, or, as it is entitled in Greek, the book of Nehemiah: 12. The book of Esther: 13. The book of Job: 14. The book of Psalms: 15. The Proverbs of Solomon: 16. Ecclesiastes, also by Solomon: 17. The Song of Songs, also by Solomon: 18. The book of the Prophet Isaiah: 19. Of Jeremiah: 20. Of Ezekiel: 21. Of Daniel: 22. Of the twelve Prophets.

Q. Why is no notice taken, in this enumeration of the books of the Old Testament, of the book of Wisdom, of the Son of Sirach, and certain others?

A. Because they do not exist in Hebrew.

Q. How are we to regard these last named books?

*Kimmel l. c., page 415.

A. Athanasius the Great says, that they have been appointed by the fathers to be read by proselytes, who are preparing for admission into the Church."

Philaretos was a disciple of Cyrill Lucar, and introduced many protestant ideas into the Russian Church; but in the days when the tradition of that Church was worth aught, it was not so. All the Churches of the East were in accord in accepting the deuterocanonical books.

Up to recent times the CODEX AMIATINUS, was believed to date back to the middle of the sixth century. M. De Rossi has demonstrated that this manuscript was copied in the first years of the eighth century in the Monastery of Wearmouth, in Northumberland, by the monks of the Anglo-Saxon Ceolfred.*

It was given to Pope Gregory II. in 716. It is considered the finest Codex in all this world of the Vulgate of St. Jerome. *It contains all the protocanonical and deuterocanonical books, uniting Baruch with Jeremiah, and making explicit mention of the same.* This is important in proving force, since it represents the text of Scripture brought into England by the missionaries of Gregory the Great.

In the first years of the ninth century, ALCUIN, by order of Charlemagne, made an edition of the Scriptures.†

*Vide infra.

†Alcuin, surnamed Flaccus, was born, towards the year of 735, of a noble Anglo-Saxon family in Northumberland. His education was placed under the care of Egbert, Archbishop of York, and he had for tutor Aelbert of the ecclesiastical school of York. Aelbert took him on a pilgrimage to Rome, and, on the return, visited with him Charlemagne. Aelbert was elected to the See of York in 766, and thereupon, placed Alcuin director of the school of the diocese. Alcuin held this post till 780. In 781, he was sent to Rome to bear thence the pallium for Eanbald, successor of Aelbert in the see of York. On his return, he again visited Charlemagne, who invited him to fix his abode in his dominions. Having sought and obtained the authorization of his archbishop and king, he arrived in France in 782, and took the post of teacher in the royal school. Charlemagne became his pupil, and, later on, conferred on him the abbey of Ferrières, St. Loup de Troyes, St. Josse in Ponthieu, and of St. Martin of Tours. In 790, Alcuin revisited England, but Charlemagne soon summoned him into France to combat the heresy of Adoptionism. In opposing this heresy, Alcuin's principal theological works were written. Towards 796, Alcuin retired to St. Martin of Tours, and devoted himself there to teaching, whereby the school became famous. By his orders, a rich library was collected, and many manuscripts copied. Alcuin remained through life a deacon of the Catholic Church. His last years were troubled by a dispute with Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, regarding a priest who had been condemned to imprisonment by Theodulf, and who had sought refuge at Saint Martin. In this affair, Charlemagne treated him with severity. He died in 804, at the age of 69 years, and was interred in the Church of St. Martin. He is the author of many works, mostly treating of scriptural subjects. One of the most important of his works was his correction of the Bible, by order of Charlemagne.

The CODEX PAULINUS or Carolinus, preserved at the Basilica of St. Paul outside the walls of Rome, executed in the ninth century, contains Alcuin's recension, *in which we find all the deuterocanonical books except Baruch*. The CODEX STATIANUS or VALLICELLIANUS in the Vallicella Library at Rome, and other manuscripts called the *Bibles of Charlemagne*, at Zurich, Bamberg, and in the British Museum, contain the same list of Alcuin's revised books. Moreover, Alcuin has drawn up a complete Canon of both protocanonical and deuterocanonical books in the following verses:

*“ In hoc quinque libri, retinentur Codice Mosis,
Bella ducis Josue, seniorum et tempora patrum.
Ruth, Job, et Regum bis bini namque libelli;
Atque Prophetarum sancti bis octo libelli;
Carmina præclari Christi patris hymnica David,
Et tria pacifici Salomonis opuscula regis.
Jungitur his Sophiæ Jesu simul atque libellus,
Et Paralipomenis enim duo nempe libelli.
Hinc Ezræ, Nehemiæ, Hester, Judith atque libelli
Et duo namque libri Machabæa bella tenentes.
Matthæi et Marci, Lucæ liber, atque Joannis
Incluta gesta tenens salvantis sæcula Christi.
Sanctus Apostolicos Lucas conscripserat Actus;
Bis septem sancti per chartas dogmata Pauli,
Jacobi, Petri, Judæ et pia dicta Joannis:
Scribitur extremo Joannis in ordine tomus.
Hos lege, tu lector felix, feliciter omnes,
Ad laudem Christi propriamque in sæcla salutem.”

“ Tres *Salomon* libros mirabilis edidit auctor,
Iis duo junguntur per paradigma libri;
Quorum quippe prior *Sapientia* dicitur alma,
Notatur *Jesu* nomine posterior
Hinc *Paralipomenon*is adest sacer illo libellus,
Qui veteris Legis dicitur epitome
Hinc *Ezra*, *Nehmia*, *Judith*, *Hesterque* libelli;
Tunc *Tobias* pietas, angelus, actus, iter.
Incluta nam binis *Machabæa* bella libellis
Scribuntur, victis gentibus et populis.
Hæc est sancta quidem Legis Scriptura Vetustæ,
Divinis tota quæ titulis redolet.”

Some endeavor to shake Alcuin's authority for the deuterocanonical books, by citing a passage from the eighteenth paragraph of his first book against Elipandus. This Elipandus had cited, in support of Adoptionism, the text from Ecclesiasticus XXXVI. 14: “Miserere, Domine, plebi tuæ, super quam invocatum est nomen tuum, et Israel quem coaequasti primogenito tuo.” Alcuin replies: “In the book of Jesus, the Son of

*P. L. Migne, 101, pag. 731-734.

Sirach, the aforesaid sentence is read, of which book blessed Jerome and Isidore unreservedly testify that it is placed among the apocryphal, that is to say, the doubtful books."

In relation to this testimony, we must first observe that Alcuin errs in stating that Isidore placed Ecclesiasticus among the Apocrypha. A close examination of his works reveals no such statement; he is a plain advocate of Ecclesiasticus and all the other deuterocanonical works. We know what was the opinion of Jerome, and what were its causes. The present question, therefore, is: did Alcuin adopt the opinion of Jerome? We answer this question in the negative, *on the clearest evidence*. To say nothing of the complete lists of Scripture in the verses already quoted; to say nothing of the recension of all the books of the Catholic Canon, in the edition prepared by Alcuin for Charlemagne, we have clear and express statements from Alcuin that Ecclesiasticus is divinely inspired Scripture. We select the following three passages:

Eccli. V. 8.

"Non tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem —."

De Virtutibus et Vitiis, XIV. XVIII.

"The saying is read in the divinely inspired Scriptures: 'Fili, ne tardes converti ad Deum, quia nescis quid futura pariat dies.'.... *These are the words of God, not mine.*"

In the fifteenth chapter of the same treatise, he quotes Ecclesiasticus three times, as authoritative Scripture. In the eighteenth chapter this passage occurs:

Eccli. XVIII. 30—31.

"Post concupiscentias tuas non eas, et a voluntate tua avertere. Si praestes animae tuae concupiscentias ejus, faciet te in gaudium inimicis tuis."

De Virtutibus et Vitiis, XVIII.

"Holy Scripture, therefore, admonishes us, saying: 'Go not after thy lusts, but turn away from thy own will. If thou give to thy soul her desires, she will make thee a joy to thy enemies.'"

If words mean anything, Alcuin's position was that Ecclesiasticus was divinely inspired Scripture, and the word of God. The Council of Trent asks no more than this for the book. In practical usage, Alcuin made no difference between the two classes of books. The passage objected by our adversaries relates only to Ecclesiasticus, and we honestly claim to have shown that Alcuin did not make his own the opinion of St.

Jerome. To reconcile the aforesaid passage with Alcuin's real belief, we must observe that it occurs in a controversial work directed against Elipandus, the heretical Archbishop of Toledo. In that treatise, his aim was to obtain victory over his opponent, and to that purpose, he was willing to use every argument that would have any weight, even though it did not express his personal conviction. Elipandus had quoted a passage from Ecclesiasticus that seemed to make for Adoptionism. Alcuin first endeavors to weaken the adversary's position by throwing the doubt of St. Jerome on the book, and then directly meets the objection by explaining the passage. Such mode of dealing with adversaries characterizes the writings of many of the Fathers. In the treatise, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Alcuin speaks as a calm exponent of the Church's doctrine, and draws his materials from the commonly received deposit of Holy Scripture of that time.

In face of all this, it is nauseating to find the protestant writer Horne placing Alcuin among those *who testify that the apocryphal (deuterocanonical) books form no part of the Canon of divinely inspired Scripture*.*

Protestantism has been fed on lies from the beginning.

THE CODEX TOLETANUS, of Toledo in Spain, which, according to critics, dates back to the eighth century, contains all the deuterocanonical books except Baruch.

THE CODEX CAVENSIS, of the Abbey of La Cava near Salerno, contains all the deuterocanonical books. This manuscript is probably of Spanish origin, of the end of the eighth or beginning of ninth century. It contains the text of Jerome.

THEODULF, Bishop of Orleans, contemporary with Alcuin, made a recension of the books of Scripture, of which two copies are in the National Museum at Paris, and another is preserved in the Cathedral at Puy. In the Bible of Theodulf, all the deuterocanonical books find place.

VENERABLE BEDE wrote an allegorical exposition of the book of Tobias, and in his use of Scriptures makes no distinction between protocanonical and deuterocanonical books.†

*Horne's Introduction to the Study of Scripture, Vol. I. Appendix I. 484.

†Bede was born at Jarrow, on the confines of Northumberland and Scotland, in 673. His parents were Anglo-Saxons who had embraced the Catholic religion. At the age of seven years, they confided the child Bede, which means in their tongue *prayer*, to the Abbot Benoit Biscop, who was a second father to the child. After three years passed with Benoit, Bede was placed with the famous Ceolfrid, who taught him the elements of sacred and profane literature. As disciple of Ceolfrid, Bede acquired all the science of his

Against the authority of Bede two objections are raised.

In his treatise, *De Temporum Ratione*, he writes as follows: "Thus far divine Scripture contains the series of events. The subsequent history of the Jews is exhibited in the book of Maccabees, and in the writings of Josephus and Africanus, who continue the subsequent history down to the time of the Romans."*

According to our adversaries, Bede here draws a sharp distinction between divine Scripture and the mere profane history of the books of Maccabees. In dealing with this objection, we place first of all that it leaves the canonicity of all the deuterocanonical books except the Maccabees intact. This is self-evident since he is speaking of historical books alone. In the second place, we must interpret the obscure passages of a writer according to his certain position, revealed in his other works. Now Bede has quoted all the deuterocanonical books in the solemn formulas, customary in introducing divine Scripture. Did he therefore reject Maccabees, he would disagree with himself, and be absurdly inconsistent. We believe, therefore, that in distinguishing Maccabees from the other historical books of divine Scripture, he merely wishes to point out that it does not alone continue the series of historical events from Ezra to the era of the Romans. Up to the time of Ezra, indeed, not all historical events were written, but enough was written to form a continuous chain of chief events, and no other writings contain the events of those times except the Holy Books, which follow each other in a certain historical series. But after Ezra a great lacuna occurs in the history of the Jews down to the time of the Romans, which is only partly bridged over by the combined data of Maccabees, Africanus, and Josephus. The second book of Maccabees covers a period of only about sixteen years; the first, of about forty. They are partly synchronous, and combined would not cover a period of over fifty years. Hence Bede could not say that divine Scripture con-

times. At the age of 19, he became deacon; and at the age of 30, priest. He began to write at the age of thirty, and has left extended commentaries on nearly all the books of Holy Scripture. Excepting Augustine and Jerome, no Father has wrought such a vast exegetical work. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, was wont to term Bede the wisest of the exegetes of Holy Scripture. Full oft, however, he drifts away from the literal sense into an excessive mysticism. The whole life of Bede was passed in the cloister. He died in 735. Bede and Isidore of Seville were the chief sources of Christian education during the middle ages.

*P. L. Migne, 90, 539.

tained the series of events down to the Roman epoch. He, therefore, drew a distinction between Maccabees and the preceding historical books, not from the nature of the books, but from the fact that the scriptural history of the Jews became broken at Ezra, and the fragment of it which existed in Maccabees had to be supplemented by the two cited authors.

The second objection is taken from Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse, Chapter IV. Therein he states: "The six wings of the four animals, which are twenty-four, signify so many books of the Old Testament, in which the authority of the evangelists is confirmed, and their truth is corroborated."*

It is pitifully absurd to make Bede, who throughout his vast works has quoted the deuterocanonical books side by side, and in equal place with the protocanonical Scriptures, reject them on the warrant of this one passage. It is Bede's evident opinion here to consider the protocanonical books as a class by themselves, without detracting from the divinity of the deuterocanonical works. The classing of the protocanonical works in a distinct class, was warranted by patristic literature, and this diligent student of patrology drew therefrom a mystic argument, without throwing doubt on the deuterocanonical books, which formed a class by themselves. The last factor in removing this class-distinction, and making the two classes perfectly equal, was the decree of the Council of Trent.

In our review of these centuries, we can not notice every writer who has written, relating to the books of Holy Scripture. We shall content ourselves with adducing representative men as the exponents of the Church's belief through these ages.

RHABANUS MAURUS follows on the question of the Canon St. Isidore of Seville.† As Rhabanus was a faithful follower of the Fathers of the Church, his Canon may be called the Canon of tradition of this century. In his work, *De Institutione Clericorum*, Chap. 53, he formulates the following Canon:

*P. L. Migne 93, 144.

†Rhabanus Maurus was born at Fulda in 788 of one of the first noble families of the country. At the age of six years, he was offered by his parents to the monastery of Fulda, wherein his childhood was passed. He was sent later on to Tours, and studied under Alcuin. On his return to Fulda, he was elected abbot, and distinguished himself by reconciling Louis the debonnaire, with his sons. He was elected Archbishop of Mayence in 847, and, as such, was distinguished for learning and zeal in guarding the faith. He died in 856 at the age of 68 years. His works, printed at Cologne in 1627, form six tomes in folio, bound in three volumes. His works on Scripture are mostly extracts from the Fathers, which was the mode of the study of theology of that time.

"These are, therefore, the books of the Old Testament; in love of doctrine and piety, *the chief men of the Churches* have handed down that these should be read and received. The first are of the Law, that is, the five books of Moses, viz., Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. There follow these fifteen historical books, viz., Josue, and the books of Judges, or Ruth (as one of them is called), the four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, *Tobias*, Esther and *Judith*, two of Ezra and *Two of Maccabees*. With these are sixteen prophetic books. There follow eight books in verse, which are written in different kinds of metre with the Hebrews, that is the book of Job, the book of Psalms, and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah." After giving the complete Canon of the New Testament, he continues: "These are the seventy-two *canonical*, books and on this account Moses elected seventy elders as prophets; and Jesus, Our Lord, sent seventy-two disciples to preach." The testimony of Rhabanus is identical with that of Isidore of Seville, and is valuable inasmuch as it evidences that the teachers of the Church found in St. Isidore a concise statement of the Church's belief. Rhabanus wrote commentaries on Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith and the two books of Maccabees.

WALAFRID STRABO, must also be added to the advocates of the Catholic Canon.*

In his *Glossa Ordinaria*, he has adopted the commentaries of his master Rhabanus Maurus, on Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, and the Maccabees; he has adopted Bede's commentary on Tobias, and reproduces the text of Baruch without commentary with this preface: "The book which is called Baruch is not found in the Hebrew Canon, but only in the Vulgate edition, as also the Epistle of Jeremiah. For the knowledge of the readers, they are written here, for they contain many things relating to Christ, and the last times."

The influence of St. Jerome was strong in Walafrid. He has inserted in his *Glossa* the prefaces of St. Jerome concerning the deuterocanonical books. That these prefaces find place in his work, would not prove that he adopted Jerome's views, for the prefaces are printed in the Clementine

*Walafrid, surnamed Strabo, the squint-eyed, was the disciple of Rhabanus Maurus. He was born in 806, and was reared in the monastery of Fulda under Rhabanus. He joined the Benedictine order, became Dean of St. Gall, and afterwards Abbot of Richenou in the diocese of Constance. He was a man renowned for piety and profound learning. He died in 849. His chief works are *De Officiis*, and *Glossa Ordinaria in Sacram Scripturam*.

edition of our own day. In the obscurity of the age when Walafrid lived, men, with reverence, accepted the writings of the great saints, suspending judgment when they were in contradiction with other approved data. He testifies that Baruch is in the Vulgate of his time, and that it contains much that is good. It is equivalent to say: "The Church receives this book, but I know not what degree of divinity she accords it."

With full right, therefore, Pope Nicolas I., writing to the bishops of Gaul in 865, speaks of the catalogue of Scripture of Innocent I. as the law of the universal Church:—"if the Old and New Testaments are to be received, not because they are to be found in a code of Canons, but *because there exists a sentence of Holy Pope Innocent, concerning their reception*, it follows that the decretal letters of Roman Pontiffs are to be received, even though not embodied in the code of Canons." We have before seen that the decree of Innocent I. is identical with the catalogue of the Council of Trent. Nicolas here places as a truth conceded by all, that the decree of Innocent was the law of the Church on Scripture.

In the tenth century, doubts again arose in the Western Church, founded solely on the authority of St. Jerome. On one side stood the use of the Church and the testimony of tradition; on the other, the declarations of Jerome, the "doctor of doctors." Hence doubt arose and uncertainty in many minds, and many were the attempts to reconcile Jerome with the belief and usage of the Church. These doubts endured down to the time of the Council of Trent.

It would be impossible to pass in review over all the writings of these ages. We can only signalize some representative men of both sides. We find that the great body of the Church's teachers preserved the old belief and tradition, and the few who, through an excessive adhesion to St. Jerome, broke away from the common belief suffice not to break the consensus of tradition. We find that most of those who follow the opinion of Jerome try to reconcile him with the Church, by according to the deuterocanonical books a place among the Holy Books, just short of certain canonicity. By this, they strove to harmonize the universal usage of the Church with Jerome's rejection of these books from the Canon.

NOTKER BALBULUS opens the tenth century with an unfavorable testimony.* In his work, *De Interpretibus Divinæ*

*Notker, surnamed the stammerer, from his defective speech, was a monk of St. Gall, who died in 912. His life was passed in the retirement of the cloister, and little of it is known to us. His chief works preserved to us are: *De Interpretibus Divinæ Scripturæ*, *Liber Sententiarum*, and a Martyrology.

Scripturæ, Chap. III., he has the following obscure statement : " Of the book which is called the Wisdom of Solomon, I have found no author's exposition, except some testimonies (therefrom) explained in relation to other books. The book is totally rejected by the Hebrews, and is by christians considered *uncertain, nevertheless, since on account of the utility of its doctrine, our forefathers were accustomed to read it*, and the Jews have it not, it is called with us Ecclesiasticus. What thou believest of this, it behooveth thee to believe also of the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, except that this latter is possessed and read by the Hebrews. * * * The priest Bede wrote some things on Tobias and Ezra, more pleasing than necessary, since he has striven to convert simple history into an allegory. What shall I say of the books of Judith, Esther and Paralipomenon? By whom, or how shall they be explained, since their contents are not intended for authority, but only as a memorial of wonderful things? This thou mayest also suspect of the Books of Maccabees." (Patrol. L. Migne, 131, 996).

There is no precedent in the writings of Jerome, or of any one else for the opinion of this monk. It is the sole testimony of one monk against the Church. Any testimony that places Paralipomenon among the deuterocanonical books may well be set aside without further argument. It is simply the case of a man, admirable in other things, who blundered on this subject.

In the collections of the decrees of Councils and Popes, collected in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the Canon of Innocent I. or Gelasius always finds place. *The collection of Canons of the Church of Spain*, published by Gonzalez from a Codex of 976 contains the decree of Pope Innocent. BURCHARD OF WORMS (†1025), (IVES OF CHARTRES (†1117), and GRATIANUS (†1155) have received the decree of Gelasius. These collections formed the basis of the discipline of the Church, and show us plainly the place given to the deuterocanonical books to have been, in fact, not inferior to that accorded them in the Church of to-day.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, ST. STEPHAN HARDING, Abbot of Citeaux, made a recension of the Latin Vulgate. In this recension of the year 1109, we find all the books of the Catholic Canon.

GISLEBERT, Abbot of Westminster (†1117), in his "Dispute of A Jew with A Christian," defends the authority of Baruch : "Although that which the book contains is not found in the book which bears the name of Jeremiah, nevertheless, Jeremiah has produced the data; for he who wrote this book, wrote not

otherwise than under the dictation of Jeremiah." (P. L. Migne, 159, 1026-1027.) Although there is here an error of fact, nevertheless, the abbot is true in his defense of the authority of the book, which Catholic belief of his day adopted.

AN ANONYMOUS WRITER of the middle of the twelfth century, writing upon the reading of the Bible, expresses himself thus: "Besides the aforesaid (the protocanonical books), there are five books which are called by the Hebrews apocryphal, that is to say, hidden and doubtful, *but the Church honors these and receives them*. The first is Wisdom; the second, Ecclesiasticus; the third, Tobias; the fourth, Judith; the fifth, Maccabees." (P. L. Migne, 213, 714.)

This is the exact Catholic position, which endured and lived down every opposing agency.

ÆGIDIUS, deacon of Paris (†1180?) sets forth the Catholic position on the Canon in the following Latin verses:

Qui tamen excipit hos : Tobî, Judith, et Machabæus,
Et Baruch, atque Jesum, pseudographumque librum.
Sed licet excepti, tamen hos authenticat usus
Ecclesiæ, fidei regula, scripta Patrum.
Scito quod ista Dei digito digesta fuerunt.
Altus hic est puteus, grandis abyssus inest.

—[Patrol. Lat. Migne, 212, 43.]

PETER OF RIGA, the friend of Ægidius, endorses the Catholic Canon in the following verses:

"Lex antiqua tenet cum quater octo decem.
Isti terdeni libri sunt et duodeni
Antiquæ legis, si numerando legis.
Quinque Moys; Josue; Judex; Paralipomenon; Job;
Bis bini Regum; Ruth; David; et Salomon;
Ezechiel; Daniel; Isaias; Jeremias;
Esdras; Philo; Sirach; plena vigore Judith;
Hester amœna genis; Tobias; et Macchabæi;
Scripta prophetarum sunt duodena simul;
Nempe Neemiæ dedit hospitium liber Esdræ;
Et Ruth judicibus hospita facta subest;
Scriptorisque sui Baruch librum Jeremias
Post libri recipit posteriora sui."—[P. L. Migne, 212, 23.]

In this testimony, Peter adopted the erroneous opinion of some that Wisdom was written by Philo, the Jew; but the value of his opinion is not impaired by this error since, in such opinion, he is not a witness of the Church's belief.

PETER OF BLOIS (†1200) adopts the following testimony verbatim from St. Isidore of Seville: "There is a fourth order with us of the books of the Old Testament, of the books that are not in the Hebrew Canon, the first of these is Wisdom; the second, Ecclesiasticus; the third, Tobias; the fourth, Judith;

the fifth and sixth, Maccabees. These books, the Jews place apart among the apocrypha; but the Church of Christ honors them among the divine books and promulgates them." (P. L. Migne, 207, 1052.) This may be called the *common opinion* of the time. It is always enunciated with the certainty and boldness of men conscious that they have no adversary among the teachers of the Church. It is never challenged, never denied: those who depart from it, at most, only try to pare away a little of the equality of the books of the second Canon, to be in line with Jerome.

HONORIUS, the celebrated theologian of Autun (†1120?) in his *Gemma Animæ*, Chap. 118, establishes the mode in which the Holy Books are to be read in the divine office, in which testimony, he has the following: "These books are authentic, and these are to be read in the divine offices.... From the Kalends of August up to September, let there be read the Parables of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, The Canticle of Canticles, and The Book of *Wisdom*, all of which Solomon wrote, and *Ecclesiasticus*, which Jesus the Son of Sirach composed. From the Kalends of September, for two weeks, let there be read the book of Job, which he composed; then for a week, the book of *Tobias*, which he wrote. Then for a week, let there be read the book of *Judith*, which she or Achior wrote.... From the Kalends of October to the Kalends of November, let there be read the books of *Maccabees*; the first of which, Simon the pontifex wrote, and its last part John his son is said to have written; but the second book, Philo, the Jew, taught by the Greeks, is known to have written." (P. L. Migne, 172, 736-737.)

In these testimonies Baruch is not explicitly mentioned, because it was always considered a part of Jeremiah. It is evident that this theologian is not advancing an individual opinion here, but practically ordering the reading of books which the Church read as Holy Scripture. His opinion of the authorship of the second book of Maccabees is worthless, since there he is not a witness, but a critic, and a very poor one in this case.

JOHN BELETH, the theologian of Paris (1180), in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, establishes the same order of reading of the Scriptures.*

*Novem quæ deinceps sequuntur, reputantur hagiographa, ita tamen ut sint authentica, nimirum liber Psalmorum, liber Jobi, tres libri Salomonis, scilicet Parabolæ, sive mavis dicere Proverbia, Ecclesiastes et Canticum Cantorum, liber Paralipomenon, Judith et Esther. Quatuor tandem enumerant

PETER COMESTOR (†1178) has a testimony favorable to us.* In the history of the book of Josue, præf., he has the following: "Job, David, three books of Solomon, Daniel, Paralipomenon, Ezra, Esther, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, Maccabees are called the Hagiographa (al. Apocrypha), because their author is unknown; but, since there is no doubt of their truth, they are received by the Church." (P. L. Migne, 198, 1260.) Great confusion exists in this age, in the use of Hagiographa, and Apocrypha. Many confounded these terms, as this author did here, if the text of Migne is right. They seem to have wished to reconcile Jerome with the Church by attributing to the word apocryphal, the sense of a book, whose message was received by the Church, but whose author was unknown.

A peculiar testimony is found in that part of Peter's history which treats of the history of the Book of Daniel. In the XIII. Chapter he states: "There follows the history of Susanna, which the Hebrew (text) does not contain in the Book of Daniel. It calls it a fable, not that it denies the history, but because it is falsely stated there, that the priests were stoned, whom Jeremias testifies to have been burned; and because we *fable* it to have been written by Daniel, whereas it was written by a certain Greek." The loose ideas of inspiration then prevailing, made it possible for this uncritical mind to believe that historical falsehood could exist in Scripture.

A testimony unfavorable to the Book of Wisdom is found in the writings of RUPERT, Abbot of Deutz.† In his Commentary on Genesis, Chap. XXXI., he denies the canonicity of

apocrypha, librum videlicet Tobie, Machabæorum, Philonis, cujus principium est: *Diligite justitiam*, et Jesu filii Sirach, qui sic incipit: *Omnis sapientia a Domino*, etc., appellaturque etiam Ecclesiasticus. Verum hos quatuor quidam non recipiunt. Ecclesia tamen eos approbat, quod argumentum fere habeant librorum Salomonis, etiamsi eorum auctores pro certo ac vere non sciat. [P. L. Migne, 202, 66.]

*Peter, surnamed Comestor, low latin for an eater, a gourmand, was of Troyes in France. He was called Comestor, the eater, to signify that he had devoured all the erudition of his time, or from the fact of his prodigious memory of Scripture. His best work is his Scholastic History, from which he merited to be called the Master of history.

†Rupert of Deutz was born in the territory of Ipres. He entered the Benedictine Order in the Abbey of St. Lawrence near Liege. He passed thence to the Abbey of St. Lawrence of Oosbourg, near Utrecht. His great piety and deep knowledge of the Scriptures moved Frederic, Archbishop of Cologne, to make him Abbot of Deutz near Cologne, where he died in 1135. He has left numerous works, principal of which is his Commentary on Holy Scripture.

Wisdom: "Concerning whom (Adam), whether he ever obtained through Christ mercy, by which we are saved and freed, certain ones in these days discuss, for the reason that *nowhere does the canonical Scripture* testify that he did penance. Only in the book, which bears the title of *Wisdom*, it is thus written concerning him: 'She (Wisdom) preserved him, that was the first formed by God, the father of the world, when he was created alone, and she brought him out of his sin, and gave him power to govern all things. (Sap. X. 1—2). *But this Scripture is not of the canon, nor is that sentence taken from canonical Scripture.* * * * What, therefore, is therein said: 'She brought him out of his sin, and gave him power to govern all things,' is more readily rejected than received." (P. L. Migne, 167, 318).

In his Commentary on Jeremiah, Rupert mentions not Baruch, (Ibid.); and he omits all the deuterocanonical fragments from Daniel, (Ibid.) In his work *De Divinis Officiis*, he renders clear testimony that all the deuterocanonical books were read side by side with the books of the first canon *as divine Scripture*, and then throws a doubt on Tobias and Judith: "These two volumes are not in the canon with the Hebrews, but, on the authority of the Nicene Synod, they are adopted for the instruction of the Church." (P. L. Migne, 170, 332).

In his work, *De Victoria Verbi Dei*, speaking of the causes of Aman's wrath, as set forth in the deuterocanonical Twelfth Chapter of Esther, he contrasts the data with the protocanonical Third Chapter of the same book, saying: "But a greater and more certain cause of this hate and great wrath is that which the truth of Scripture asserts thus: 'Mardochai alone did not bend the knee and adore Aman.'" (P. L. Migne, 169, 1384).

It is evident, therefore, that the deuterocanonical data are not ranked as the truth of Scripture. On the same work from the Seventh to the Twenty-sixth Chapter, Rupert discourses on the books of Maccabees, which he clearly recognizes as divine Scripture. (P. L. Migne, 169, 1428—1442).

We find in Rupert a man strongly imbued with the opinions of Jerome, of whose writings he had been an assiduous reader. Jerome was the classical authority of those days on Scripture, and it is not strange that Rupert, his disciple, should have adopted some of his opinions. Like his master, he is not consistent, and in his practical use of Scripture regularly quotes the deuterocanonical books as divine Scripture. He breaks

away from the common voice of tradition, when he denies the divinity of the same. It was only the safeguarding power of the Holy Spirit, acting through the Church, that saved these books against the authority of Jerome, who was the great authority on Scripture in the middle age. This protection of God permitted an occasional word against the divinity of the aforesaid books.

HUGH OF ST. VICTOR also adopts the opinions of the *Prologus Galeatus*.^{*} In his prefatory remarks, *De Scripturis et Scriptoribus Sacris*, after giving the list of the protocanonical books, he continues: "All, therefore, make twenty-two. There are besides certain other books, as the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, *The Book of Judith*, *Tobias*, and the *Maccabees*, which are read, but are not written in the Canon."

After enumerating the books of the New Testament, the decretals of Popes, and the writings of the Fathers, among whom the first in place is Jerome, he continues: "But these writings of Fathers are not computed in the text of the divine Scriptures, just as we have said that there are books which are not embodied in the Canon of the Old Testament, and yet are read, as the *Wisdom of Solomon* and other books. The text, therefore, of Holy Scripture, as one body, is principally made up of thirty books. Of these twenty-two books are comprised in the Old Testament, and eight in the New, (Hugh made one book of the thirteen Epistles of Paul, and another book of all the Catholic Epistles). The other writings are, as it were, adjuncts, and deductions from the foregoing." (P. L. Migne, 175, 15-16.)

In his Prologue, *De Sacramentis*, he manifests the same views: "There are, besides, in the Old Testament certain other books, which are read, indeed, but are not within the *Corpus Scripturarum*, or in the authentic Canon. These are *Tobias*, *Judith*, *Maccabees*, and that which is inscribed the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and *Ecclesiasticus*."

Hugh is also a *Feromist* of a pronounced type. All that the Church had done up to his time was to place these books before the faithful as Scripture. She had not defined the exact degree of their inspiration. It is only concerning this degree of inspiration that Hugh errs. He testifies to the

^{*}Hugh of St. Victor was Canon regular of St. Victor at Paris. His origin is controverted. So great was his fame in theology in Paris that men called him the *second Augustine*. He died in 1140 at the age of forty-four years.

presence of the books in the divine deposit. The degree of their inspiration was yet an open question; in judging of this degree, he went with his great master Jerome, and excluded the books of the second Canon from an equality with the first. The authority of Hugh of St. Victor was great in the Church; and, doubtless, he contributed much to keep up the uncertainty which was finally removed by the Council of Trent. It was not with those writers a question of the rejection of the deuterocanonical books; these books had a place in the deposit of the sacred literature of the Church, but it was a *question of equality* with the other books; and on this point, some limited the authority of the books to something less than Canonicity.

RUDOLPH OF FLAVIGNY (†1155), divides the books of Scripture into four classes, historical, prophetical, books of proverbs, and books of simple doctrine. He places Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus with protocanonical books in the fourth class, but declares that "Tobias, Judith and Maccabees, although read for the instruction of the Church, have not perfect authority."*

That the books should be *read in the Church*, this was the Church's work, infallible and uniform; she preserved them for her children, because they were divine: the fluctuation of individual opinions regarding their exact degree of inspiration, was the work of man. As long as the main point, the deliverance of the message of these books to the people, was safeguarded, the Church could permit the conflict of individual opinions in the speculative order, till, in her own good time, she declared authoritatively what character she had always given to these books.

PETER OF CLUNY, surnamed the Venerable, is by some quoted as an adversary of the deuterocanonical books.† In his letter against Peter of Bruys and his sect, called the *Petrobrusiani*, after enumerating the protocanonical books, he continues: "There remain besides these authentic books of Holy Scripture six other books which are not to be passed over in silence, viz., *Wisdom, the book of Jesus Son of Sirach*,

*Radulphi Flaviacensis in Levit. XIV. I. (Biblioth. Max. Patrum, Lugduni, 1667, Tom. VII. 177. The work is not in Migne's collection.)

†Peter, the Venerable, entered the order of the Monks of Cluny, and in 1121 became general of the order. His great piety and learning placed him in this post at the age of 28 years. Abelard found an asylum with him, and was moved by him to retract his errors. Peter was indefatigable in combating the errors that arose in France at that time. He merits to be named with St. Bernard as one of the foremost churchmen of that age. In defense

Tobias, Judith, and the two books of Maccabees. Although these do not reach the sublime dignity of the preceding, nevertheless, *on account of their laudable and very necessary doctrine, they have merited to be received by the Church.* There is no need that I should labor in commending these to you. For if ye value the Church in any wise, ye will receive something, at least a little, on her authority. But if (as Christ said to Moses of the Jews) ye will not believe Christ's Church how will ye believe my words?" (P. L. Migne, 188, 751).

Viewed in a proper light, this text has nothing unfavorable to the complete Canon. Peter is arguing with men who boasted that they received only the Gospels, and he asks them to receive the other books on the *authority of the Church.* There is a perfect accord in all these exponents of Catholic thought in stating that the *Church received the deuterocanonical books.* The only difference of opinion that existed, regarded the *rank and dignity* of these books. They received and used them; some of these writers hesitated to pronounce the last word regarding the Canonicity of these books, *because the Church had not yet defined the question.* That Peter, the Venerable, in limiting the dignity of these books, did not deny their divine inspiration, is evident from his copious quotations from all of them, *as divine Scripture.* Witness a few examples. In the aforesaid treatise, speaking of the Book of Maccabees, he declares: "But of Judas Maccabaeus, the excellent leader of the Hebrews, *the truthful Scripture* commemorates that, after the destruction of the pagan army, he took the sword of the general Apollonius whom he had slain, and fought with it all his days." I. Maccab. III.

In the same treatise, he establishes from the II. of Maccabees, "that it is a holy thought to pray for the dead, that they may be released from their sins." II. Maccab. XII. 46.

In his Thirty-fourth Epistle, quoting the sixth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Ecclesiasticus, he says: "That *divine* philosopher saith: 'A tale out of time is like music in mourning.'"

of his order, he opposed St. Bernard, who reproached the order for their worldliness, and sumptuousness in their buildings and table. These vices wrought their downfall, and they shamelessly bartered the rights of the Church to the revolutionists for secularization. Peter died at his monastery in 1156. There are preserved of his writings six books of Letters, a Treatise on The Divinity of Christ, a Treatise against the Jews, a Treatise on Infant Baptism against Peter of Bruys, a Treatise on The Authority of the Church, Treatises on The Basilicas, The Churches, and The Altars, etc.

In his treatise against the Jews, Chapter II., he proves the divinity of Christ from the authority of Baruch: "And although these things should suffice to prove the divinity of Christ to even brute beasts, let the Prophet or prophetic man come forth, Baruch the notary or colleague of Jeremiah. Let him come forth, and, although he draws his spirit from another, nevertheless, it is from the prophetic heart of Jeremiah, and therefore as of one spirit with the Prophet, let him state, not in enigmas, but lucidly and openly, what he thinks of the divinity of Christ. This man manifestly, after many things said of God, adds: 'This is our God, and there shall be no other be accounted of in comparison of him. He found out all the way of knowledge, and gave it to Jacob, his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterwards, he was seen upon earth, and conversed with men.'" Baruch III. 36-38.

In the same treatise, Chapter IV., he declares thus: "Who is it that in a certain one of your books speaks by the wise man: 'My memory is unto everlasting generations' (Eccli. XXIV. 28)? Is it not God? *Verily it is God.*" The Council of Trent asks no more than is substantially declared in these passages, and by its everlasting sanction, it has made *Canonical* the books that Peter considered *divine*.

JOHN OF SALISBURY follows Jerome on the Canon.* In Epistola CXLIII. he declares thus: "Since, therefore, concerning the number of the books, I read many and different opinions of the Fathers, following Jerome, a doctor of the Catholic Church, whom I hold most approved in establishing foundations of Scripture, I firmly believe that, as there are twenty-two Hebrew letters, thus there are twenty-two books of the Old Testament, arranged in three orders * * And these are found in the Prologue to the Book of Kings which Jerome called the *Galeatum Principium* of all Scripture * * But the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, and Pastor, as the same Father asserts, are not in the Canon, neither is the book of Maccabees, which is divided in two." (P. L. 199; 125, 126.)

*John of Salisbury receives his name from his birthplace in England. The date of his birth is about 1110. He was sent to France to study, and was afterwards sent by the King of England to the papal court, to manage the interests of England there. Recalled to England, he was advanced to high offices by the High Chancellor, Thomas A. Becket. John became inseparably attached to Becket, and went with him when Becket was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He tried to defend him against the murderers sent by Henry II., and parried the first blow aimed at Becket's head, by receiving it on his arm. John was subsequently made bishop of Chartres, which charge he filled faithfully and well. He was one of the finest spirits of his age, a man of deep piety and learning. He died in 1180. He has left many works, principal among which is *Polycraticus or the Vanities of the Court*.

In the same work, he speaks again of the deuterocanonical books thus: "Concerning Tobias, Judith, and the Book of Maccabees, which are not received in the Canon, by whom they were written, the common opinion does not teach us, neither do the followers of Philo mention them; but *since they build up faith and religion, they are piously admitted*. Philo wrote the Book of Wisdom, and it is called *Pseudographus*; not that he wrote falsely, but because he falsely entitled it; for it is called the Wisdom of Solomon, whereas, it was not written by Solomon, but is called of Solomon, on account of its style and excellent moral teaching, Jesus Son of Sirach wrote Ecclesiasticus, which also, from the similarity of its style and moral teaching, is called Solomon's."

The practice of John of Salisbury is in direct opposition to his theory here announced. His works are full of quotations from the deuterocanonical Scriptures *as divine Scripture*. He was infected by a sort of hero worship towards St. Jerome, somewhat similar to that which in our own day set in towards St. Thomas, which is in itself neither to the glory of the saint, nor conformable to the truth. Without sufficient depth or critical acumen to penetrate the question and form a comprehensive judgment of it, John paid a blind allegiance to his master, and, at the same time, made much use of these very same books as Scripture. *Jurare in verba magistri* was the motto of these schoolmen, and often they extolled the opinions of the master over the voice of tradition. The error of John, then, is due to defect of proper investigation, and to an excessive addiction to the opinions of St. Jerome.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CANON IN THE CHURCH FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Throughout this epoch, the Bible of the Church contained the protocanonical and deuterocanonical books, without any indication of difference them. This truth is clearly proven by the many manuscripts existing of this period. Whether the work of chaptering the Bible were done by Hugh of St. Caro or by Stephen Langton is uncertain, but it extended to all the books of the Catholic Canon, and the *Correctoria* of this period also embrace the books of both classes.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS, in his exposition of the Prologue of St. Jerome on Baruch, manifestly defends the divinity of the

book.* Commenting the words of Jerome: "The Book of Baruch, the secretary of Jeremiah, which is not read by the Hebrews, nor possessed by them, etc.," Albert endeavors by scholastic subtlety to benignly interpret Jerome: "Nevertheless, the truth of the book is not thereby called in question, because it is joined to canonical Scripture. For it contains nothing except what was enunciated by Jeremiah, and for this reason, it is united *in the same truth* with the Prophet Jeremiah. For the Hebrews compute twenty-two books in the Canon of Scripture, in accordance with the twenty-two letters of their alphabet; or twenty-four books, corresponding to the twenty-four ancients. But the added books they reckon in the same number, as Baruch is added to Jeremiah, for the reason that he received from Jeremiah whatever he wrote, * * * so that the whole truth of this Scripture rests on the revelation of God made to Jeremiah."

Whatever be the defects of this data, it is evident that Albert is an avowed advocate of the deuterocanonical books. He quotes from all of them in his works, assigning them equal place with the books of the first Canon.

ST. BONAVENTURE comprises all the protocanonical and deuterocanonical books in twenty-six books.†

*Albert was born at Lauingen, in Suabia, about the close of the twelfth century. He was descended from the Counts of Bollstaedt. He studied at Padua, and in 1223 entered the Dominican Order at Cologne. His life was given to teaching in the schools and preaching. In 1251, he was made provincial of the Dominicans of Germany; and in 1260, Bishop of Ratisbonne. He renounced the bishopric for the monk's cell, and died at Cologne in 1280. The saying of Cicero could be applied to Albert, that he had left writings enough to cremate his body. But his works are more vast than solid; they manifest indefatigable toil in reading and collating the works of others, rather than profundity of personal thought: the pompous verbiage of the schoolmen, and excessive mysticism characterize them throughout. It was remarked of Albert by a French writer, that he was called *great*, only because he lived in an age when men were *little*. He is withal a good witness of the tradition of his times.

†The secular name of St. Bonaventure was John Fidanza. He was born at Bagnorea, in Italy, in 1221. He entered the Franciscan Order at the age of seventeen years. He studied at the University of Paris under the celebrated Alexander Hales. Bonaventure rose by his merit to be called the Seraphic Doctor, one of the greatest doctors of the Church. In 1257, he was made general of his order, and in 1272, Gregory X. created him Cardinal and Bishop of Albano. He was one of the first theologians of the Council of Lyon, but he died after the first session in 1274. He has left voluminous works, more than twenty of which treat of Sacred Scripture. His works are characterized by a moderation and wisdom, resembling that found in the works of John Chrysostom.

He evidences in many ways that he held the books in equal esteem. In the preface to his Commentary on *Wisdom*, he says: "The efficient cause of the book is threefold: *God who inspired it*, Solomon who produced it, and Philo who compiled it." His works evince that he held the like opinion of the other deuterocanonical books.

ALEXANDER NECKAM, professor at the University of Paris at the commencement of the thirteenth century, wrote a commentary on the difficult passages of Holy Scripture, and includes the books of both classes in the same category.

ROBERT HOLKOT (†1340), a learned Dominican of Northampton in England, is bold in favor of the deuterocanonical books. "St. Augustine," he says, "expressly declares in his Christian Doctrine (II. 8) that the Book of Wisdom should be enumerated in the Sacred Scriptures; for, enumerating the books of the Canon and the Bible, he says thus of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*: 'Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, since they have merited to be received in authority, are reckoned among the prophetic books.' *Wherefore, it is evident that the book (Wisdom) is counted among the Canonical Scriptures in the Church*, though the contrary is held by the Jews * * * and therefore, although by the Jews rejected, the books are of great authority among the faithful."*

THOMAS NETTER, better known as Thomas Waldensis, from his birthplace Walden in England, a Carmelite of such learning that he was sent by Henry IV. of England to the Councils of Pisa and Florence, maintains stoutly in his *Doctrinale Fidei* that the canonicity of a book must be determined by the authority of the Church. He appeals against the followers of Wicklef to the *Decree of Gelasius*, to establish the *books that are to be held in full authority*.

JOHN OF RAGUSA (†1450) a Domenican doctor of the Sorbonne, who was president of the Council of Basle, announces in no doubtful terms, in the aforesaid council, the doctrine of the Church: "Moreover, it is manifest that there are many books in the Bible, which are not held in authority with the Jews, but are by them reckoned apocryphal, which, nevertheless, by us are held in the same veneration and authority as the others, and our acceptance of them rests on nothing but the tradition and acceptance of the whole Catholic Church, which it is not lawful to pertinaciously contradict."† The voice of

*Postilla super lib. Sapientiae, Cap. I. Sect. 2.

†Mansi. Coll. Council. XXIX., p. 885.

the Church speaks through this man, which spoke again through the Fathers of the Council of Trent.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS (†1274) does not treat the question of the canonicity of the deuterocanonical books *ex professo*. He is falsely, however, placed by some protestants, as an adversary of these books.

A just way to judge of a man's opinion of Scripture is by his practical use of it. In his *Summa Theologica* St. Thomas has quoted Baruch twice; I. Maccabees, more than twelve times; II. Maccabees more than fifty-two times; Judith, more than nineteen times; Tobias, more than seventy times; Wisdom, more than one hundred and twelve times; and Ecclesiasticus, more than one hundred and thirteen times.

The protestant Hody endeavors to shake St. Thomas' authority in favor of the deuterocanonical books by the three following testimonies. In his seventh opusculum, Chapter IV., commenting the work of the pseudo Areopagite *De Divinis Nominibus*, St. Thomas speaks of a quotation from Wisdom thus: "From which it is evident that Wisdom was not yet held (*nondum habebatur*) among the canonical Scriptures." That this testimony is not unfavorable to our case is evident from a mere reading. But we hope to show that it is a direct testimony in favor of the books. If there is any point to the declaration, in saying that at a certain period a book was not yet, *nondum*, in the canonical Scriptures, the writer supposes that *at his writing it was there*.

The second text objected against us is from the *Summa Theologica*, I. Q. 89, art. 8, ad 2. There, commenting on the apparition of Samuel to Saul (I. Sam. XXVIII. 11 et seq. et Eccli. XLVI. 23), he answers the objection first by the authority of Ecclesiasticus, and then subjoins; "Whence it can be said of Samuel that he appeared by divine revelation, as it is stated in Eccli. XLVI., 'that he slept and made known to the King the end of his life.' Or the apparition was procured by demons, *if the authority of Ecclesiasticus is not received, for the reason that it is not among the canonical Scriptures with the Jews*." This proposition is of a man who himself receives the book but grants to his opponent the right to doubt it. It is also of a man little interested in the question of the canonicity of Scripture.

In saying that the book was not received by the Jews, he does not establish that it is not received by the Christians; in fact, he seems to imply that it was received by them, but not in such manner as to preclude all doubt. The mind of St.

Thomas was not much given to these critical questions. He used the Scriptures as the Church used them, and this is the sole passage in all his works, where he allows any place for a doubt concerning them.

The third objection is urged by Hody that St. Thomas speaks of the *Fable of Bel and the Dragon*, Dan. XIII. But all critics now agree that this work is supposititious. The learning of that time consisted chiefly in a command of what the Fathers had written, and often we find conflictory statements made by the same writer, due to the fact that he had drawn from different sources, without weighing the question *in se*. So this unknown writer of this supposititious work had probably read Jerome and adopted his phraseology.

Among the works of St. Thomas, is found a commentary on the books of Maccabees, in the preface of which it is stated, "that these books have no authority with the Jews, as have the twenty-four which compose the Canon according to Jerome, but they have authority in the Latin Church, which approved them in a certain council, and ordered them to be read." The authenticity of this work is rejected by many critics, and the work is believed to belong to an English writer named Thomas, and to date from about the close of the fourteenth century, but it still remains a testimony of that time to the Catholic Canon.

HUGH OF ST. CARO (†1260) follows Jerome on the Canon.*

After enumerating the protocanonical books in verse, he continues thus in Latin verse :

Restant apoerypha : Jesus, Sapientia, Pastor,
Et Machabaeorum libri, Judith atque Tobias,
Hi quia sunt dubii, sub canone non numerantur ;
Sed quia vera canunt, Ecclesia suscipit illos.

(Postil. in Jos., Prol.)

That he does not reject these books from the Scriptures, appears from his prologues in Judith and Ecclesiasticus, wherein he says : "The palace of the king is made up of four things : the foundation, the walls, the roof, and the interior

*Hugh was called of St. Caro, because the place of his birth was close to the church of this name in the environs of Vienne in Dauphiné. He entered the Dominican Order, was made doctor of the Sorbonne, and afterwards Cardinal. He was a man of commanding genius, both in the speculative and practical order. He was the first to invent a concordance of the Bible. By his suggestion the Dominican *Correctorium* was started, and it was finished by his own personal labors. He is also the author of Commentaries on the Scriptures.

ornaments. The foundation is the Law; the walls are the Prophets and the Epistles; the roof is the Gospels, and the ornaments are the Hagiographa and the Apocrypha."

Hugh was hard pressed to keep with the Church, and follow in everything St. Jerome. He called the deuterocanonical books *dubii*, not that their message was uncertain, but because their authors were unknown, and he admitted them into the deposit of Scriptures because, as they contained the inspired truth, the Church received them. The most extreme of the *Jeromists* are forced always to confess that the Church received these books, and that is what we are seeking. We wish to know what the Church held in these ages, not what were the personal leanings of the theologians. Hugh declares in his preface to Ecclesiasticus that the Church receives these books, not to prove doctrine, but for moral instruction, but this is a mere fiction borrowed from Jerome. The Church received them as Scripture, and "all Scripture is divinely inspired." Hugh has commented all the deuterocanonical books.

WILLIAM OCCAM (†1347) appeals to Jerome and Gregory the Great in asserting that "Judith, Tobias, Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom are not to be accepted to confirm that which pertains to faith * * The Church reads them, but does not receive them among her Canonical Scriptures."*

When Occam testifies that the Church receives the deuterocanonical Scriptures, he testifies to the fact which we are seeking to establish, and is in line with the whole course of tradition; when he limits the authority which the Church accorded these books, he is advancing a mere personal criticism on a fact which the Church had not decided. To be sure, the Church up to that time had not canonized these books by formal decree; whereas, the first books had been received by her, canonized by the approbation of the supreme authority of the first covenant; so that the denial of canonicity was not the denial of inspiration. In saying that the Church did not use these books to confirm faith, Occam speaks against the plain

*Occam was a native of Surrey, in England. He entered the Order of Gray Friars, and became an ardent follower of Duns Scotus. His unquiet spirit soon revealed itself in a radical departure from Scotus, and in his advocacy of opposite subtilties. He was so powerful in dialectics that men called him the *doctor invincibilis*. In Occam we find an extreme representative of that scholastic hair-splitting of dialectics which did much to make men distrust and despise the schoolmen. Occam sustained the part of Louis of Bavaria against Pope John XXII., who excommunicated him. He was the author of many other bizarre opinions. He died at Munich in 1347, according to general opinion absolved of ecclesiastical censures.

evidences of fact, for we have seen that the representative men in the Church from the beginning, made equal use of these books to teach doctrine and confute error.

NICOLAS OF LYRA (1340) is unfavorable to the deuterocanonical books.*

According to him the canonical books are of such authority that anything that is contained in them should be firmly and without discussion held as true, as also that which follows directly from them * * but the books, which according to Jerome, are not of the canon *are received by the Church*, to be read for moral instruction, although their authority seems less fitted to decide those questions, concerning which there might be discussion." In his commentary on Ezra he says: "I purpose, for the present, to pass over the books of Tobias, Judith, and Maccabees, although they are historical; because they are not in the Canon of the Jews or Christians. Jerome, indeed, says they are reckoned among the apocrypha." He afterwards commented all the deuterocanonical books, except the fragments of Esther, "because they are not in the Hebrew nor in canonical Scripture, but seem to be invented by Josephus and other writers, and inserted in the Vulgate, as Jerome says. "In his preface to Tobias he says: "Since by God's assistance, I have written on the canonical books of Holy Scripture * * trusting in the same assistance, I purpose to write upon the other books, which are not in the canon, viz., Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias and Maccabees." In these testimonies we find two elements, first what the Church held, and second what Nicolas held. He bears witness that the Church receives the books, and she in her subsequent councils tells us in what sense she received them. Nicolas certainly doubted of the divinity of the deuterocanonical books; perhaps he fully judged that the fragments of Esther were spurious. He was a Jew, and like causes moved him and Jerome whom he follows. It would be unreasonable

*Nicolas, called of Lyra from his birthplace in Normandy, was by birth a Jew. He had studied under the rabbis, but became converted to the faith of Christ, and entered the order of the Friars Minor in 1291. He received the degree of doctor at Paris, where he taught Scripture for many years with great success. He wrote commentaries on all the Scriptures, except some of the deuterocanonical fragments. He was much versed in Hebrew and Chaldaic, which gave to his commentaries of the Old Testament a solidity unlike that found in the other writers of his time. He founds all on the literal sense, and thus one is not offended by that excessive mysticism, which has so much prevailed in past ages. He died in 1340.

to say that the mere doubts of one man or of a few men on a question not yet defined by the Church should overthrow the weight of tradition.

On the fourth of February, 1441, Pope Eugene IV., by and with the approbation of the Council of Florence promulgated the following bull respecting Holy Scripture: "The holy Roman Church * * * professes that one only and the same God is the author of the Old and New Testament, that is to say, of the Law, the Prophets and the Gospels, because under the inspiration of the same Holy Ghost, spoke the holy men of both Testaments whose books the Church receives and venerates, which are contained under the following titles: The five books of Moses * * * Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemias, *Tobias, Judith, Esther*, Job, The Psalms of David, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, *Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus*, Isaiah, Jeremiah with Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, twelve Prophets, * * * and the two *Books of Maccabees*."*

* *Labbe* Coll. Concil. XVIII. 1222. Concilio Florentino perperam hoc decretum attribui assertit *Hodius* (De text. orig. 659 col. III.) et post eum *Bleek* (Einl. Ed. 2. p. 705) etc. Contra omnes hos illa transcribere sufficit, quae Card. de Monte, primus Conc. Trid. praeses, ad similem objectionem respondit: "Bulla illa Eugenii, in qua recipiuntur libri sacri et est super unione Iacobitarum, et eius data est Prid. Non. Febr. 1441, vere edita est in Conc. Florentino ante eius dissolutionem. Falsum enim est et ab omni veritate alienum, quod concilium illud dissolutum fuerit an. 1439 statim post unionem Graecorum hallucinanturque maxime, qui putant finem dieti concilii fuisse unionem Graecorum, quum longe post, per tres sc. fere annos, perduraverit, usque videlicet ad an. 1442, quo anno 6. Kal. Mai. celebrata 10. sessione, concilium ipsum Romam translatum fuerit....Praeterea quod bulla unionis Iacobitarum data 1441, in qua ipsi libri recipiuntur, edita fuerit in ipso concilio, potest etiam ex originali, manu propria ipsius Eugenii et Cardinalium ibi praesentium subscripta et plumbeo sigillo obsignata, quam ego ipse his oculis vidi Romae una cum aliis actis concilii ab eisdem Eugenio et Cardinalibus subscriptis et plumbeo sigillo obsignatis, quae nunc in arce molis Adriani inter alias scripturas Sedis Apostolicae conservantur.... Verba autem: 'sacro approbante concilio,' in principio bullae unionis Iacobitarum non ponuntur, quia dictum principium totum pertinet ad prooemium; ubi autem incipit dispositiva, ponuntur quidem, ut in aliis bullis in concilio editis. Ibi enim sic habetur: 'veram necessariamque doctrinam hodie in hac solemnii sessione, sacro approbante Oecumenico Concilio Florentino in nomine Domini tradimus, etc.'" (*Theiner* Acta genuina SS. oecumen. Conc. Trident. Zagrabiae 1874 I. p. 79, sq. Cfr. etiam Praenotata ad bullum unionis in *Labbe* I. c.). Quod si *Bleek* (I. c.) post *Keerl* (*Die Apocryphen des A. T.* 1852, p. 150 sq.) assertit, ante Concilium Tridentinum neminem quidquam de decreto isto audivisse, ad eos refutandos sufficit testimonium Cajetani ante primam Concilii Tridentini indictionem demortui, quod sic se habet: "Cum hac distinctione discernere poteris et dicta Augustini....et scripta in Concilio Florentino sub Eugenio IV. etc." (Cajetani Com. in Script., Lugd. 1639.) (Cornely. op. cit.)

We see here that the Church attributed no importance to the individual doubts and theories of the writers whom we have cited in opposition to the books of the second Canon. With no evidence of uncertainty, she announces here what she had held in practice from the beginning. The dogmatic import of this decree is incontestable, but still it did not absolutely settle the question. The Council promulgated a list of inspired books which the Church received as the work of God, but it did not use the word canonical. Now perhaps none of those who had opposed the full authority of the deuterocanonical books had denied their inspiration. No one of them had studied the exact concept of inspiration or canonicity, but they had made use of vague distinctions to restrict the dignity and value of the deuterocanonical books somewhat below that of the books of the first Canon. Moreover, the bull of Eugene IV. did not define the Catholic notion of canonicity, neither did it define the question of the absolute equality of all the books. It seems also that the decrees of the Council of Florence were not diffused much through the Western Church in the first years after its celebration. Its legislation affected more especially the Eastern world, and the art of printing had not yet effected the general diffusion of knowledge. Hence we find writers after this decree doubting of the divinity of these books.

Such a one is TOSTATUS,* Bishop of Avila (†1455).

Tostatus gives evidence that he knew nothing of the decree of Florence. He is thoroughly at sea in the question of the Canon, and from his conflicting statements it appears evident that he had not mastered the question, and knew not clearly what either himself or the Church held on the subject. Commenting the Prologus Galeatus of Jerome, he says: "It is said that the Book of Wisdom is not in the Canon, because the Jews expunged it thence; in the beginning they received it, but after they had laid hands on Jesus and slain him, remembering the evident testimonies concerning him in the same book * * taking counsel, lest we should impute to them the evident sacrilege, they cut the book off from the prophetic volumes, and interdicted its reading. *But we, on the Church's*

*Tostatus was one of the most noted of the doctors of Salamanca in Spain. He filled with credit the highest offices in Church and State. His works reveal a vast erudition, but his critique is often defective, and his judgment does not correspond to the vastness of his erudition. Bellarmine styled him the wonder of the world. He died in 1455. This is his epitaph:

"Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne."

authority, receive the book among the authentic Scriptures, and read it at stated times in the Church. Again the Book of Jesus, the son of Sirach, is not in the Jewish Canon * * and although the Jews never received it into the Canon of Scriptures, the *Church receives it and reads it.*" Of the Book of Judith he speaks in a confused manner, and concludes: "These things are true according to the Jews; but with us it is otherwise, for the *Book of Judith is received among the authentic Scriptures*, for the reason that the Church approved it in the Council of Nice, and received it into the Canon of Scriptures; otherwise the Church would not read it in her divine liturgy, as she reads the other authentic books." Continuing, he asserts the very same of Tobias and Maccabees. Had he remained consistent in these views, no one could have written better on the question than he. This was the Church's position clearly and definitely enunciated. But in trying to reconcile this position of the Church with Jerome, he becomes oblivious of his former position and assails the authority of the books which he here calls authentic Scripture. Commenting the first preface of Jerome on Chronicles, he speaks thus of the deuterocanonical books: "There is a difference between them (deuterocanonical books) and the canonical books that are called authentic (in his former testimony he called all the deuterocanonical books *authentic*); from the authentic books we may receive a proof of doctrine, and validly argue against both Jew and Christian to prove truth; but from the apocryphal (deuterocanonical) books we may receive doctrine, because they contain holy doctrine, wherefore they are called at times *hagiographa*; but their authority is not sufficient to adduce in argument against anyone, nor to prove things which are in doubt, and in this they are inferior to the canonical and authentic books * * * None of these apocryphal books, even though it be included among the other books of the Bible, and read in the Church, is of such authority that the Church may from it prove doctrine, and in this regard the Church does not receive them, and thus is to be understood the declaration of Jerome, that the Church receives not the apocrypha." Again, in explaining the prologue on the Gospels, he states: "The Church knows not whether writers inspired by the Holy Ghost wrote these (deuterocanonical) books * * When, therefore, there is doubt concerning the writers of certain books, whether they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, their authority is taken away, and the Church does not place them in the Canon of Scriptures. Furthermore, regarding these books, the Church is not certain

whether or not heretics have not added to, or taken from that which was written by their proper authors. The Church, therefore, receives such books, permitting every one of the faithful to read them; the Church also reads them in her offices on account of the many devout things which are contained in them; but she obliges no one to believe what is contained therein, as is the case with the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees, Judith and Tobias. For though these books are received by Christians, and proof derived from them in some degree may have weight, because the Church retains those books, yet they are not effectual to prove those things that are in doubt against heretics and Jews, as Jerome says in his prologue upon Judith."

We must agree with Tostatus that up to the Florentine Council the deuterocanonical books were not of *absolute authority* in doctrine, because there existed no definitive decree, and therefore one who rejected these books could not be branded with heresy. He errs greatly, however, in saying that the Church was ignorant of the inspiration of the books. The contradictions in Tostatus result from the fact that he tried to keep in line with the Church and St. Jerome. In saying that the Church received these books as *authentic Scriptures into the Canon of Scriptures*, he is with the Church; in doubting of the inspiration of the same books, he is with Jerome against the Church. We are building our Canon on what the Church held, and to this his testimony serves.

The authority of Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence (†1459) is sometimes invoked against us. He knew but vaguely of the decree of Florence.* According to him, "the Church receives these books as true, and venerates them as useful, moral treatises, though, in the discussion of those things which are of faith, not conclusive in argument. . . . Wherefore, perhaps, they have such authority as have the sayings of holy doctors approved by the Church." (Apud Cornely.)

The opinions of Antoninus are often strange and uncritical. His piety moved him to an excessive veneration for the opinions of St. Jerome, in explaining the fact of the Church's approval of the deuterocanonical books. His testimony is of no avail, since against him stands the authentic decree of

*Chron. III. 11, 2, Lugd. 1586. III. p. 551: "In aliquibus vero, in quibus a fide vera discrepabant (Iacobitæ et Armenii) prohibentur, uti quod sacramentum confirmationis non habebant in usu conferendi illi nationi, declarato eis, quod illud, sicut et cetera sacramenta deberent accipere, credere et conferre, et aliqua alia, quæ nunc non occurrunt menti."

Florence, making known to us, that the Church received these books as divine Scripture. St. Antoninus quotes St. Thomas, II. 2., as authority for his strange opinion, but a close examination fails to disclose any such text in the Summa.

DENIS OF CHARTREUX (†1471) declares, that the Church receives the deuterocanonical books as true, but not canonical. He does not regard the fragments of Esther as divine *Scripture*.

CARDINAL XIMENES (†1517), in the preface to his Complutensian Polyglott Bible, says: "The books, indeed, without the Canon, which the Church receives rather for the edification of the people than as an authoritative confirmation of the doctrines of the Church, are only found in the Greek."

We see that the old theory of Jerome endured in some minds, who, while they received the books with the Church, in defect of any absolute decree of the Church, inclined much to the great Scriptural doctor of the Church. The decree of Florence, though it defined the issue *in se*, failed to establish the absolute equality of the books, first, because it was not widely disseminated in those obscure times; and secondly, because it did not employ the term *canonical*.

ERASMUS (†1536) finds "that it is not unreasonable to establish different degrees of authority among the Holy Books, as St. Augustine has done. The books of the first rank are those concerning which there has never existed a doubt with the ancients. Certainly Isaiah has more weight than Judith."*

The great humanist evidently considered the books as divine Scripture, though of less importance in doctrine.

We close the list of the *antetridentine* writers with CAJETAN (†1524). At the close of his commentary on Esther he concludes: "The Church receives such books, permitting the faithful to read them; the Church also reads them in her offices, on account of the many devout things which they contain. But the Church *obliges no one necessarily to believe what is contained therein*, which is the case with the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees, Judith, and Tobit. For though these books are received by Christians, and proof derived from them may, in some way or other, have weight, because the Church retains those books; yet they are not effectual for proving those things which are in doubt, against heretics or Jews. We here terminate our commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament: for the rest (*viz.*, the books of Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees) are reckoned by Jerome

*Apud Malou, II. 108.

without the canonical books, and are placed among the apocrypha, together with Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, as appears in his 'Prologus Galeatus' (or Helmeted Prologue). Nor should you be disturbed, O novice, if you should anywhere find those books reckoned among the canonical books, either in the holy councils, or in the holy doctors. For the words of the councils, as well as of the doctors, are to be submitted to the correction of Jerome; and according to his judgment [expressed] to the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus, those books (and if there be any similar ones in the Canon of the Bible) are NOT canonical, that is, they are not those which are given as a rule for the confirmation of the faith. They may, however, be called canonical (that is, given as a rule) for the edification of the faithful; since [they are] received and authorized in the Canon of the Bible for this purpose."

Cajetan was not a strong independent thinker. He gave himself up to study in two great departments of the Church's science, dogma and Scripture. In both, he simply followed the master. In dogma he followed St. Thomas, absolutely; in Scripture he followed in the same manner St. Jerome. Study for him simply meant to find out what these two men held. He paid slight heed to the other theologians of his time. Thomas and Jerome for him were supreme. His writings are characterized by a certain self-assurance and contempt for the opinions of others, indicative of a narrow mind. The compass of his knowledge had been narrowed by exclusive devotion to the Summa. Cajetan is the author of many strange opinions, some of them directly opposed to faith. Certainly when he says that the decrees of general councils must be submitted to the correction of Jerome, the statement is false. It was placing Jerome above the Church. And yet this extreme *Jeromist* had to confess that the deuterocanonical books *were received and authorized in the Canon of the Bible*.

CHAPTER XII.

DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The necessity for the decree of Trent arose from two quarters. Within the fold of the Church there was some uncertainty produced by the opinion of Cajetan; and the sect of protestants which arose at this time rejected the deuterocanonical books. To make head, therefore, against the great apostasy and to make known to Catholics the absolute position of the Church, the Council of Trent, was opened on the 15th

of December, 1545. The first deliberations of the Council were concerned with the question of Holy Scripture. An evidence of the views of the protestants on the Scripture, may be learned from the following statement of Luther: "That which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, even if Peter or Paul said it; on the contrary, that which announces Christ is apostolic, even though uttered by Judas, Annas, Herod or Pilate."

In the famous dispute of Leipsic in 1519, when John Eck invoked the authority of Maccabees to defend the doctrine of Purgatory, Luther made answer: "There is no proof of Purgatory in any portion of sacred Scripture, which can enter into the argument, and serve as a proof; for the book of Maccabees not being in the Canon, is of weight with the faithful, but avails nothing with the obstinate." In the spread of these extreme ideas, men looked to the Church for a definition, and she responded to the need.

A Council held at Sens, in 1528 declared, that he who held not the tradition of the Church, and rejected the decrees of the Third Council of Carthage, and those of Popes Innocent and Gelasius, should be condemned as a schismatic, and inventors of all heresies; but this body was only local, and could not command all men's faith; wherefore a decree from the supreme authority in the Church was necessary. On the 11th of February, 1546, the members of the Council, who had been divided into three particular congregations, assembled. The subject of deliberation respecting the Canon was:

1.—Whether the Council should receive the books of Scripture simply, or after a previous examination by the theologians.

2.—Whether two classes of books should be constituted, so that some should be declared authoritative to prove doctrine; others useful for instruction. (*Acta Genuina*, Theiner.)

Cardinal Cervini, president of the Council, afterwards Pope Marcellus II., proposed the questions in all their bearings to the Fathers.* Certain Fathers were of the mind that it would be well to examine, at least summarily, the objections of the

**Duo ego subiiciam, quae in mea particulari congregatione tractata fuerunt; unum est, utrum simpliciter facienda sit approbatio Scripturae, prout factum fuit per Conc. Florent. et iuxta etiam antiquiora concilia, an potius distinguendum; qui sint libri sacri, ex quibus fundamenta nostrae fidei et doctrinae eruantur, et qui sint quidem canonici, sed non eiusdem auctoritatis, ut priores illi, sed ideo ab Ecclesia recepti, ut ex his multitudo instrui possit, quales sunt libri *Sapientiae*, *Proverbiorum* et alii similes; idque forsitan non abs re esset, quoniam videtur ambiguum necdum ab Ecclesia determinatum, quamvis et Augustinus et Hieronymus et alii veteres de iis nonnulla tradide-*

adversaries against the deuterocanonical books, but the majority decided "to receive the books simply and entirely as the Church had done in other councils, and especially in the Council of Florence." (Theiner l. c.)

We see here that there was no new legislation in this regard in the Council of Trent. The Council simply reiterated and confirmed what had been believed and promulgated in the Church from the earliest times.

The question was then submitted by the general of the Augustinians, and Seripando, legate of Paul IV., "that a distinction should be made between those books which are authentic and canonical, and upon which our faith rests, and those which are merely canonical, and useful to be read for instruction in the Church, as St. Jerome places in the Prologus Galeatus." (Theiner l. c.) This proposition found no favor and was straightway abandoned.

In the Council of Trent, we find often a lack of precision in the views of individual members; but the conclusions arrived at are always clear and profound.

So here, it is not evident just what distinction this man wished to induce. But in every case, his proposition was useless. If he wished merely to say that the import of some divine books is more important in Christian doctrine than others, the truth is understood by all Christians, and needs no definition. The Council was not about to define that Maccabees was as valuable to use as Matthew. But if he wished to say that the relation which God bore to any book was less than inspiration as we have defined it, the proposition is false. The Council simply extended proper inspiration to all the books, and left the question of their respective dogmatic and moral values intact.

On the 12th of February, 1546, Cardinal Cervini moved on the part of his particular congregation that the Council set forth in brief the motives why it receives the books contested by the protestants; but it was decided by common accord "that the Holy Books should be simply approved according to the decree of the Council of Florence." (Theiner, I. 52.)

rint. Alterum est, utrum sicco pede approbatio ista facienda sit, an vero additis rationibus et solutis argumentis, quibus adversarii maxime innituntur ad eorum nonnullos impugnandos et coufringendos. Ab ipsis enim, ut omnes vos scitis, infringitur imprimis *liber Machabaeorum*, quem penitus reiiciunt, item Epistola Pauli ad Hebr., una Iacobi et altera Petri ac etiam Apocalypsis et alia pleraque." *Acta genuina* p. 52.—Quod Proverbiorum liber cum Sapientia coniungatur, lapsum calami diceret, nisi etiam *Pallavicini* (l. c. I. p. 220) haberet: "Proverbiorum et Sapientiae libri." (Cornely, op. cit.)

The next question was whether the books of both classes should be received with the same reverence, (*pari pietatis affectu*). This was for a long time discussed, the majority being in favor of the affirmative, but no conclusion was then reached. The following meetings, both particular and general, were given up to various questions regarding Scripture and tradition. On the 22d of March the secretary of the Council, Angelo Massarelli, proposed to reject the decree of the Council of Florence as of doubtful authenticity, but he was refuted by the president of the Council. Cardinal Del Monte, legate of the Pope, had, on the 26th of February, refuted the same objection.

A detailed list of fourteen propositions was at this juncture drawn up to be examined and voted on in detail. Not all these regard our question. The tenth contains the pith of our present theme. This was whether the deuterocanonical books should be approved as *sacred and canonical*. This was resolved in the affirmative by forty-four votes, against three negative votes and five doubtful ones. (Theiner, I. 77.)

The thirteenth proposition submitted the question, whether to make a distinction between the two classes of books, or enumerate them according to the Council of Florence. It was decided to receive the deuterocanonical books without examination or discussion by forty-one votes, against four in opposition and eight doubtful ones. The Council also unanimously decided that the things carried by a majority vote should not be subject to further discussion.

On the fifth of April, the corrected Schema was placed before the Fathers. The Cardinal of Trent moved that the deuterocanonical books be placed after the protocanonical ones, "because Tobias, which Jerome held to be apocryphal, is placed in the decree ahead of other books whose authority no one has ever questioned." The motion was lost, since it was against the former vote that they should approve the decree of the Council of Florence.

The Bishop of Castellamare remarked that the words *sacred and canonical* were objectionable on account of Judith, and some others which are not in the Hebrew Canon. He moved to substitute: "in the Canon of the Church." Cardinal Cervini, the president, responded: "It is true what thou sayest, but we follow the Canon of the Church, not of the Jews. When we say *Canonical*, therefore, we understand of the Canon of the Church." And the Bishop of Castellamare responded: "Placet."

On the 8th of April, 1546, two months after the question of the Scriptures had been submitted to the Council, after mature deliberation and discussion, the Council promulgated its famous decree:

"The thrice holy, oecumenical, general Council of Trent * * * following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with equal piety and respect all the books of the Old and New Testament, because one and the same God is the author of both. * * * The Council judges good to join to this decree a list of books, so that no one may doubt concerning the books received by the same Synod. These are the books: Of the Old Testament, the five books of Moses, that is to say: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Chronicles, the first of Ezra; and second which is called Nehemiah, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Esther, Job, the Davidic Psalter of one hundred and fifty Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles of Canticles, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, Isaiah, Jeremiah with *Baruch*, Ezechiel, Daniel, the twelve minor Prophets, viz., Hosea, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micha, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Haggai, Zachary, Malachi, the two books of *Maccabees*, first and second. * * * If anyone shall not receive these same books as sacred and Canonical with all their parts, as they are read in the Catholic Church, and contained in the Latin Vulgate; and shall knowingly and wilfully reject the aforesaid traditions, let him be anathema."*

The clause, *with all their parts*, was inserted primarily to include certain passages of the Gospels, concerning which doubt had existed. In the general congregation on the 27th of March, 1546, Cardinal Pacheco asked that these portions of the New Testament should be specially mentioned. The words of the decree are of such comprehension, that they include all parts, annulling all doubts that had existed both concerning the Old and the New Testaments.

In virtue of this decree, every Catholic must accept as divinely inspired, the deuterocanonical books and fragments, as they are read in the Latin Vulgate. The Council did not treat this as an open question, but added corroboration and precision to preceding documents. The history of the Council by Pallavicini might induce one into error. He states that the question was submitted, whether all the books of both Testaments should be approved. This would imply that the

*Conc. Trid. Sess. IV. De Can. Script.

Council felt itself not bound by the Council of Florence. The authentic acts by Theiner give an entirely different sense to the deliberation. The proposal was couched in these terms: That in the proximate session, the books of Holy Scripture should be received, and the way and manner determined, in in which they should be received. To be sure, the discussion of the project revealed much lack of clearness in the ideas of certain Fathers, but the great body of the Council always treated the question as decided by the existing documents of the Church. The Council of Trent admitted no different degrees of inspiration in the Holy Books, because inspiration has no degrees. A book is either the product of God's authorship, or it is not. The Council accepted the deuterocanonical books as having God for their author. The old distinction of greater and less degrees of inspiration had some ardent supporters in the Council. The ground of their opinion seems to have been an imperfect understanding of the nature of inspiration. The vast majority of the Council announced to them: "All the books of our Bible, whatever be their contents, and the profit one may draw from them, have been regarded as inspired by Christian tradition, and for us, they are canonical." The opponents finished by adding their *placet*. The absolute equality of all the books in their inspiration is assured by the Council; for if a book be *sacred* and *canonical*, and have God for its author, it cannot be inferior to the others of which the same is asserted. Some theologians still confuse the issue by declaring that the question of equality was not explicitly defined *on account of its difficulty*; and *the question was left as the Holy Fathers had left it*. (Loisy, l. c.). This is nothing. The Council did not deem it necessary to promulgate an explicit decree, making the book equal in inspiration, because such was *equivalently* contained in the main decree; the Council did not declare the books equal in value, because they are not thus equal, God spoke in divers manners in the Scriptures, and some truths therein contained are more valuable than others, though these latter are no less the inspired writing of God.

The decree of Trent was definite, final and clear but yet it took some time for it to take absolute hold upon all the representatives of Catholic thought. If men's minds were always clear and virtuous, there would be far less confusion in the world. But often from lack of intellectual penetration, or from excessive addiction to some theory, men of note give utterance to false opinions. Especially is this true in the harmonizing of schools of theology, with some definitive sentence of

the Church. Those who have assimilated some theory in conflict with the new decree, will retreat from their position slowly, and will endeavor, by restricting the degree, to cling to as much as possible of the old opinion. Thus Cajetan tried to conform the decree of Florence to his own opinion. With time these struggles and gasps of dying error cease, and the authority of the rock-built Church remains the absolute guide of the faithful of Christ.

Thus, for a few years after the Council of Trent, there was some slight friction between its decree and certain theologians. This was augmented by the fact that the precise concepts of inspiration and canonicity were not then well understood. The Council gave us the text, and as men examined the precise significance of its words, this looseness of opinion vanished from Catholic schools of theology, so that every Catholic holds to-day that the deuterocanonical books are as much inspired and as canonical as the Pentateuch or the Gospels.

An intentional falsehood is contained in Horne's Introduction, Vol. II. p. 489*, where he places Bellarmine (†1621) against the deuterocanonical books, by taking certain passages out of their proper context in the works of the great controversialist. Bellarmine in his works clearly declares: "That the deuterocanonical works are not only good and holy, but they are sacred and of infallible truth. The Church has never doubted of their canonicity in the sense that she lacked testimonies to attest the divinity of their origin, but simply certain persons doubted, and the Church did not wish to define the question at that time."*

From this it appears that Bellarmine's opinion was, that the deuterocanonical books always had the right to canonicity; they came into actual enjoyment of this right by the timely decree of Trent.

The aforesaid Horne also falsely adduces the testimony of SIXTUS OF SIENNA.†

*De Verbo Dei. I. 1, Cap. IV.

†Sixtus was by birth a Jew. He became converted to Christianity, and entered the Franciscan order. He was afterwards convicted of having taught heresies; and as he obstinately refused to abjure them, he was condemned to be burned at the stake. Just as the sentence was to be executed, Cardinal Ghisleri, the Inquisitor-general, afterwards Pope Pius V., overcame his obstinacy, and transferred him from the Franciscans to the Dominican order. He consecrated his life to the study of the Scriptures, and died at Genoa, in 1569. His greatest work is his *Bibliotheca Sancta*. Many of his opinions are excellent, but, at times, his *critique* is defective.

In his *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Tom. i. pag. 18), Sixtus distinguishes two classes of books. There he invented the terms *protocanonical* and *deuterocanonical*, and speaks of them thus: "The first class is formed of those books, which may be called protocanonical, regarding which there has never been doubt or controversy in the Catholic Church. The second class comprises the books which were formerly known as *ecclesiastical*, but which are now by us called deuterocanonical. These latter were not recognized by all since the times of the Apostles, but long afterward, and for this reason Catholic opinion concerning them was, at first, uncertain. The early Fathers regarded them as apocryphal and non-canonical, and only permitted them to be read to the catechumens; then with time they permitted them to be read to the faithful, not for proof of doctrine, but for edification of the faithful; and since these books were read publicly in the Church, they were called ecclesiastical. Finally, they have been placed among the Scriptures of *irrefragable authority*."

Sixtus exaggerates the doubts that existed concerning the books. He was probably more conversant with Jerome than with the other Fathers, and takes him as a representative of the opinions of his time. Against his testimony stands the united testimony of the Council of Trent, composed of the greatest body of theologians ever assembled, declaring that the *Church, relying on tradition, receives these books as sacred and canonical*. The Council promulgated officially what had been always implicitly held. But Sixtus is disposed to accord these books a place among the canonical Scriptures on the authority of the Church. He accepts the decree, *as he understands it*. But the opinions of St. Jerome moved him still to reject the deuterocanonical fragments of Esther. Thus, in the aforesaid reference, he discourses of it: "The appendix of the Book of Esther, which comprises the seven last chapters, consists of various rags and patchwork, of which we find nothing in the Hebrew exemplars. * * * But it occurs to me here to admonish and entreat the good reader not to accuse me of temerity, that I cut out these seven chapters from the canonical Scriptures and place them among the apocrypha, as though I were unmindful of the decree of Trent, which, under pain of anathema, commands that *all the books entire* should be received, as they are read in the Church, and as they exist in the old Latin Vulgate edition.

But that Canon is to be understood, of true and genuine parts of Scripture, pertaining to the integrity of the books,

and not of certain ragged appendages, and patches rashly and disorderly tacked on by some unknown author, such as are these last chapters, which not only Cardinal Hugh, Nicolas of Lyra, and Denis the Carthusian deny to be canonical; but also St. Jerome cuts off from the volume of Esther as a spurious part, to use his own words, 'made up of ragged fragments of words, which could be said and heard in the (several) occasions, just as it is customary for scholars to take a theme, and excogitate what words one would use, who received or wrought an injury. Origen, also, in his letter to Julius Africanus, rejects these appendages.'"

Sixtus knew more of the opinions of Jerome, than of the value of oecumenical decrees. No part of the deuterocanonical books is treated so severely by Jerome, as the fragments of Esther. As it was hopeless to make Jerome agree on this point with the Council, as generally understood, this avowed disciple of Jerome sought by his strange distinction to maintain the old opinion of his master. But anyone can see the flimsiness of the attempt. In fact, in the subsequent centuries, there is not found one to endorse such opinion. The words of the Council were too explicit. Every part that was in the Vulgate and read in the Church was declared sacred and canonical; the fragments of Esther fulfill both these conditions. The only way to reject deuterocanonical books and fragments is to reject the Council of Trent. In fact it is a remarkable fact, that, in the ages following the Council, Sixtus' is the only voice raised in opposition to the equal canonicity of the books, and he only aims at these fragments. It is an evidence of the universal obedience of faith among the children of the Church, to the voice of authority.

Among the authors of the seventeenth century Bossuet has expressed the position of the Church with the most force and precision. In a letter to Leibnitz in 1700, he resumes as follows:

"Nous dirons donc, s'il vous plaît, tous deux ensemble, qu'une nouvelle reconnaissance de quelque livre canonique dont quelques-uns auraient douté ne déroge point à la perpétuité de la tradition. . . Pour être constante et perpétuelle, la vérité catholique ne laisse pas d'avoir ses progrès: elle est connue en un lieu plus qu'en un autre, en un temps plus qu'en un autre, plus clairement, plus distinctement, plus universellement. Il suffit, pour établir la succession et la perpétuité de la foi d'un livre saint, comme de toute autre vérité, qu'elle soit toujours reconnue; qu'elle le soit dans les plus grand nombre

sans comparaison ; qu'elle le soit dans les Églises les plus éminentes, les plus anciennes et les plus révérees ; qu'elle s'y soutienne, qu'elle gagne et qu'elle se répande d'elle-même, jusqu'à tant que le Saint-Esprit, la force de la tradition et le goût, non celui des particuliers, mais l'universal de l'Église, la fasse enfin prévaloir comme elle a fait au concile de Trente."

He insists on the practical usage of the Church in reading the books, and on the constant quotations of the Fathers ;

"Ajoutons*** que le terme de canonique n'ayant pas toujours une signification uniforme, nier qu'un livre soit canonique en un sens, ce n'est pas nier qu'il ne le soit en un autre ; nier qu'il soit, ce qui est très vrai, dans le canon des Hébreux, ou reçu sans contradiction parmi les chrétiens, n'empêche pas qu'il ne soit au fond dans le canon de l'Église, par l'autorité que lui donne la lecture presque générale et par l'usage qu'on en faisait par tout l'univers. C'est ainsi qu'il faut concilier plutôt que commettre ensemble les Églises et les auteurs ecclésiastiques, par des principes communs à tous les divers sentiments et par le retranchement de toute ambiguïté."

The abbé Dupin, a contemporary of Bossuet, had at first held loose opinions concerning the deuterocanonical books, but under the influence of Bossuet, he modified his position to the following clear and just statement :

"Toutes ces raisons et ces considérations jointes ensemble sont suffisantes pour établir l'autorité de ces livres, dont la définition du concile de Trente ne laisse aucun lieu de douter. Car, quoiqu'il ne se fasse point de nouvelle révélation à l'Église, elle peut après bien du temps être plus assurée de la vérité d'un ouvrage qu'elle ne l'était auparavant, quand, après l'avoir bien examiné, elle a trouvé un légitime fondement de n'en plus douter et une tradition suffisante dans quelques Églises pour le juger authentique. C'est la raison pour laquelle saint Jérôme dit que la seconde épître de saint Pierre avait acquis de l'autorité par l'antiquité et par l'usage, et méritait d'être mise au rang des livres sacrés du Nouveau Testament.*

BERNARD LAMY (†1715) of the congregation of the oratory, has a singular opinion concerning the deuterocanonical books. In his *Apparatus Biblicus*, after setting forth the opinions of Rufinus and Jerome, he concludes : "Therefore, the books which are in the second Canon, though joined to those of the first Canon, are not of the *same authority*." He evidently accords to these books canonicity, but believes that the degree

*Dissert. prélim. ou Prolég. sur la Bible, 1. 52-53.

of inspiration is not so intense in them. Loisy (*Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*, pag. 235) favors this opinion, and cites Ubaldi in support of it.* But is plainly evident that Ubaldi there means to distinguish between revelation, designated by him as the more intense mode of inspiration; and inspiration proper, which permitted the acquisition of knowledge by natural means. There is nothing in Ubaldi in support of this vainly imagined distinction of degrees of canonicity.

A greater departure from the decree of the Council of Trent was made by Jahn (†1816) who declares: "That by the testimony of the Fathers of Trent, the difference between protocanonical and deuterocanonical books has by no means been removed, and the Fathers well understood that it could not be removed, no more than the fact upon which it stood, namely: that the deuterocanonical books, had not been received everywhere, and by all in past times." *Einführung in die Göttlichen Bücher des Alten Bundes*. (2 edit.) I. 140.

There is evidence of exceeding shortsightedness here. The Fathers did not change the external facts concerning the Scriptures. They could not change the past. They did not reverse the opinion of Jerome; they did not declare that the deuterocanonical books had never been doubted, neither did they declare that the doctrinal import of these books were equal to that of the first Canon. But they did declare that

*" Verum in specie et in concreto nihil vetat quominus in quibusdam locis intensiorem veluti gradum inspirationis admittamus, atque ita diversos modus inspirationis distinguamus. Imo hoc omnino faciendum videtur: siquidem diversa rerum natura, et diversa Scriptoris conditio hoc requirere videtur. Itaque, ut aliquid magis in specie dicamus, distinguere possumus loca Scripturae *prophetica, moralia et historica*, et in his rursus substantiam historiae a minutis quibusdam adiunctis. Ad loca prophetica quod attinet, duo casus distinguendi sunt: vel enim vaticinium a propheta antea editum fuit, et postea scripto consignatum, ut sunt pleraque vaticinia S. Scripturae, vel in ipso scribendi actu vaticinium editum est: in primo casu sufficit communis et ordinaria inspiratio ut Scriptura prophetica etiam formaliter, seu quatenus scripta est, divina et inspirata dici possit; in altero vero casu non solum inspiratio, sed vere ac proprie dicta *revelatio* necessaria fuit, cum futurorum cognitio nonnisi ex divina revelatione haberi possit. Talia sunt quaedam Ieremiae vaticinia, ut colligi videtur ex Jer. XXXVI, 17, 18, ubi Ieremias dicitur dictasse Baruch tamquam amanuensi suas prophetias. Quod pertinet ad partes didacticas et historicas, generatim loquendo non amplius quam communis inspirationis ratio requirebatur: siquidem tum moralis doctrina, tum historia Agiographis nota erat sive ex naturali lumine cum revelatione coniuncto, ut in Libris Sapientialibus, sive ex audita praedicatione, ut in Evangeliiis et Epistolis Apostolorum, sive ex scriptis documentis, vel etiam ex propria experientia, ut generatim fiebat in scriptoribus sacrae historiae utriusque Testamenti." Ubaldi II. 111.

they were all sacred and canonical having God for their author. By this definition they added nothing *intrinsically* to the books ; but they infallibly declared that, in virtue of their inspired character, they always had a *right* to canonicity, which they now officially recognized ; and they rightfully based their action on the mighty preponderance of the tradition of all times.

The opinions of Jahn have always been characterized by error.*

It is not to be expected that one with such pronounced rationalistic views would accept the decree of the Council of Trent.

The decree of Trent formed a new starting point for Catholic opinion. No longer did one question whether or not certain Fathers held these books, but accepting the definition of the Church, they interpreted it to have extended divine inspiration to all the books of the Catholic Canon, and the Council of Vatican has ratified this consensus of Catholic opinion by defining: "If anyone shall not receive all the books with all their parts, as the Tridentine Synod enumerates them, as sacred and canonical ; or shall deny that they are *divinely inspired*, let him be anathema."†

Protestant opinion has been consistent in nothing since its beginning ; it has varied much regarding the Canon. The Gallican Confession of 1559, the Anglican Confession of 1562, the confession of Geneva of 1564, declare that the apocrypha (deuterocanonical books) are useful for pious reading, but not available to prove doctrine. The conciliabulum of Westminster, in 1648 declared: "That the so-called apocryphal books, being not divinely inspired, by no means belong to the Canon, wherefore they have no authority in the Church of God (?), and are to be treated as merely human writings."

The Biblical Society of London, declared in 1826, that no edition of Scripture was to be circulated which contained the apocrypha, and no aid was to be given to anyone circulating such edition. What they hold to-day on the Canon, it is hard to say.

*Jahn was born in Moravia in 1750. He devoted his early years to the study of Oriental languages and the Scriptures. In 1789 he held the chair of Oriental languages, Introduction to the Old Testament, and Archaeology in the University of Vienna. In 1813, he was also made professor of dogma in the same university. He was a man of much erudition, but thoroughly infected with rationalism. His greatest work is his Introduction to the Old Testament. This was prohibited by the Congregation of the Index in 1822. Several other of his works have also been prohibited. He died in 1816.

†Constit. dogmat. de fide Cath. Can. 4, De Revel.

The New Testament.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The formation and preservation of the Canon of the New Testament, is certainly due to the direct influence of divine Providence moving second agents to execute the will of God. Still it was not the primary design of Christ to deliver to the world a written code of his doctrines. He inaugurated the great work of the Kingdom of God by *oral preaching*. He wrote nothing; neither did He impose any precept on those whom He had chosen to write. He bade them preach. He redeemed the world by his death; taught it his Gospel by word of mouth, and founded a living, teaching agency to carry on His work forever. These were principal. Out of these came the divine Scriptures in the designs of Providence, not to supersede Christ's way of teaching the world, but to be a means, a deposit, whence the Church should draw, and give to the people.

In fact, all the terms which Christ used in enunciating his design of teaching the world, demonstrate that the principal and ordinary means of teaching mankind was ever to be the living word by preaching. No other means would be adequate to accomplish that which Christ willed. The world of that day could not be reached through the medium of letters. Since the invention of printing, and the general diffusion of literature, ideas may be rapidly spread by the press; but the message of Christ was given to man before such means existed for the communication of thought. Moreover, the message of Christ was for the poor and the illiterate, as well as for the savant; for busy toilers who had not time or philosophical depth to draw the import from the written instrument, and Christ established the only means capable of teaching all nations, the Magisterium of the Church. The children of men were lambs who had need to be fed, and Christ gave them an eternal succession of shepherds.

The Apostles adopted the method of their Master. "Aided by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, and relying on the sole power of Christ, which wrought many miracles by them, they announced the Kingdom of Heaven throughout the world; neither did they take thought to write books, for they fulfilled a far greater and sublimer office. Paul, who is pre-eminent among all the Apostles in richness of diction and depth of thought, wrote nothing except a few epistles, although he could have expounded many mysteries * * * And the other co-laborers of the Lord, the twelve Apostles, the seventy disciples, and many others, were by no means ignorant (of these mysteries). Nevertheless, of all the disciples of the Lord, only Matthew and John left us a written word; and we are told that they were moved to write by a particular need." (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. 24).

"What," says Irenaeus, "if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures? Would it not be necessary to follow the traditions of those to whom they committed the Churches. Verily this method many barbarous nations adopt, who believe in Christ without ink and paper, having the law of salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit, and faithfully holding to the old tradition, believing in one God, etc." (Irenaeus, Migne 7, 855). Again: "The tradition of the Apostles, manifested in the whole world, may be learned in every Church by those who wish to know the truth, and we can enumerate the bishops constituted by the Apostles and their successors even to our day." (Irenaeus, Migne, 7, 848).

Wherefore, they err greatly who constitute the Scriptures the sole means of teaching Christ's message; for many Churches were flourishing before there were any Scriptures. The dates of the Gospels can not be fixed with precision. For the Gospel of Matthew, Catholic opinion ranges over the period included between the years 36 and 67 of the Christian era; the period for Mark is from the year 40 to the year 70; Luke's Gospel is variously placed from the year 47 to the year 63, while the Gospel of St. John is assigned to the closing years of the first Christian century. Many concur in the opinion which places the Acts of the Apostles in the year 64 of our era.

The dates of some of the Epistles of Paul may be assigned with a good degree of certitude. The Epistles to the Thesalonians were written about the year 53; the first Epistle to the Corinthians, in the first months of the year 57; the second Epistle, in the autumn of the same year. The Epistle to the Romans was written toward the close of the year 57 or in the

beginning of 58; the Epistle to the Galatians preceded that to the Romans, and ranges between the year 55 and 57. The Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the Epistle of Philemon are by Loisy placed during the Captivity of Paul, from the year 61 to 64. It is more difficult to assign the proper date to the Epistles to Timothy, Titus and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Modern exegetes are of accord in placing them at a later date than the preceding. The Epistle of St. James is later than the Epistle to the Romans, and internal evidence is therein that St. James was conversant with the Epistle to the Romans. Its probable date might be placed about the year 60. The Epistles of St. Peter are ascribed to the last years of his life. According to Eusebius and Jerome, the prince of the Apostles was martyred in the third year of Nero's reign, about the year 67. The Epistle of St. Jude has a close affinity with the second Epistle of St. Peter, but whether Peter drew from Jude, or Jude from Peter is not clear. They who defend the first hypothesis, assign the year 65 as date of St. Jude's Epistle; while the advocates of the second hypothesis assign a later date. The first Epistle of St. John may be considered as a sort of preface to his Gospels, and written at the same time; the second and third Epistles are of a little later date. The Apocalypse according to the most ancient testimonies, and particularly that of St. Irenaeus, was written toward the close of the reign of Domitian, about the year 95.

Though these are approximate dates, they are precise enough to establish the fact that several years of intense Apostolic work had elapsed, before the first writing appeared. And in that period churches had been founded in Palestine, and other parts of the eastern world, and probably also at Rome. The Church and the apostolic priesthood was principal; the Scriptures were a means which the Church was to use. But as God wished to provide adequately for the propagation and preservation of the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven, he also brought it about that there should be preserved in writing some of the most important truths of the New Dispensation. The spirit of truth who was sent to suggest all things necessary in the New Oeconomy, moved the holy men to commit certain things to writing. But these writings owe their origin to special occasions, and particular circumstances. Primarily they were intended for some one or few individuals or churches. Gradually they became interchanged and disseminated among the churches, and

it is only in the third century that we find any church having a complete list of the Holy Books of the New Law.

We place, therefore, as a leading proposition, that the writers of the New Law wrote with no design to compile a code of Scripture. They wrote to supply some particular need, that which they knew to be the word of God; the future destiny of their writings to form a sacred deposit was hidden from them. The mode of the formation of the body of Scriptures of the New Law was by gradual accession. Documents written to some individual person or Church were copied and sent to others. Paul recognizes and makes use of this method in his Epistle to the Colossians: "And when this Epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea." (Coloss. IV. 16).

That it was likewise characteristic of the early Christians to carefully preserve writings of doctrinal import, may be inferred from a passage in the writings of St. Polycarp. "The Epistles," he says, "of Ignatius (martyr), which were sent us by him, and others, as many as we had, we have sent to you, as you requested; they accompany this letter, and from them you will receive much profit." (S. Polycarp. ad Phil. 13.) If such diligence and care were bestowed on the Epistles of Ignatius, Martyr, much more would be bestowed on the writings of the Apostles and Founders of Christianity. We see also in the testimony an evidence of the method of communicating writings among the churches. Both agencies combined, brought it about that the several churches soon had their sacred deposit of the New Law; though many years elapsed before we find the list complete in any church; and many more, before all the churches had the complete Canon.

Even in the writings of the authors of the New Testament, we find allusions to certain collections of the Scriptures of the New Law. In his Second Epistle, Peter speaks of the Epistles of Paul as of writings generally known to the Christians: "Wherefore, dearly beloved, waiting for these things, be diligent * * * as also our most dear brother Paul, according to the wisdom given to him, hath written, as also *in all his Epistles*, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and the unstable, wrest, *as also the other Scriptures*, to their own perdition." (II. Peter III. 14—16.)

"In this place," says Estius, "Peter canonizes, so to speak, Paul's Epistles. For in saying '*as also the other Scriptures,*' he, in truth, declares that he placed them among the Holy Scriptures."

Cornely adduces a proof from the First Epistle to Timothy to prove that Paul was conversant with the Gospel of Luke. Paul speaks thus: "For the Scripture saith, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn'; and, 'The laborer is worthy of his hire.'" (I. Tim. V. 18.) The first sentence of Paul's quotation is taken from Deuteronomy XXV. 4. From the context, it is plainly evident to him who reads that, the second sentence is also adduced as Holy Scripture. The passage exists in Luke X. 7, and the illation is just that Paul quotes here as divine Scripture, a passage of the Third Gospel. Hence we infer that, at the writing of the Epistle to Timothy, Luke's written Gospel existed, and was known to the Christians as Holy Scripture.

Up to our times, the universal belief of Christians held, that the disciples and first successors of the Apostles placed the works of the authors of the New Testament with the books of the Old Testament, as of equal divinity and authority. The rationalistic plague which infected the world in our century, first essayed to overthrow this universally accepted truth, claiming that the writings of the Apostles are never quoted in the solemn formulas used of the Old Testament, and that the words of the Lord are quoted from oral tradition.

To meet this opposition, we must first set forth some of the characteristics of those early times.

It is true that oral communication prevailed in those times. Not every one could have a manuscript of the written word, but all heard the voice of those "who preached peace." The intense activity of the first teachers of the New Law made Christ and his Law a living reality in every land. The Gospel was not so much a *written reality* as a *living reality*. The events had taken place in no remote age; the first Christians received their doctrine from those who announced that "which they had heard, which they had seen with their eyes; which they had looked upon, and their hands had handled." Therefore, it is not to be expected to find numerous explicit quotations from the written deposit in those early days. The early teachers preached much, and wrote little. Much of what they wrote has succumbed to the ravages of time. They used the Gospel of Christ, not so much as a written deposit, but as a present living reality, and part of the

life of the people. Men of those days received the doctrine of Christ not from books, but by the living word of preaching; they handed it down to others in the same manner in which they had received it. But yet there is evidence that when one of the Books of the New Testament did come into existence, it was recognized as the word of God. Those who received it did not make an analysis of the concept of inspiration to canonize it. It came from the men who had brought them the message of peace; it embodied what they had received from those who preached Christ to them, and this was its perfect warrant. Thus the Books of the New Law first came into the churches as individual instruments; then as groups; and, lastly, a complete list was formed by communication between the churches.

HENCE, IN THE AGE IMMEDIATELY SUCCEEDING THE APOSTLES, WE FIND SEVERAL OF THE BOOKS OF OUR CANON RECOGNIZED AS DIVINE SCRIPTURE.

In the Epistle vulgarly attributed to St. Barnabas, we find a quotation from St. Matthew in the solemn formula "sicut scriptum est," (*ὡς γέγραπται*).*

The final sentence of the IV. Chapter of this Epistle is as follows: "Let us pay heed lest we be found as it is written: 'Many called, few chosen,'" Now, the only place where it is thus written is the Gospel of Matthew XX. 16; XXII. 14.

Some of the older rationalists considered this quotation as an interpolation of the Latin interpreter. After the Codex Sinaiticus had overthrown this hypothesis, Volkman, Renan

*The Epistle of Barnabas was first published in Paris in Greek, and Latin by Ménard and d'Achery, 1645, but not complete. The entire Greek text was first found by Tischendorf in his famous Codex Sinaiticus in 1859. The contents of the letter show plainly that it is not the work of the companion of Paul. Before his conversion, the author of the letter was a pagan; for he declares, XVI. 7, that "before believing in God, his heart was full of idolatry." Barnabas was a Jew, and worshipped the true God. Again, the author is not conversant with Jewish rites, and obligations. Moreover, the letter speaks of the punishment of the Jews in the destruction of their Temple; whereas, critics conclude that Barnabas did not live to see the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. But the value of the letter is considerable, even though not the writing of Barnabas. There is in it elevation of ideas, and logical presentation of truth. Whoever be the author, he touches the apostolic age, and cannot be placed later than the first years of the second century. The work is marred by excessive allegory, which makes the writer forget that Greek is not the tongue of Abraham. He sees a prophecy of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, in the number of Abraham's servants who were 318 (Gen. XIV. 14). The numerical value of I (Greek) is 10; of H, 8; and T, 300. IH signifies Jesus, and T (by its form,) his cross. Therefore, that Abraham took 318 men with him in pursuit of Chodorlahomor, was prophetic that Jesus Christ was to be crucified!

and Strauss, advanced the opinion that the quotation came from IV. Ezra, VIII. 3: "Multi quidem creati sunt; pauci autem salvabuntur." But a comparison of the two texts clearly evinces Matthew as the authority. Wherefore, Mangold attempted to destroy the force of the quotation by showing that the pseudo Barnabas quotes Henoch in the formula: "As it is written." But this would not prove that he did not consider Matthew divine Scripture, but that he also placed Henoch among the Holy Books. We admire the honesty of Hilgenfeld, who concedes that the author quotes Matthew, and also that the Epistle is of the year 97.

St. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, Chapter XII., has this testimony: "As it is written in *these Scriptures*: 'Be angry and sin not,' and: 'Let not the sun go down on your wrath.'" It is evident that Polycarp here unites two passages of *written Scripture*. The second passage is from the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, IV. 26. As the proving force of this passage is cogent, the rationalists try to weaken it by denying its authenticity. But its authentic valor is sufficient to satisfy all just criticism. This short Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, contains according to Funk (op. cit.) 68 allusions to the New Testament. The verbal parallelism is so exact, that it is evident they were drawn from the written deposit. We here exhibit some of the clearest ones:

Act II. 24.

"—quem Deus suscitavit, solutis doloribus inferni, juxta quod impossibile erat teneri illum ab eo."

I. Pet. I. 8.

"—quem cum non videritis, diligitis: in quem nunc quoque non videntes creditis; credentes autem exultabitis laetitia inenarrabili et glorificata—."

Epis. II. 8—9.

"Gratia enim estis salvati per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis: Dei enim donum est, non ex operibus, ut ne quis glorietur."

St. Polycarp Epist. ad Philip. I.

"—quem resuscitavit Deus, solutis doloribus inferni. In quem non videntes creditis, credentes autem exsultatis laetitia inenarrabili et glorificata—."

Ibid.

"—scientes, quod gratia estis salvati, non ex operibus—."

I. Pet. I. 13.

“Propter quod succincti lumbos mentis vestrae, sobrii perfecte sperate in eam, quae offertur vobis, gratiam, in revelationem Jesu Christi—.”

I. Cor. VI. 14.

“Deus vero et Dominum suscitavit, et nos suscitabit per virtutem suam.”

I. Pet. III. 9.

“—non reddentes malum pro malo, nec maledictum pro maledicto.”

Math. VII. 1—2.

“Nolite judicare, ut non judicemini. In quo enim iudicio iudicaveritis, iudicabimini : et in qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.”

Luke VI. 36—38.

Estote ergo misericordes, sicut et Pater vester misericors est. Nolite judicare, et non iudicabimini : nolite condemnare, et non condemnabimini. Dimittite, et dimitemini. Date, et dabitur vobis : mensuram bonam et confertam, et coagitatam et superfluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum. Eadem quippe mensura, qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.”

Math. V. 3.

“Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum.”

Ibid. 10.

Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum.”

s

Ibid. II.

“Propter quod succincti lumbos vestros servite Deo in timore—.”

Ibid.

“Is vero, qui ipsum suscitavit e mortuis, et nos suscitabit—.”

Ibid.

“—non reddentes malum pro malo, nec maledictum pro maledicto—.”

Ibid.

“— memores autem eorum, quae dixit Dominus docens : ‘Nolite judicare, ne judicemini ; dimittite, et dimittetur vobis ; miseremini, ut misericordiam consequamini ; qua mensura mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis’ ; et : ‘Beati pauperes, et qui persecutionem patiuntur, quoniam ipsorum est regnum Dei.’”

Gal. IV. 26.

"Illa autem, quae sursum est Jerusalem, libera est, quae est mater nostra."

I. Tim. VI. 10.

"Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas.

Ibid. 7.

"Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum: haud dubium, quod nec auferre quid possumus."

Gal. VI. 7.

"Nolite errare: Deus non irridetur."

I. Pet. II. 11.

"— carissimi, obsecro vos tamquam advenas et peregrinos abstinere vos a carnalibus desideriis, quae militant adversus animam —."

Rom. XIV. 10, 12.

"Tu autem, quid judicas fratrem tuum? aut tu, quare spernis fratrem tuum? Omnes enim stabimus ante tribunal Christi. Itaque unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet Deo."

I. Jo. IV. 3.

"— et omnis spiritus, qui solvit Jesum, ex Deo non est; et hic est Antichristus, de quo audistis, quoniam venit, et nunc jam in mundo est.

Ibid. III.

"Neque enim ego, neque alius mei similis beati et gloriosi Pauli sapientiam assequi potest; qui cum esset apud vos, coram hominibus tunc viventibus perfecte ac firmiter verbum veritatis docuit; qui et absens vobis scripsit epistolas, in quas si intueamini, aedificari poteritis in fide, quae vobis est data, quaeque est mater omnium nostrum—."

Ibid. IV.

"Principium autem omnium malorum est habendi cupiditas."

Ibid.

"Scientes ergo, quod nihil intulimus in hunc mundum, sed nec auferre quid valemus—."

Ibid. V.

"Scientes ergo, quod Deus non irridetur—."

Ibid.

"— quia omnis cupiditas militat adversus spiritum—."

Ibid. VI.

"— omnes ante tribunal Christi stare, et unumquemque pro se rationem reddere oportet."

Ibid. VII.

"Omnis enim qui non confessus fuerit Jesum Christum in carne venisse, Antichristus est—."

Math. VI. 13.

"Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo. Amen."

Ibid. XXVI. 41.

"Vigilate, et orate, ut non intretis in tentationem. Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma."

I. Pet. II. 22, 24.

"— qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus: qui peccata nostra ipse pertulit in corpore suo super lignum—."

I. Pet. II. 12.

"— conversationem vestram inter gentes habentes bonam—."

I. Cor. VI. 2.

"An nescitis, quoniam sancti de hoc mundo judicabunt? Et si in vobis judicabitur mundus, indigni estis, qui de minimis judicetis?"

Among the genuine works of St. Clement of Rome are two Epistles to the Corinthians, and two on Virginity. The two latter were assailed by some rationalists, but they have been defended by such an excellent critic as Wetstein. The following schema exhibits Clement's use of the New Testament.

Luke VI. 36—38.

"Estote ergo misericordes, sicut et Pater vester misericors est. Nolite judicare, et non judicabimini: nolite condemnare, et non condemnabimini. Dimittite, et dimitemini. Date, et dabitur vobis: mensuram bonam et

Ibid.

"—rogantes omnium conspectorem Deum, ne nos inducat in tentationem, sicut dixit Dominus: 'Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.'"

Ibid. VIII.

"— qui peccata nostra in corpore suo super lignum pertulit, qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus—."

Ibid. X.

"Omnes vobis invicem subjecti estote, conversationem vestram irreprehensibilem habentes in gentibus—."

Ibid. XI.

"An nescimus, quia sancti mundum judicabunt? sicut Paulus docet. Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis, vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio Epistolae ejus."

St. Clementis Epist. I. ad Corinthios, XIII.

"Sic enim dixit: 'Estote misericordes, ut misericordiam consequamini; dimittite, ut dimittatur vobis; sicut facitis, ita vobis fiet; sicut datis, ita dabitur vobis; sicut judicatis, ita judicabimini; sicut indulgetis,

confertam, et coagitatam et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum. Eadem quippe mensura, qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis.”

Math. XXVI. 24.

“Filius quidem hominis vadit, sicut scriptum est de illo: vae autem homini illi, per quem Filius hominis tradetur: bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset homo ille.”

Luke XVII. 2.

“Utilius est illi, si lapis molaris imponatur circa collum ejus, et projiciatur in mare, quam ut scandalizet unum de pusillis istis.”

I. Paul, I. Cor. 12.

“Hoc autem dico, quod unusquisque vestrum dicit: Ego quidem sum Pauli: ego autem Apollo: ego vero Cephae: ego autem Christi.”

I. Peter IV. 8.

“Ante omnia autem, mutuam in vobismetipsis caritatem continuam habentes, quia caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum.”

Math. IX. 13.

“Euntes autem discite, quid est: Misericordiam volo, et non sacrificium. Non enim veni vocari justos, sed peccatores.”

Ibid. X. 32.

“Omnis ergo, qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui in coelis est —.”

ita vobis indulgebatur; qua mensura metimini, in ea mensurabitur vobis.”

Ibid. XLVI.

“Recordamini verborum Jesu Domini nostri. Dixit enim: ‘Vae homini illi: bonum erat ei, si natus non fuisset, quam ut unum ex electis meis scandalizaret: melius erat, ut ei mola circumponeretur, et in mare demergeretur, quam ut unum de pusillis meis scandalizaret.’”

Ibid. XLVII.

“Sumite Epistolam beati Pauli Apostoli. Quid primum vobis in principio Evangelii scripsit? Profecto in Spiritu ad vos litteras dedit de seipso et Cepha et Apollo, quia etiam tum diversa in studia scissi eratis.”

Ibid. XLIX.

“Charitas nos Deo agglutinat: charitas operit multitudinem peccatorum: charitas omnia sustinet—.”

St. Clementis Epist. II. ad Corinthios, II.

“Alia quoque Scriptura dicit: ‘Non veni vocare justos, sed peccatores—.’”

Ibid. III.

“Ait vero etiam ipse: ‘Qui me confessus fuerit in conspectu hominum, confitebor ipsum in conspectu Patris mei.’”

Ibid. VII. 21.

"Non omnis, qui dicit mihi : Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum coelorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in coelis est, ipse intrabit in regnum coelorum."

Ibid. VII. 23.

"Et tunc confitebor illis : Quia nunquam novi vos : discedite a me, qui operamini iniquitatem."

Math. X. 28.

"Et nolite timere eos, qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere, sed potius timete eum, qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in gehennam."

Math. VI. 24.

"Nemo potest duobus dominis servire :

Math. XVI. 26.

"Quid enim prodest homini, si mundum universum lucretur,

Ibid. IV.

"Non modo igitur ipsum vocemus Dominum ; id enim non salvabit nos ; siquidem ait : ' Non omnis qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, salvabitur ; sed qui facit justitiam.' "

Ibid.

"Idcirco, nobis haec facientibus, dixit Dominus : 'Si fueritis mecum congregati in sinu meo, et non feceritis mandata mea, abjiciam vos, et dicam vobis : Discedite a me ; nescio vos unde sitis, operarii iniquitatis.' " *

Ibid. V.

"Ait enim Dominus : 'Eritis velut agni in medio luporum.' Respondens autem Petrus ei dicit : 'Si ergo lupi agnos discerpserint ?' Dixit Jesus Petro : 'Ne timeant agni post mortem suam lupos : et vos nolite timere eos qui occidunt vos, et nihil vobis possunt facere ; sed timete eum, qui postquam mortui fueritis, habet potestatem animae et corporis, ut mittat in gehennam ignis.' †

Ibid. VI.

"Dicit autem Dominus : Nul-
lus servus potest duobus dominis
servire."

Ibid.

"Si nos volumus et Deo ser-
vire et mammonae, inutile nobis

*Clement is wont to unite passages from the several Gospels into one quotation. In the present instance, he has taken the first part of the quotation from some apocryphal gospel.

†Most of the passage is taken from some apocryphal gospel. The test of time and judgment of the Church had not yet distinguished between the genuine and the apocryphal books of Holy Scripture. But the citation of some apocryphal books weakens not Clement's testimony to prove that the books of our Canon existed then as written instruments, though some apocrypha were mingled with them.

animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur? Aut quam dabit homo commutationem pro anima sua?"

This passage is also quoted by Irenaeus, Lib. II. 64, as a saying of the Lord. Grabe believes it to be from the apocryphal gospel according to the Hebrews.

Math. XII. 50.

"Quicumque enim fecerit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in coelis est, ipse meus frater et soror, et mater est."

Math. V. 16.

"Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est."

St. Paul ad Ephes. V. 6.

"Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis: propter haec enim venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiae."

II. Tim. III. 5.

"— habentes speciem quidem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes. Et hos devota —."

I. Cor. VII. 34.

"Et mulier innupta et virgo cogitat, quae Domini sunt, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu. Quae autem nupta est cogitat quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat viro."

Luke VII. 28.

"Dico enim vobis: Major inter natos mulierum propheta Joanne Baptista nemo est: qui autem minor est in regno Dei, major est illo."

est. Nam 'quae utilitas, si quis universum mundum lucretur, animam autem detrimento afficiat.'"

Ibid. VIII.

"Ait quippe Dominus in Evangelio: 'Si parvum non servastis, quis magnum vobis dabit? Dico enim vobis: Qui fidelis est in minimo, et in majori fidelis est.'"

Ibid. IX.

"Etenim Dominus dixit: 'Fratres mei sunt ii qui faciunt voluntatem Patris mei.'"

St. Clementis Epist. I. ad Virgines, II.

"—sicque adimplentur Christi verba: 'Videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in coelis est.'"

Ibid. III.

"Itaque nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis—."

Ibid.

"—de talibus enim scriptum est: 'Habentes speciem quidem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes.'"

Ibid. V.

"Solicita sit necesse est quae Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu."

Ibid. VI.

"Angelus fuit Joannes: talem esse decebat Domini nostri praecursorem, quo major non fuit inter natos mulierum."

Phil. IV. 3.

"Etiam rogo et te, germane compar, adjuva illas, quae mecum laboraverunt in Evangelio cum Clemente, et ceteris adjutoribus meis, quorum nomina sunt in libro."

Heb. XIII. 7.

"Mementote praepositorum vestrorum, qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei, quorum intuentes exitum conversationis, imitamini fidem."

I. Cor. IV. 16.

"Rogo ergo vos: Imitatores mei estote, sicut et ego Christi."

Ibid.

"Eandem viam amplexati sunt et Paulus, et Barnabas, et Timotheus, quorum nomina sunt in libro vitae—."

Ibid.

"Scriptum est enim: 'Mementote praepositorum vestrorum, quorum intuentes exitum conversationis, imitamini fidem.'"

Ibid.

"Et alibi dictum est: 'Imitatores mei estote, fratres, sicut et ego Christi.'"

In the Eighth Chapter of this First Epistle of Clement to Virgins, ten phrases occur bearing on them clearest evidence that they are taken from the Pauline Epistles, such as for instance, "avarice which is the serving of idols." (Ephes. V. 5.)

Jo. III. 6.

"Quod natum est ex carne, caro est, et quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est."

Ibid. VIII.

"Carnales sunt isti omnes eorumque similes: 'quod enim natum est de carne caro est; qui est de terra, de terra est, et de terra loquitur, et terrena sapit:' 'quae sapientia inimica est Deo: legi enim Dei non est subjecta, nec enim potest—.'"

Ibid. 31.

"Qui desursum venit, super omnes est. Qui est de terra, de terra est, et de terra loquitur. Qui de coelo venit, super omnes est."

Rom. VIII. 7.

"— Quoniam sapientia carnis inimica est Deo; legi enim Dei non est subjecta, nec enim potest."

Rom. VIII. 9.

"— Si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus."

I. Cor. V. 11.

"— cum ejusmodi nec cibum sumere."

Ibid.

"— si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus."

Ibid. X.

"Cum ejusmodi suademus ne cibum quidem sumere."

II. Thess. III. 11—12.

"Audivimus enim, inter vos quosdam ambulare inquiete, nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes. Iis autem, qui ejusmodi sunt, denuntiamus, et obsecramus in Domino Jesu Christi, ut cum silentio operantes, suum panem manducent."

I. Tim. I. 7.

"— volentes esse legis doctores, non intelligentes neque quae loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant."

I. Cor. XII. 28.

"Et quosdam quidem posuit Deus in ecclesia primum Apostolos, secundo Prophetas, tertio Doctores—."

St. Jac. III. 2.

"In multis enim offendimus omnes. Si quis in verbo non offendit, hic perfectus est vir; potest etiam freno circumducere totum corpus."

I. Pet. IV. 11.

"Si quis loquitur, quasi sermones Dei—."

Coloss. IV. 6.

"Sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, ut sciatis, quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere."

Rom. XVI. 18.

"Hujusmodi enim Christo Domino nostro non serviunt, sed suo ventri; et per dulces sermones et benedictiones seducunt corda innocentium."

Ibid.

"Sed reipsa sola ducuntur otiositate, cum sint ipsi non solum otiosi, sed et verbosi, et curiosi, loquentes quae non oportet. Hi, per dulces sermones, quaestum venantur in nomine Christi. Hos sinistra praefigit nota divinus Apostolus multa mala in eis redarguens."

Ibid. XI.

"Sed sunt inquieti, non intelligentes quae loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant."

Ibid.

"Hanc autem viam multi sequuntur, quia non animadvertunt quod scriptum est: 'Non multos in vobis, fratres, positos esse doctores et prophetas'; et iterum: 'Si quis in verbo non offendit, hic perfectus est vir. Potest etiam freno circumducere totum corpus. Si quis loquitur, quasi sermones Dei—.'"

Ibid.

"— et iterum: Sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus, ut sciatis quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere—."

Ibid.

"Quidam tandem beatum populum dicunt, et per dulces sermones et benedictiones, seducunt corda innocentium."

Math. XV. 14.

"Sinite illos: caeci sunt, et duces caecorum: caecus autem si caeco ducatum praestet, ambo in foveam cadunt."

This is a scriptural mosaic made up of Galat. V. 10; Jas. III. 15; I. Cor. II. 4; and Ephes. II. 2:

"— in quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum saeculum mundi hujus, secundum principem potestatis aëris hujus, spiritus, qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentiae."

Math. XVII. 20.

"Hoc autem genus non ejicitur nisi per orationem et jejunium."

Math. X. 8.

"Infirmos curate, mortuos suscitate, leprosos mundate, daemones ejicite: gratis accepistis, gratis date."

Mat. XXV. 36.

"— nudus, et cooperuistis me: infirmus, et visitastis me: in carcere eram, et venistis ad me."

II. Cor. XI. 29.

"Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?"

Math. IX. 37—38.

"Tunc dicit discipulis suis: Messis quidem multa, operarii

Ibid.

"Hi sunt veluti caecus qui caeco ducatum praestat, quique ambo in foveam cadunt."

Ibid.

"Hi portabunt judicium, quia sapientiam animalem vanumque mendacium garruli inanique scientia inflati praedicant in persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis, secundum saeculum mundi hujus, secundum principem potestatis aeris hujus, spiritus qui operatur in filios diffidentiae, et non secundum doctrinam Christi."

Ibid. XII.

"— non enim agunt cum recta fide, et juxta doctrinam Domini qui dixit: 'Hoc genus daemoniorum non ejicitur nisi per orationem et jejunium.'"

Ibid.

"Vos igitur quibus dictum est: 'Gratis accepistis, gratis date—.'"

Ibid.

"Praeclarum ac utile est ut servi Domini morem gerant, inter caetera similia, huic praecepto divino: 'Infirmus eram, et visitastis me.'"

Ibid.

"— memores verborum Apostoli: 'Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?'"

Ibid. XIII.

"Memores enim esse debent messem quidem esse multam,

autem pauci. Rogate ergo Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam."

Jo. VI. 27.

"Operamini non cibum, qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam aeternam—."

Luke I. 75.

"—in sanctitate et justitia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris."

Coloss. I. 10.

"— ut ambuletis digne Deo per omnia placentes—."

II. Cor. VIII. 21.

"Providemus enim bona non solum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus."

I. Tim. II. 3.

"Hoc enim bonum est et acceptum coram Salvatore nostro Deo —."

II. Cor. VI. 3.

"Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum—"

II. Cor. V. 11.

"Scientes ergo timorem Domini hominibus suademus, Deo autem manifesti sumus."

I. Tim. V. 10.

"— in operibus bonis testimonium habens, si filios educavit, si hospitio recepit, si sanctorum pedes lavit, si tribulationem patientibus subministravit, si omne opus bonum subsecuta est.

operarios autem paucos : ideoque rogent Dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam—."

Ibid.

"— operarios qui operentur non cibum qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam aeternam—."

Ibid.

"Sic Domino serviemus in sanctitate et justitia coram ipso, per omnia placentes, providentes bona, non solum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus : hoc enim bonum est et acceptum—."

St. Clementis Epist. II. ad Virgines, III.

"— solliciti quippe sumus ne quis in nobis offendatur aut scandalizetur : Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum."

Ibid.

"Scientes ergo timorem Domini, hominibus suademus ; Deo autem manifesti sumus."

Ibid. IV.

"Haec autem prae aliis senescens mulier eligitur quae diu probata est assiduitate meditationum, hincque perspecta si filios educavit, si hospitio recepit, si sanctorum pedes lavit."

I. Cor. X. 33.

“— sicut et ego per omnia omnibus placeo, non quaerens, quod mihi utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant.”

Rom. XIV. 15.

“Si enim propter cibum frater tuus contristatur, jam non secundum caritatem ambulas. Noli cibo tuo illum perdere, pro quo Christus mortuus est.”

I. Cor. VIII. 12.

“Sic autem peccantes in fratres, et percutientes conscientiam eorum infirmam, in Christum peccatis.”

Math. X. 16.

“Ecce, ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae.”

Ephes. V. 15—16.

“Videte itaque, fratres, quomodo caute ambuletis : non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes.”

Math. VII. 6.

“Nolite dare sanctum canibus : neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos—.”

I. Cor. X. 12.

“Itaque, qui se existimat stare, videat, ne cadat.”

I. Tim. V. 11.

“Adolescentiores autem viduas devita : cum enim luxuriatae fuerint in Christo, nubere volunt —.”

Joa. IV. 27.

“Et continuo venerunt discipuli ejus et mirabantur, quia cum muliere loquebatur, etc.”

Ibid. V.

“— nec quaerimus quod nobis utile est, sed quod multis, ut salvi fiant.”

Ibid.

“Hinc Paulus : ‘Noli cibo tuo, inquit, illum perdere pro quo Christus mortuus est ;’ et alibi : ‘Sic autem peccantes in fratres, et percutientes conscientiam eorum infirmam, in Christum peccatis.’ ”

Ibid. VI.

“— debemus esse prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae, non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes —.”

Ibid.

“— ne demus sanctum canibus, mittamusque margaritas ante porcos —.”

Ibid. XIII.

“Et iterum : Qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat.”

Ibid. XIV.

“Nullum porro sanctum advertetis frequenter fuisse conversatum cum virginibus aut adolescentioribus virorum uxoribus vel viduis, quas devitandas esse divinus docet Apostolus.”

Ibid. XV.

“De ipso Domino Jesu Christo scriptum est, quod venientes discipuli, et videntes eum prope

fontem seorsim cum Samaritana
sermocinantem mirabantur quia
cum muliere loquebatur."

Therefore the Fourth Gospel *scriptum est*, and was recognized as Holy Scripture in Clement's time.

Jo. XX. 17.

"Dicit ei Jesus: Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum: vade autem ad fratres meos, et dic eis: Ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum."

Phil. III. 16.

"Verumtamen ad quod pervenimus, ut idem sapiamus, et in eadem permaneamus regula."

I. Jo. IV. 6.

"Nos ex Deo sumus. Qui non est ex Deo, non audit nos, etc."

Ibid.

Insuper, postquam Dominus a mortuis surrexit, cum Maria ad sepulcrum properasset, eumque adorans, ipsius pedes tenere voluisset: 'Noli, inquit, me tangere: nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum.' "

Ibid. XVI.

"Idcirco, fratres, rogamus, vos in Domino, ut idem sapiamus, et in eadem permaneamus regula —."

Ibid.

"Qui novit Deum, audit nos: qui non est ex Deo, non audit nos."

We have only selected some of the clearest quotations from our books. Many more allusions to New Testament books exist in Clement's works.

Eusebius testifies that Clement, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, "gives many sentiments taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and also literally quoting the words, he most clearly shows that this work is by no means a late production. Whence it is probable that this was also numbered with the other writings of the Apostles." (Hist. Eccles. III. 38.) More than twenty texts, some of them of considerable length, are found in Clement's Epistle, which in the sense and order of the words agree with the Epistle to Hebrews.

Those who would still contend that these quotations come from oral tradition, merit to be classed with those of whom divine Dante sings: "Non ragioniam di loro, ma guarda e passa." "Let us not speak of them, but look, and pass." (Inferno III. 51.)

The works of Clement show that at Rome, toward the close of the first century, at least the Four Gospels, Eleven Epistles of Paul, the First Epistle of Peter, the First Epistle of John, and the Epistle of St. James were known and recognized as Holy Scripture.

The testimony of BASILIDES, a heretic of the first part of the second century, confirms the existence of the written Gospels, and certain of Paul's Epistles. According to Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. IV. 7). Basilides edited a commentary on the *Evangelium*. In the *Philosophoumena*, VII. 20, we find this testimony: 'Basilides said that out of nothing (ἐκ οὐκ ὄντων) was made the germ of the universe, the word, as it is said: "Let there be light"; and this is what is said in the *Gospels*: 'He was the true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.'" Quotations from the Pauline Epistles are often used by Basilides with the formulas: "It is written," "The Scripture saith." According to Origen, Basilides commented the Epistle to the Romans. In Origen's Commentary on Romans, Lib. V. 1, we find the following:

"Sed haec Basilides non advertens de lege naturali debere intelligi, ad ineptas et impias fabulas sermonem apostolicum traxit, et in μετενσωματώσεως dogma, id est, quod animae in alia atque alia corpora transfundantur, ex hoc Apostoli dicto conatur astruere. Dixit enim, inquit, Apostolus, quia 'ego vivebam sine lege aliquando': hoc est, antequam in istud corpus venirem, in ea specie corporis vixi, quae sub lege non esset; pecudis scilicet, vel avis. Sed non respexit ad id quod sequitur, id est: 'Sed ubi venit mandatum, peccatum revixit.' Non enim dixit se venisse ad mandatum, sed ad se venisse mandatum; et peccatum non dixit non fuisse in se, sed mortuum fuisse, et revixisse. In quo utique ostendit quod de una eademque vita sua utrumque loqueretur. Verum Basilides, et si qui cum ipso hoc sentiunt, in sua impietate relinquantur."

The works of IGNATIUS, (martyr) reveal that he was conversant with a written code of the New Law. However, not all the texts that are usually brought forward from Ignatius' works, are valid to prove that he spoke of a written Gospel. The first text is taken from the fifth chapter of his Epistle to those of Smyrna: "Fools deny him (Jesus Christ) * * * whom the prophets could not convince, nor the Law of Moses, nor the *Gospel*, even to this day." Although I believe, that Ignatius here speaks of a written Gospel, nevertheless, in controversy it could be maintained that the words would be apposite, even though the oral teaching of Christ alone existed.

The next passage is from the seventh chapter of the same Epistle: "It behooves us * * * to pay heed to the Prophets, and especially to the Gospel wherein the Passion is taught us, and the Resurrection perfectly demonstrated." This is somewhat cogent, but not apodictic. It is certainly far more prob-

able that Ignatius, in placing together these two sources of doctrine in the present phrase, spoke of two things of similar nature, both being written instruments.

The next testimony of Ignatius is taken from Ignatius' Epistle to those of Philadelphia, VIII.-IX.: "I hear certain ones saying: 'Ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὕρω, ἐν τῇ εὐαγγελίῳ. οὐ πιστεύω.' And when I say to them that it is written, they answer: this is to be demonstrated. But my archives are Jesus Christ, my spotless archives are his cross, his death, his resurrection, and the faith which comes from him. * * * The priests are good, but the High Priest is better * * * through whom the Prophets and the Apostles and the Church enters (into the Holy of Holies). But the Gospel has something of special excellence, to wit: the advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ, his Passion and Resurrection. The beloved Prophets announced him; but the Gospel is the perfection of eternal life."

The key to this testimony consists in the Greek passage. Some expunge the comma after the τῇ εὐαγγελίῳ and translate it: Unless I find evidence in the ancient writings, I will not believe the Gospel. This version is rejected by Funk, (*Patres Apost.* 1, 230), Cornely (*Introduction I.* 159), and Loisy (*Canon du Nouveau Test.*, 28). They insist on the fact that the laws of the Greek language permit not such sense. They instead place τῇ εὐαγγελίῳ in opposition to τοῖς ἀρχαίοις in which case, it would certainly refer to a written Gospel. Though the Greek construction is somewhat rough, I am disposed to accept the first opinion. The context and line of argument evince that Ignatius was arguing against those who demanded an excessive verification of prophecy for faith in the Gospel. The τὰ ἀρχαία were the prophecies of the Old Law. Against them he first responds, that the doctrines of the New Law are founded on the prophecies. And then to their cavils, he exclaims that for him there is no need of prophecy to substantiate New Testament teaching. For Christ and the Cross merit faith, irrespective of prophecy. Finally, he says, as Jesus Christ is greater than the Prophets, so the Gospel is better than the Prophecies. Although the mere textual structure of the sentence does not necessarily imply a written Gospel, the context and sense of the testimony plainly point to such. Not so much in any one word as in the whole passage does it become evident, that Ignatius is speaking of a written instrument which he is com-

paring, like with like, to the Prophets, and extolling above them. This sense is corroborated by a testimony in his Epistle to those of Philadelphia, Chapter V. : " Let us turn to the Gospel, as to Christ corporally present, and to the Apostles as to the priesthood of the Church. Let us love also the Prophets, because they announced Christ." The testimony evidently speaks of the Gospels, and the other writings of the New Law which perpetuated Christ and his Apostles on earth.

In his practical use of Scripture, in his genuine Epistles, Ignatius assimilates the truths of Scripture, and then adduces them in his own words, so that exact quotations are not therein found, but many places evidence that he drew largely from the New Testament writings. Such allusions are very frequent in the Apostolic Fathers. This the rationalists themselves concede.*

We may also adduce here the testimony of Papias, who, according to Irenaeus, was a disciple of St. John, and a companion of Polycarp. The testimony as preserved to us by Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. III. XXXIX.) is as follows: " That priest (St. John) was wont to say that Mark, the interpreter of Peter, *wrote down* diligently whatever he remembered, but he followed not the order of the Lord's words and deeds. For he had never heard the Lord, or followed him * * * Wherefore, Mark erred in nothing, writing certain things as he remembered them."

* Reuss (Hist. du Canon Strasb. 1863, p. 23): "A la vérité on ne découvre pas encore dans ces épîtres (Patrum apostolicorum) des citations nominatives à de rares exceptions près...et surtout les textes des apôtres ne sont nulle part invoqués expressément et littéralement comme des autorités (Cfr. tamen Polyc. ad Philip. 13). Mais ils sont quelquefois exploités tacitement de façon qu'il est impossible de s'y tromper; en certains endroits, les exhortations revêtent les formules employées par ces illustres prédécesseurs, et l'on se convainc facilement que *les écrivains de cette seconde génération faisaient déjà une étude des autres de la première*. C'est ainsi que la lettre de Clément offre des réminiscences assez précises de quelques passages des épîtres aux Romains et aux Corinthiens et surtout de celle aux Hébreux: celles d'Ignace, plus nombreuses (quae tamen simul sumtae vix priorem Clementis longitudine aequant) et en tout cas beaucoup plus récentes. en présent d'autres qui nous ramènent aux épîtres aux Corinthiens et aux Galates ainsi qu'à l'Évangile de Jean; enfin la toute petite épître de Polycarpe contient de fréquentes allusions à des passages apostoliques, notamment aux Actes, à la première épître de Pierre, à celles aux Rom., aux Gal., aux Éphés., et à la Timothée. Encore une fois, cet usage est purement homilétique ou rhétorique; nulle part un nom d'apôtre, une formule de citation (?), un avis quelconque n'avertit le lecteur que les paroles, que nous reconnaissons immédiatement comme des éléments d'emprunt, aient une valeur particulière et différente de celles de l'entourage." (Cornely, op. cit. pag. 160.)

Of Matthew, Papias writes thus: "Matthew, he said, wrote the discourses (of the Lord) in the Hebrew tongue; men translated them as every one was able." The Gospel of Matthew is termed the *λόγια* (*κυριακὰ*), since it contains more of the Lord's discourses than any other Gospel. Though it is impossible to fix the certain date of Papias' writing, we are sure that he touches the Apostolic age, and records that which he received from those of the Apostolic age. His testimony is conclusive for the existence in the first century of the written Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Eusebius also, in the same place, declares that "the same Papias, made use of testimonies taken from the first Epistle of St. John and the first of Peter." The Gospel of Matthew has also in its favor, the testimony of Eusebius concerning St. Pantaenus, "who moved by divine zeal, and fired by the example of the Apostles * * * is said to have penetrated even to the Indies, and, to have found there the Gospel of Matthew, which had preceded him, and was held by certain ones who had embraced Christianity. It is said that Bartholomew, one of the twelve, preached to these, and left them the Gospel of Matthew, written in Hebrew."

We find, therefore, that at the end of the first century the Canon of the four Gospels was in universal acceptance in all the Christian communities. In the first quarter of the second century we find the Epistles of St. Paul in all the great Churches. Certainly Clement of Rome, Ignatius (martyr) and Polycarp had a collection of Pauline Epistles, and supposed the same to exist with those to whom they wrote. The whole fourteen Epistles may not have been equally known, but Loisy (op. cit.) who is not disposed to be too favorable to the Catholic position, admits thirteen in the collection then received.

The Acts of the Apostles are used by Ignatius, Polycarp, and Clement of Rome. The Epistle of James, the First Epistle of Peter, and First of John, have clearest testimonies. St. Irenaeus (*Contra Haereses* V. 30) declares that those who saw John face to face bear witness to the Apocalypse. He evidently means by such phrase, Papias and Polycarp. There is no clear testimony of the Apostolic age for the Epistle of Philemon, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third of John, and the Epistle of Jude. It would not be just to infer from this, that they were not known then. But little of the literary product of that age has come down to us; and besides, the character of these writings was less useful for the scope for which the early Fathers employed the Scriptures.

Passing from the Apostolic Fathers to their immediate successors, the testimonies increase in number and clearness.

ST. JUSTIN (†163) testifies (*Apologia* I. 66): "For the Apostles in their *Memorabilia* (*ἀπομνημονεύματα*) which are called Gospels, declare that Jesus thus commanded them; that he took bread, and, having given thanks, said: 'Do this in remembrance of me; this is my body'; and also taking the chalice, and giving thanks, he said: 'This is my blood.'"

Justin's peculiar term for the Gospels is, nevertheless, apt; for they wrote down the principal words and deeds of the Lord, *as they remembered them*.

In paragraph 67, he again speaks of the Gospels: "On what is called the day of the sun, all the dwellers of the cities and the fields gather in one place, and the *Memorabilia* of the Apostles, or the writings of the Prophets are read, as time permits."

Again in his dialogue against Tryphon, 103: "For in the *Memorabilia*, which I place to have been written by his Apostles and their disciples, it is stated that sweat like drops of blood flowed from him, when he prayed and said: 'If it be possible, let this chalice pass.' " There is an evident allusion to St. Luke's Gospel here, for only Luke speaks of the sweat like drops of blood.

Again in the same paragraph we find: "Immediately after Jesus ascended from the River Jordan, where the voice came upon him: 'Thou art my son; to-day have I begotten thee,' it is written in the *Memorabilia* of the Apostles, that Satan approached him, and tempted him, saying: 'Adore me.' And Christ answered: 'Begone from me, Satan; the Lord thy God shalt thou adore, and him only shalt thou serve.' "

We find an allusion to the fourth Gospel in paragraph 105 of the Dialogue: "I have before demonstrated, as we learn from the *Memorabilia*, that the Only-begotten of the Father of the universe is properly the WORD, and power begotten of him, and afterwards born a man of the Virgin." Only John calls Christ the *Word*.

St. Justin in his Dialogue against Tryphon the Jew, 81, has a clear testimony for the Apocalypse: "And in addition to these things, a man from among us, John by name, a disciple of the Lord, in an APOCALYPSE made known to him, prophesies that those who have believed in Christ will dwell at Jerusalem for a thousand years, and then will be the general, in a word, the eternal resurrection, and the future judgment."

The few works that remain of Justin are filled with passages taken from the Gospels, without acknowledgment of source.

St. Justin, in *Apologia pro Christianis*, I. 63, speaking of Christ, says: "He is called an angel and an APOSTLE." It is only in the Epistle to the Hebrews, III. 1, that Christ is called an Apostle.

In his Treatise against Tryphon, 33, he draws a comparison between Christ and Melchisedech, clearly revealing knowledge of Epistle to Hebrews, V. 8-10. Traces also are found in his works of all the other books of the New Testament, except the Epistle of St. Jude, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, and the Second and Third of St. John.

One of the disciples of St. Justin was the famous Tatian. According to the most probable critical data, Tatian was by origin a Syrian. He visited Rome with Justin, and then returned to his native country and fixed his domicile at Edessa. He composed there his famous *Diatessaron*, or harmony of the four Gospels in Syriac. This work was, in 1888, translated into Latin by Cardinal Ciasca, from the Arabic version of Abul-Pharag. The *Diatessaron* was a harmonized account of the Gospel data taken from the four Gospels. It remained the official Gospel of the Syrian Church, through the time of St. Ephrem, even to the fifth century, when it was superseded by the individual Gospels.

It is certain, therefore, that the Church of Edessa, in the first half of the second century, possessed the written Gospels in the form of the *Diatessaron*. It is not easy to fix, what other books entered into their collection.

In the *Doctrina Addai*, which reflects the old tradition of the Church of Edessa, on the Canon of Scriptures, the following declaration is placed in the mouth of the dying Addai: * "The Law, the Prophets and the Gospel, which you read daily to the people, and the Epistles of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from Rome, and the Acts of the Apostles, which John, the son of Zebedee, sent us from Ephesus—these are

*The name Addai seems to be a Syriac approximation to the name of Thaddeus the Apostle. The *Doctrina Addai* is the apocryphal acts of this Apostle. This work was published in the Syriac original by Cureton. (*Ancient Syriac Documents*, London, 1864.) It has more recently been studied by Lipsius (*Die edessenische Abgar- Sage*, Brunswick, 1880) and the Abbé Tixeront (*Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, Paris, 1888).

It is a work ranging between the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. Its source is a legend known to Eusebius, and extending back to the first half of the third century. Though the work is apocryphal, it is founded in the tradition of the Edessene Church of that period.

the Scriptures that ye should read in the Church of Christ, and ye should read naught else." (Doctrines of Addai, ed. Phillips, 1876, p. 46.)

This testimony is valuable only in its affirmative sense. It makes known that in the Church of Edessa, the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, and the Acts had been canonized. The omission of the other books is due to the strange genius of Tatian, which moved in independent lines. The Canon of the early Church of Edessa, was, doubtless, formed by him, and he excluded those books which his caprice found less acceptable.

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS speaks of the Gospels in the *plural number* as a body of writings existing side by side with the Law and the Prophets.* "The reverence of the Law is chanted, and the grace of the Prophets is known, and *the faith of the Gospels is built up*, and the teaching (*κατάδοσις*) of the Apostles is preserved, and the grace of the Church exults."

Melito of Sardis, according to Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. IV. 26) wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John. The work has not been preserved for us.

MARCION rejected the Old Testament, and mutilated the New.† He found a fundamental repugnance between the Law and the Gospel. Since the New Testament endorses in many places the Old Testament, Marcion expurgated it. Of the Gospels, he took only that of Luke, mutilated to suit his scope. Out of Paul's Epistles, he constituted the *Apostolic Book*, containing the Epistle to the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Romans, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the Epistle to the Ephesians (called by him the Epistle to those of Laodicea), the Epistle to the Colossians, the Epistle to the Philippians, and that to Philemon.

"Et super haec, id quod est Evangelium secundum Lucam circumcidens, et omnia quae sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa au-

*The Epistle to Diognetus was formerly attributed to Justin the martyr. Many critics reject the authorship, but a conservative opinion will place it as early as 170, A. D.

†Marcion was born in Sinope, in Pontus. His father was bishop of that city. Marcion, being cut off from the Church for having offered violence to a virgin, came to Rome between the years 140 and 165. He there became attached to the party of Cerdon, the heretic. But later he extended the system by new errors. The system of Marcion has this in common with the Manichean heresy, that it constitutes two principles, the one good and the other evil, the first causes of everything. According to Marcion, the flesh was the creation of the evil principle, and therefore, Christ had only an apparent body.

ferens, in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est; semetipsum esse veraciorem quam sunt hi qui Evangelium tradiderunt Apostoli, suasit discipulis suis; non Evangelium, sed partem Evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et apostoli Pauli Epistolas abscidit, auferens quaecumque manifeste dicta sunt ab Apostolo de eo Deo qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quaecumque ex prophetis memorans Apostolus docuit, prænuntiantibus adventum Domini." (Tertullian, Adv. Marc. IV.2. (P. L. 2, 364).

Marcion did not question the authenticity of the books which he rejected. He simply placed his theological system above Holy Writ, and selected only those books which by his mutilation could be made to conform to his placita. Tertullian, Irenaeus, and others of that age, who refuted Marcion, always fix upon him the charge of having mutilated the Scriptures, which of old time had been received by the Church. This is valuable to us in establishing that before the time of Marcion, the written deposit of the New Testament included many more books than he accepted in his list.

The opponents of the Canon of the New Testament sometime allege, that those who received and used the books of the New Testament, never regarded them as divine Scripture. This is sufficiently disproven by the data already adduced. A certain tendency did exist, for the first two centuries, to perpetuate the method of Christ in the mode of speaking of Scriptural data. Christ speaks of the Old Testament as the Scriptures; of his Gospel, as the living reality. Now, the early Christians, while extolling the data of the New Law above that of the Old, often reserved the name of *Scripture* for the books of the Old Testament, considering the books of the New Law as expressions of the living teachings, which lived after Christ. The name Scripture seemed to throw it too far back into antiquity. Gradually, however, as the realization of the actual presence of Christ and his lieutenants on earth, passed into a realization of a past historical fact, the name of Scripture was universally given to the books of the New Covenant.

Another objection is made, that many apocryphal books, at first, enjoyed equal favor with the books of the New Testament. This also is found to be false. Certain ones which contain no falsity, and were written with good intent, enjoyed a certain favor in private reading, but never in the official usage.

There was lacking to them the endorsement of those who spoke in Christ's name. They never received the approbation of an Apostolic Church. Even from the first, the line of demarcation between them and the Holy Scriptures, is fixed and clear. Certainly the power of the Holy Spirit aided in keeping the scriptural deposit clear of the vast mass of Apocrypha, which came into being at that time. The causality of Divine Providence in the production and preservation of the Scriptures, is such that no man can reason rightly of them without taking account thereof.

In the authentic works of St. Hippolyte, are found quotations from the New Testament books. His manner of quoting leaves no doubt that he spoke of them as Holy Scripture. He quotes Math. IV. 15, 16, in the formula, "declarat nobis Evangelium" (Fragmenta in Genesim). Ibidem, he says: "For the Lord, in keeping the precepts of the Law, did not abrogate the Law and Prophets, but perfected (them), *as he says in the Gospels.*" The plural number proves clearly that he spoke of several written Gospels.

Again, he says: "And Nephthalim is taken as a type of our affairs, as the Gospel teaches: 'Land of Zabulon and land of Nephthalim, the way of the sea across the Jordan,' *and that which follows.*" He could only call attention to *that which follows* in a written text. Excepting the Epistle to Philemon, he employs all Paul's Epistles as Holy Scripture. In *loco citato*, we find the following: "For verily the only-begotten Word of God, being God of God, emptied himself (ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν) according to the Scriptures * * * and appeared in the form of a slave, becoming obedient to God the Father, even to death; for which cause, we read that he is henceforth highly exalted * * * and hath received a name above every other name, according to the words of St. Paul." This is a paraphrase on the Scripture found in Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, II. 7-9.

St. Hippolyte defended the Apocalypse of St. John in a special work against Caius.*

He had a certain predilection for the Apocalypse, and the fourth Gospel. In his treatise against Noetius, VII., he argues as follows: "We who have the mind of the Father believe thus; they who have not, deny the Son. If they say, as Philip said, questioning concerning the Father: 'Show us the Father,

*Catalogue of Ebed Jesu, c. 7 (ap. Assemani, Biblioth. orient. III, 1, 15): "Sanctus Hippolytus martyr et episcopus composuit...capita adversus Caium et apologiam pro Apocalypsi et Evangelio Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistae."

and it sufficeth us'; to whom the Lord replied: 'Have I been so long time with you, and hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father. Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?' and if they dare say that in these words their dogma is confirmed, from the Lord's confession that he is in the Father, let them know that they greatly contradict themselves, for the Scripture confutes them and convicts them."

The greatest part of Hippolyte's arguments are drawn from the New Testament; and in the IX. Chap. against Noet, he describes his sources: "Just as one who would know the wisdom of the world, must study the doctrines of philosophers; thus we, who would have the religion of God, can learn not elsewhere than in the Holy Scriptures. Let us know, therefore, what the Holy Scriptures proclaim, and let us study what they teach."

Hippolyte refuted Noet principally from the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John.

St. Theophilus, who, according to Jerome, was the sixth bishop of Antioch, and who governed the Church of Antioch about the year 186, has a clear testimony in favor of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles: "Moreover, concerning the justice which the Law commands the statements of the Prophets and the Gospels are found consonant since they all spoke in the inspiration of the same Spirit of God. * * * * Regarding chastity, the Holy Scripture teaches us not only not to sin in deed, but also not in thought * * * * and the voice of the Gospels, commands more earnestly of chastity: 'Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart (Math. V. 28); and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery, and whosoever putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery.'" (Ibid. 32). Ad Autolycum III. 13.

Again in *opere citato*, 14: "This also doth the Holy Scripture enjoin, that we be subject to *magistrates and powers, and pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life* (I. Tim. II. 2.). And it teaches to render all things to all persons: 'Honor to whom honor; fear to whom fear; tribute to whom tribute; and to owe no man anything, but to love one another.'" (Rom. XIII. 7-8.)

In Book II. ad Autolycum 22, he canonizes the fourth Gospel: "These things the Holy Scriptures teach us, and

whosoever were inspired by the Holy Ghost, among whom is John, saying thus: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.'

According to Eusebius, (*Hist. Eccles.* IV. 24.) Theophilus also "composed a treatise against the heresy of Hermogenes, in which he makes use of testimony from the Apocalypse of John."

We come now to examine the famous document commonly known as the Canon of Muratori.*

This document was discovered by Muratori in the Ambrosian Library, and published by him in the *Antiquitates Italicae*, in 1740. The document is mutilated at the beginning and end. It is written in barbarous Latin. Bleek, Wieseler, Reuss and others maintain that it was originally written in Latin. Hilgenfeld, Volckmar, Zahn, Lightfoot, Cornely, Loisy, and Muratori himself consider it a translation from the Greek. Its author is unknown. Muratori conjectured that it was written by Caius, a priest of Rome, disciple of St. Irenaeus; Simon de Magistris believes Papias to be the author; Bunsen ascribes it to Hegesippus; Lightfoot believes it to be the work of Hippolyte.

While we remain in uncertainty as to its author and original tongue, we may not doubt that the document is a product of the second half of the Second Century. This makes it of first importance in establishing the Canon of Scripture of the Church of Rome in that age. It is highly probable that its original language was Greek, the liturgical tongue of Rome of that day.

The age of the Codex found by Muratori is not more remote than the eighth century; and the barbarisms seem to have originated from the ignorance and negligence of the copyist.

*Louis Anthony Muratori, was born at Vignola, in the province of Modena, on the 21st of October, 1672- He was highly endowed by nature, and received a liberal education. At the age of 22, he was called to Milan, by Charles Borromeo, and placed over the Ambrosian College, and the vast Ambrosian Library. In 1700 the Duke of Modena recalled him as his subject, made him his librarian, and placed him over the archives of his dukedom. He was undoubtedly the greatest archeologist of his age. His friendship was sought by the most celebrated savants of Italy and France. Academies vied with each other for his patronage. But Muratori, with that deeper wisdom which accompanies true learning, shrank from all ostentation, so coveted by petty minds.

His erudition was vast and varied. At times, his judgments are defective, even in matters of faith. He died in 1750. His published works fill 46 volumes in folio; 34 in 4to; 13, in 8vo, and several in 12mo.

The original author evidently wished to draw up a canon of Scripture, and distinguish the genuine from the apocryphal books. We reproduce here the document after the fac simile published by Tregelles at Oxford, in 1867. It is not our intention to enter into the world of conjecture which has been created by the learned interpreters of this document. It suffices us to show only its import in its relation to the New Testament Canon.

quibus tamen Interfuit et ita posuit.*

Tertio [tertium] Evangelii librum secundo [secundum] Lucan† Lucas Iste medicus post acensum [ascensum] XPI, cum eo [eum] Paulus quasi ut iuris studiosum secundum adsumsisset, numeni [nomine] suo ex opinione concribset [conscripsit]; dnm tamen nec Ipse dvidit [vidit] in carne, et ide prout asequi [assequi] potuit; ita et ad [ab] nativitate Iohannis incipet [incipit] dicere. Quarti Evangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis [discipulis]‡ cohortantibus condiscipulis et eps [episcopis] suis dixit: conieiunate mihi odie [hodie] triduo [triduum], et quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum andree ex apostolis, ut recognis-

*It seems to me vain to conjecture what was contained in the mutilated beginning. It is certain that it must have related to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. The very fact that the Gospel of Luke is called the third, leaves no room to doubt that the first and second, which must have preceded, were the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. We see in the document evidences of the transition from low Latin to Italian in the placing of "tertio" for "tertium," "secundo" for "secundum," etc.

†Notwithstanding all the barbarisms of the next seven lines, these data result clearly from them: That Luke is the author of the third Gospel; that the physician Luke wrote it after the ascension of Our Lord; that Luke was a companion and pupil (iuris studiosus) of St. Paul; that Luke wrote the Gospel in his own name, though from Paul's data (ex opinione); that Luke had not seen the Lord in the flesh, and wrote after diligent research (prout assequi potuit); and that he began his Gospel with the Nativity of John the Baptist. This is the exact history of the third Gospel.

‡Zahn is of the opinion that the legend contained in the lines from the tenth to fifteenth inclusively, comes from the Acta Apocrypha of St. John. There may be a grain of truth in it, as Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and St. Jerome testify that John wrote his Gospel at the request of the bishops of Asia. John certainly received by direct revelation the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Word. But the legend was the author's explanation of a fact, and the fact was that the Gospel of St. John was in the deposit of the Church of Rome, at the time of his writing. Thus we have a clear testimony for the four Gospels.

centibus [recognoscentibus] cuntis [cunctis] Iohannis [Ioannes]
suo nomine
cunta [cuncta] discribret [describeret] et ideo licit [licet] varia*
singulis [singulis] evangeliorum libris principia
doceantur, nihil tamen differt creden-
tium fidei, cum uno ac principali spu [Spiritu] de-†
clarata sint in omnibus omnia, de nativi-
tate, de passione, de resurrectione,
de conversatione cum discipulis [discipulis] suis,
ac de gemino eius advento [adventu],
primo in humilitate dispectus [despectus], quod fo-
tu [fuit], secundum potestate regali pre-
clarum quod fotum [futurum] est. Quid ergo‡
mirum, si Iohannes tam constanter
sincula [singula] etia in epistulis suis proferat
dicens in semeipsu [semetipsum]: Quae vidimus oculis
nostris et auribus audivimus et manus
nostrae palpaverunt, haec scripsimus vobis ;
sic enim non solum visurem [visorem], sed et auditorem,
sed et scriptore omnium mirabiliu dni [Domini] per ordi-
nem profetetur [profitetur]. Acta aute omni apostolorum§
sub uno libro scribta [scripta] sunt, Lucas obtime theofi-

*From the sixteenth to the twenty-sixth line inclusively, the author explains that although every Evangelist has a different point of departure (varia principia) they all are moved by the same grand motive, and all conspire to build up the fulness of the message. Every one has his own plan, and something proper to himself, but one completes the other, and one Gospel exists in four books, the work of the Holy Spirit.

†The designation of the Holy Ghost as "principalis" is also used in the LI. (Vulg. L.) Psalm.

‡The passage included between the last words of the 26th line and the first half of the 34th establishes that John wrote more than one Epistle (in Epistolis, plural number): that he wrote from personal experience (in seme- tipsum): and that the first Epistle of John is one of the *Epistolae*, for its open- ing sentence is literally quoted. Later data of the document leave no doubt that its author included the three Epistles of John in his Canon.

§The passage from the second half of the thirty-fourth line down to the close of the period in the thirty-ninth, clearly establishes the Canonicity of the Acts of the Apostles. It seems to be the mind of the author, that excepting the martyrdom of Peter (Semota passione Petri) Luke wrote down the acts which he had personally witnessed. The closing words of the period are most difficult and have received many interpretations. Cornely believes that the author speaks of the journey of Paul from Rome to Spain, which, like the martyrdom of Peter, has been omitted by him.

Cornely corrects the reading as follows: Sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe, Spaniam proficiscentis." Thus it would become a testimony of the

le comprindit [comprehendit], quia sub praesentia eius singula gerebantur, sicut et semote passione Petri evidenter declarat, sed et profectionem pauli ad urbes [urbem] ad spania proficescentis. Epistulae autem*

second century of the voyage of Paul to Spain. I can not receive this conjecture of Cornely. The writer of Muratori's Canon, is there describing what Luke wrote. Now, nowhere does Luke give us the departure of Paul from Rome for Spain. I would venture the correction: *Sed et profectionem Pauli ad urbem (Romam) ad Spaniam proficescentis.* The voyage to Rome of Paul, who had set out for Spain. Now, Luke did write the account of Paul's journey to Rome, who had in a general way set out for Spain. The authors who have sustained Paul's voyage seem to have been moved by Paul's own words, Rom. XV. 28.: "When, therefore, I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain", manifesting such a design which they assume as prophetic. Such position seems to me vain and unfounded. These words express simply a human wish and design, which was not subsequently realized. There is no trace in the traditions of Spain of Paul's visit, and I am forced to hold the opposite opinion. Cornely and others make Paul go back from Spain to the Orient to visit his churches, before his martyrdom at Rome, and thus contravene a clear prophecy. Acts XX. 25: "Et nunc ecce ego scio quia amplius non videbitis faciem meam, vos omnes per quos transivi praedicans Regnum Dei." Those who defend Paul's voyage to Spain, and thence to the Orient, in order to give effect to words clearly indicative of a human design, subject to the vicissitudes of time, destroy the sense of words manifestly spoken in the spirit of prophecy. I believe that Paul never left Rome after his entrance thither, till he left it for Heaven.

*The passage from the close of the thirty-ninth line down to the close of the period in the sixty-third, establishes the Canonicity of all the Epistles of Paul except the Epistle to the Hebrews. According to the author's method of computation, Paul, after the manner of John in the Apocalypse wrote letters to seven churches, in this order: Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, and Romans. Two of these are repeated: that to the Corinthians, and that to the Thessalonians. From the fifty-fourth line to the middle of the fifty-ninth, the construction is very involved, and the text, perhaps, corrupt; but the sense is evidently that, though Paul and John wrote to seven different individual churches, the Catholic Church was one and the same throughout the whole world. The thought is too plain to need our commentary. In terming John the predecessor of Paul, the author refers to the date of John's calling to the Apostolate, not to the date of the writing of the Apocalypse. The list of Paul's Epistles closes with the Epistle to Philemon, that to Titus, and the two to Timothy, whose pastoral scope (in ordinationem ecclesiasticae disciplinae) is clearly signified. This is the first clear testimony that we have for the Epistle to Philemon. It is not strange that the Epistle to the Hebrews finds no place therein. St. Clement of Rome had used the Epistle to the Hebrews as Holy Scripture. But after the rise of the Novatian heresy, which denied forgiveness to certain sins, the Epistle to the Hebrews, which seemed to favor that heresy, was omitted in the public use of the Church of Rome, and was rarely employed by any writer during the second and third century. It was not rejected, but simply passed over in a sort of religious silence.

Pauli, quae, a quo loco, vel qua ex causa directe [directae] sint, volentibus [volentibus] intelligere ipse,[ipsae] declarant. primu omnium corintheis scysmae [schisma] haeresis interdicens, deinceps B callatis [Galatis] circumcissione, Romanis autem ornidine [ordinem] scripturarum sed et principium earum esse XPM intimans, prolexius [prolixius] scripsit, de quibus sincolis [singulis] necesse est ad [a] nobis disputari. Cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus sequens prodecessoris [praedecessoris] sui Iohannis ordine nonnisi comenati [nominatim] semptae [septem] eccleses [ecclesiis] scribat, ordine tali: a [ad] corenthios prima; ad efesios secunda, ad philippinses tertia, ad colosensis quarta, ad calatas [Galatas] quinta, ad tensaolenecinsis [Thessalonicenses] sexta, ad romanos septima, verum corintheis et thessaolecensibus, licet pro cerrebtione [correptione] iteretur, una tamen per omnem orbem terrae ecclesia deffusa [diffusa] esse denoscitur [dignoscitur]; Et Iohannis [Ioannes] eni

In apocalebsy [Apocalypsi] licet septe eccleseis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit. Veru ad filemonem una; et ad titu una, et ad tymotheu duas [duae] pro affectione et dilectione, in honore [honorem] tamen ecclesiae catholice [catholicae], in ordinationem ecclesiastice [ecclesiasticae] descepline [disciplinae] scificate [sanctificatae] sunt. Fertur etiam ad*

Laudecenses [Laodicensis], alia ad alexandrinos Pauli nomine fincte [fictae] ad heresem Marcionis, et alia plura, quae in catholicam ecclesiam recepi [recipi] non potest: fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit [congruit]. Epistola sane Iude [Iudae] et superscriptio [suprascripti]†

*In the period extending from sixty-third to sixty-eighth line, the author rejects the supposititious letters to the Laodiceans, and to the Alexandrians. In the Apocryphal letter to the Laodiceans, there is nothing favorable to Marcionism, hence, we believe that he spoke of that heresy only in relation to the lost letter to the Alexandrians. Some have without reason, believed that by the letter to the Alexandrians, Paul meant the Epistle to Hebrews. This is plainly unfounded, as Hebrews was never known in antiquity by that name, and a catalogue of the Church of Rome could not assign it such a place.

†In the sixty-eighth line the Epistle of St. Jude is canonized. The sense of statement concerning St. John is obscure. We advance a probable explanation of it. The author may have considered the preceding notice of lines 26-34 sufficient for first Epistle, and, therefore, here receive the two remaining ones among the Catholic Epistles (in Catholica). This conjecture is more

Iohannis duas [duae] in catholica habentur. Et sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honore ipsius scripta. Apocalypse [apocalypsim vel apocalypses] etiam Iohannis et Pe.*
 tri tantum recipimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt. Pastorem vero† nuperrim et [nuperrime] temporibus nostris In urbe roma herma conscripsit, sedente [in] cathe-

probable since the fate of the II. and III. Epistles of John was always the same. Whoever received one received the other. It seems to have been the usage of those times to speak of the Second and Third Epistle of St. John apart from the first, since John's authorship of them was not by all acknowledged. Hence the author follows the usage of his time in classing them by themselves, while he at the same time maintains their authenticity. Another conjecture endorsed, by many is that, the author is of the opinion mentioned by Jerome, "that the Second and Third Epistles are not of John the Evangelist, but of another John, a priest, whose sepulchre is shown at Ephesus." This seems to me erroneous, from the *suprascripti* of the document, evidently referring these Epistles to the Evangelist. The advocates of this second opinion change the "et" preceding "Sapientia" to "ut", and believe the sense to be that the author likens these two Epistles to the Book of Wisdom, inasmuch as they bear John's name, though not written by him. This seems to me gratuitous and far-fetched. Loisy rightly rejects it, and maintains that the presence of Wisdom here is due to its late origin, so that by some it was considered to belong more properly to the New than to the Old Testament.

*The period comprised between the seventy-first and seventy-third line contains a clear approbation of the Apocalypse of St. John, but the rest of its import is obscure. The most obvious sense is that with the Apocalypse of John, which all received, was an Apocalypse of Peter to which the author was favorably inclined, although it was controverted in the Church of Rome. Others believe the text to be corrupt, and that the genuine text contained mention of the Epistles of St. Peter. Zahn restores the text thus: "Apocalypsin etiam Iohannis et Petri *unam* tantum recipimus *epistolam*; fertur etiam altera quam quidem ex nostris legi in Ecclesia volunt.' The conjecture is ingenious, but must remain in the realm of conjecture. I am more inclined to hold with Cornely, that the author spoke of the Epistles of Peter in the mutilated beginning, where he treated of Mark's Gospel. In its present state, the document can not be considered a proof for the existence of St. Peter's Epistles, neither is their omission from the mutilated exemplar an argument against them. We must seek other data for their canonicity.

†Pastor receives its true place, a pious book, read in the churches, but not considered Holy Scripture. There is also in these lines an indication of the date of the document. He says Pastor was written recently, in our times, by Hermas, while his brother Pius occupied the episcopal chair. Now, St. Pius reigned from 142 to 151 or 156. To justify the author's expression, it could not have been long after this epoch that the document was written; hence, Cornely rightly infers that it should not be placed later than the year 170. The close of the document is obscure; but, since it bears no relation to the Canon of Scripture, we pass it over in silence.

tra [cathedra] urbis romae ecclesiae Pio eps, frater [episcopo, fratre]

eius; et ideo legi eum quidem Oportet, se publicare [publicare] vero in eclesia populo Neque inter profetas [prophetarum] completum numero [numerum] neque

Inter

apostolos In fine temporum potest.

Arsinoi autem seu valentini, vel miltiadiis

nihil In totum recipemus [recipimus]. Qui etiam novu

psalmorum librum marconi conscripse-

runt una cum basilide assianum catafry-

cum constitutorem.

The Epistle of St. James finds no place in the document. That Epistle had been used as divine Scripture by the author of Pastor, but doubts remained in some minds concerning it. Thus, Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. II. 23) speaks concerning it:

"These accounts are given respecting James, who is said to have written the first of the Epistles general, (catholic); but it is to be observed that it is considered spurious. Not many indeed of the ancients have mentioned it, and not even that called the Epistle of Jude, which is also one of the seven called catholic Epistles. Nevertheless we know, that these, with the rest, are publicly used in most of the churches."

Funk (Patres Apost.) found eight references to St. James' Epistle in the I. Epistle to the Corinthians of Clement of Rome. He found five references in the II. Cor., by some attributed to the same author; and six references in Clement's Epistles to Virgins. References are also found in Justin and Irenaeus. It is not clear whether certain passages in the works of Clement of Alexandria were taken from James' Epistle or from the Gospels. Origen is the first among the Fathers who quoted the work as Holy Scripture under the name of James the Apostle.

One of the strongest proofs of its early approbation by the Church is its presence, under its proper name, in the Peschito, which dates from Apostolic times.

We here compare two passages from the Pastor of Hermas with the Epistle of St. James, having in mind to prove that he drew material from the same Epistle.

St. Jas. V. 4.

"Ecce, merces operariorum, qui messuerunt regiones vestras, quae fraudata est a vobis, clamat; et clamor eorum in aures Domini Sabaoth introivit."

Pastor, Lib. I. Vis. III. 9.

"Videte ergo vos, qui gloriamini in divitiis, ne forte ingemiscant ii qui egent, et gemitus eorum ascendat ad Dominum —."

Jas. IV. 7.

"Subditi ergo estote Deo : resistite autem diabolo, et fugiet a vobis."

Pastor, Lib. II. Mand. XII. 5.

"— Potest autem diabolus lucrari, sed vincere non potest. *Si enim resistitis illi, fugiet a vobis confusus.*"

Toward the close, therefore, of the second century the Canon of the New Testament in the Church of Rome contained all the books of the Catholic Canon, excepting the Epistle of St. James, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and probably the Second Epistle of St. Peter.

The Canon of the Church of Gaul of the same age is sought in the works of Irenaeus.

A splendid testimony for the four Gospels is found in the Third Book of his Treatise against Heresy, XI. 7-8: "So great is the certitude of the Gospels that the heretics themselves render testimony to them, and every heretic that comes forth strives to prove his doctrine from them. For the Ebionites, who use only the Gospel of Matthew, are confuted by it, that their presumption concerning the Lord is not well founded. Marcion, who mutilates St. Luke, by that which he retains of it is shown to be a blasphemer against the Lord. Those who separate Jesus from Christ, and who, selecting the Gospel of Mark, say that Christ remained impassible, and that Jesus suffered, if they read it with the love of truth can be corrected of their error. The Valentinians, who exclusively use the Gospel of John for the ostentation of their unions, are by it shown to be false in every thing, as we have shown in the first book. Since, therefore, our opponents render testimony for us, and use these (Gospels), our demonstration regarding them is shown to be true and firm. For the Church receives neither more in number nor fewer in number than these Gospels. For of the world in which we live, there are four great regions ; and there are four principal winds ; and the Church is spread over the whole earth ; and the pillar and ground of the Church (I. Tim. III. 15) is the Gospel, and the spirit of life ; therefore it follows that the Church has four columns blowing forth in all directions incorruption, and vivifying men. From which it is manifest that the divine Architect of all things, the Word, who is borne upon the Cherubim, and rules all things, who was made manifest to men, gave us the fourfold Gospel, which is actuated by one Spirit." Continuing, he applies the vision of Ezechiel to the four Evangelists, which interpretation has continued in the Church since that time. The conclusion of Irenaeus is better than his reasoning. His mysticism avails

naught, but his conclusion is independent of it. The conclusion was the faith of the Church of his time, which he strove to illustrate. We could add nothing to this testimony by adducing the numberless quotations of the Gospels in the works of Irenaeus. It is sufficient in itself to establish the status of the Gospels in the Church of Gaul of the second century. Irenaeus was a disciple of the disciples of St. John. The voice of Apostolic times is perpetuated by them to him. He speaks in the tone of a man who was sure of his point, knowing that he had back of him the faith of the Catholic Church. The Church from the Apostolic times received four Gospels, and only four. Irenaeus wrote, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth chapters of this same third book, a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. In the beginning of the fourteenth chapter, he vindicates their authorship to St. Luke.

No mention is found in Irenaeus of the Epistle to Philemon, but this fact is not strange, considering that the nature of the book did not bring it within the scope of his writing. Eusebius testifies (Hist. Eccles. V. 26) that Irenaeus, in a book of various disputes, quoted the Epistle to the Hebrews. In Lib. II. contra Haer. XXX. 9, he uses the phrase: "*Deus omnia fecit verbo virtutis suae*"; the form of expression, so eminently Pauline, is evidently taken from Hebrews I. 3.

All the other Epistles of St. Paul are used with equal frequency with the Gospels. All the works of Irenaeus are rich in quotations from them. Paul's pastoral Epistles are received with equal favor with the others. He begins his great work against the heresies with a quotation from Timothy, I. 4. In Lib. II. XIV. 1, he says: "And Paul himself has manifested in his Epistles, saying: Demas has left me, and gone to Thessalonica; Crescens, into Galatia; only Luke is with me." (II. Tim. IV. 10-11.) In op. cit. Lib. IV. XVI. 5, he quotes the first Epistle of St. Peter: "And for this cause, Peter says: That we have not liberty for a cloak of maliciousness." I. Pet. II. 16.

In op. cit. Lib. V. XXIII. 2, he has the following allusion to the Second Epistle of St. Peter: "Certain ones place the death of Adam in the thousandth year, *for a day with the Lord is as a thousand years.*" Loisy believes that Irenaeus here draws from Psalm XC. (Vulg. LXXXIX.); but the phraseology and the context plainly point to II. Peter, III. 8: "But, beloved, be not ignorant of one thing that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years."

Again in op. cit. Lib. IV. XIII. and XVI. Irenaeus speaks of Abraham as the *friend of God*. In the latter place, he quotes the passage: "Credidit Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei vocatus est." Now, although the first part of the expression is found in Genesis, XV. 6, and in the Epistles of Paul, the whole expression is found only in James II. 23.

In Lib. V. I. 1, Irenaeus calls the Christians, "the first fruits of his (God's) creatures," which peculiar expression is only found in James I. 18.

No mention is found in the works of Irenaeus of the Epistle of Jude. But I believe with Loisy that it was in the collection of the Church of Gaul at the time. The Canon of Muratori shows us that it had a secure place in the Canon of Rome, and the Church of Gaul was in strict conformity with Rome.

St. Irenaeus directly quotes from the First and Second Epistles of St. John.

In op. cit. Lib. III. 5, he writes: "Wherefore, also in his Epistle, he (John) has testified to us: "Little children, it is the last hour: and as you have heard that antichrist cometh: even now there are many antichrists: whereby we know that it is the last hour." I. Jo. II. 18.

A little farther on in the same work in Paragraph 8, he has this testimony: "And these are the ones whom the Lord bade us avoid, and also his disciple John in the *aforsaid Epistle*, bade us fly from them saying: 'Many seducers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ, is come in the flesh. This is a seducer and is antichrist. Look to yourselves, that ye lose not those things which ye have wrought.' And again in his Epistle he says: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

By this is the spirit of God known: every spirit which confesseth Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh, is of God:

And every spirit, that dissolveth Jesus, is not of God, and this is antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh, and he is now already in the world."

The first quotation is literally quoted from John's Second Epistle. Irenaeus was familiar with them both, and, quoting from memory, it is due to a fault of memory that he refers the passage to the first Epistle.

In op. cit. Lib. LXVI. 3, he again quotes the second Epistle: "For John, the disciple of the Lord, places damna-

tion upon them, not allowing us to bid them God speed: 'For he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.'"
II. Jo. I. 11.

These data leave no doubt that Irenaeus received and employed as Holy Scripture, at least the First and Second Epistles of John. But since the history of the First and Second has always been the same, it is highly probable that he received also the Third, though he had no occasion to quote it.

Irenaeus made great use of the Apocalypse. In *op. cit.* Lib. IV. XXVI. 1, Irenaeus speaks thus of the Apocalypse: "And yet more evidently, of the last age, and of the ten kings, among whom will be divided the Empire which now exists, has John the disciple of the Lord made known in the Apocalypse, etc."

In the same book, Chap. XIV. 2, he testifies: "And for this cause, John in the Apocalypse says: 'And his voice was as the voice of many waters.'" Apoc. I. 15.

Ibidem, Chap. XVII. 6: "Incense, saith John in the Apocalypse, is the prayers of the saints."

In Chapter XVIII. 6: "There is an altar in Heaven (for thither our prayers and oblations are directed) and a temple, as John says in the Apocalypse: 'And the temple of God was opened'; and there is a tabernacle: 'For behold,' he saith, 'the tabernacle of God in which he dwells with men.'" Apoc. XI. 19; XXI. 3.

Equally clear quotations are found in *op. cit.* Lib. IV. XX. 11; XXI. 4; XXX. 4; Lib. V. XXVIII. 2; XXX. 2, 4; XXXIV. 2; XXXV. 2, etc.

From these researches, we are led to believe that the church of Gaul in the second century possessed the entire Canon.

The Canon of the church of Proconsular Africa at the close of the second century, is made known to us from the works of Tertullian, whose literary activity ranges from 195 to 220.

Tertullian defends against Marcion the four Gospels, Lib. II. *adversus Marcionem*, Cap. II.*

*Constituimus in primis, evangelicum Instrumentum Apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus Evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum; si et Apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum Apostolis, et post Apostolos. Quoniam praedicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriae studio, si non adsistat illi auctoritas magistrorum, imo Christi, qui magistros Apostolos fecit. Denique, nobis fidem ex Apostolis Joannes et Matthaeus insinuant; ex Apostolicis, Lucas et Marcus instaurant, etc.

Again in Chapter V. he asserts the authorship of Matthew, Luke, Mark and John.* The chapter opens with a clear testimony for the greater Pauline Epistles:

“In summa, si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, id ab initio, quod ab Apostolis; pariter utique constabit, id esse ab Apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatae sint recorrecti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus Evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuat, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recens, in Joannem stabit auctorem.”

Tertullian certainly received thirteen Epistles of Paul. In Lib. V. adv. Marcion, XXI. he speaks thus of the Epistle to Philemon: †

“Soli huic Epistolae brevitās sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen, cum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. Adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum Epistolarum interpolare.”

In Lib. V. adv. Marcion, Cap. I. he defends the Acts of the Apostles: “Haec figurarum sacramenta, si tibi displicent, certa Acta Apostolorum (Act. IX.) hunc mihi ordinem Pauli tradiderunt, a te quoque non negandum.”

In Lib. de Pudicitia, Cap. XX. Tertullian cites the Epistle to the Hebrews, as the work of Barnabas.

“Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis Apostolorum testimonium superducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat enim et Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos, adeo satis auctoritatis viro, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiae tenore: ‘Aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus hoc operandi potestatem.’ Et utique receptior apud Ecclesias Epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum. Monens itaque discipulos, omissis omnibus initiis, ad perfectionem magis tendere, nec rursus fundamenta poenitentiae jacere ab operibus mortuorum: Impossi-

*Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum caeteris quoque patrocinabitur Evangeliiis, quae proinde per illas et secundum illas habemus, Joannis dico et Matthaei, licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur, cujus interpretes Marcus: nam et Lucae Digestum Paulo adscribere solent.

†We quote Tertullian in the original Latin, as his genius appears to better effect in the original.

bile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel illuminati sunt, et donum coeleste gustaverunt, et participaverunt Spiritum Sanctum, et verbum Dei dulce gustaverunt, occidente jam aevo cum exciderint, rursus revocari in poenitentiam, refigentes cruci in semetipsos Filium Dei et dedecorantes. Terra enim quae bibit saepius devenientem in se humorem, et peperit herbam aptam his propter quos et colitur, benedictionem Dei consequitur: proferens autem spinas, reproba et maledictioni proxima, cujus finis in exustionem. Hoc qui ab Apostolis didicit et cum Apostolis docuit, nunquam moechno et fornicatori secundam poenitentiam promissam ab Apostolis norat; optime enim legem interpretabatur, et figuras ejus jam in ipsa veritate servabat."

In introducing this passage, Tertullian shows clearly that, though not personally certain of its inspiration, he considered the Epistle of great authority.

He made much use of the Apocalypse, and of the First Epistle of St. John. I found no direct references to the other two in his works, but in Chapter XIX. *De Pudicitia*, he says: "Shall we, forsooth, say that John erred, who *in his first Epistle* denies that we are without sin." It was certainly in contradistinction to *other Epistles* that he calls this the first. The Second and Third of John are brief, and written to private individuals. For this reason, they have never been quoted as much as the first. This was the evident cause, also, why they are not expressly quoted by Tertullian.

In Chapter III. *De Cultu Foeminarum*, Tertullian wishes to obtain endorsement for the Book of Henoch: "And moreover, Henoch has a testimony in Jude the Apostle." (Jude, V. 14.) Though he erred in explaining the passage of Jude, he is a competent witness that the Church of Africa possessed in that day the Epistle of Jude among the Holy Books.

Tertullian often quotes the I. Epistle of St. Peter. I found no quotations from the Second Epistle in his works. This argues nothing against its reception by the Church of Africa; Tertullian may have had no occasion to quote it.

In Lib. *adversus Judaeos*, II. he used the expression: "Abraham amicus Dei deputatus," which seems to be taken from James, II. 23.

The II. Epistle of Peter is the only book of the New Testament which has nothing in the works of Tertullian; the I. and II. of John, and the Epistle of James have but probable approbation; the Epistle to the Hebrews with him stops a lit-

tle short of Canonicity, but all the other books, both by direct declaration and practical use are endorsed as undoubted Holy Scripture.

In the works of St. Cyprian, who succeeded Tertullian as chief representative of the African Church, abundant quotations are found of all the *homologomena*, including the Apocalypse, but he is silent concerning the *antilegomena*. It would be absurd to interpret this silence as a condemnation of the books. At most, we may say that the exceedingly conservative spirit of Cyprian drew him more strongly to the books of which no one doubted.

The tradition of the Church of Alexandria of the second century, is made known to us by Clement. Among all the early Fathers, Clement is the most favorable to Apocryphal writings. There is no evidence that he made them equal to Holy Scripture, but he was willing to treat with consideration any work which had a claim to respectability. In Lib. III. Stromatum, XIII. he shows that he admitted four and only four Gospels. Replying there to an objection taken from an apocryphal gospel, he says: "In the first place, in the four Gospels which have been handed down to us, we have not this saying, but in the gospel according to the Hebrews."

Clement's position regarding the books of Scripture may be learned from Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. VI. 14.

"In the work called Hypotyposes, to sum up the matter briefly, he has given us abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not even omitting those that are disputed, (The Antilegomena,) I mean the book of Jude, and the other general Epistles. Also the Epistle of Barnabas, and that called the Revelation of Peter. But the Epistle to the Hebrews he asserts was written by Paul, to the Hebrews, in the Hebrew tongue; but that it was carefully translated by Luke, and published among the Greeks. Whence, also, one finds the same character of style and of phraseology in the Epistle as in the Acts. 'But it is probable that the title, Paul the Apostle, was not prefixed to it. For as he wrote to the Hebrews, who had imbibed prejudices against him, and suspected him, he wisely guards against diverting them from the perusal, by giving his name.' A little after this he observes: 'But now as the blessed presbyter used to say, 'since the Lord who was the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul by reason of his inferiority, as if sent to the Gentiles, did not subscribe himself an Apostle of the Hebrews; both out of reverence for the Lord, and because he wrote of his abundance to

the Hebrews, as a herald and Apostle of the Gentiles. Again, in the same work, Clement also gives the tradition respecting the order of the Gospels, as derived from the oldest presbyter, as follows: He says that those which contain the genealogies were written first; but that the Gospel of Mark was occasioned in the following manner: 'When Peter had proclaimed the word publicly at Rome, and declared the Gospel under the influence of the spirit; as there was a great number present, they requested Mark, who had followed him from afar, and remembered well what he had said, to reduce these things to writing, and that after composing the Gospel he gave it to those who requested it of him. Which, when Peter understood, he directly neither hindered nor encouraged it. But John, last of all, perceiving that what had reference to the body in the Gospel of our Saviour, was sufficiently detailed, and being encouraged by his familiar friends, and urged by the spirit, he wrote a spiritual Gospel.' Thus far Clement."

The commentaries of Clement on the I. Epistle of St. Peter, and the Epistle of St. Jude have been preserved to us by Cassiodorus in a Latin translation (Cassiod. De Inst. Div. Lit. VIII.).

In the works of Clement that remain to us, I found no certain reference to II. Peter. Some allusions to St. James' Epistle exist (Strom. V. 14; VI. 18.); but the testimony of Eusebius leaves no doubt that Clement received these works. Eusebius' testimony is corroborated by Photius, who testifies that Clement commented the Epistles of Paul and the Catholic Epistles (Biblioth. 109. Patrol. G. 103, 384.)

In II. Strom. XV. Clement speaks of I. John, as the *greater Epistle*, Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μέλει ἐπιστολῇ. This shows plainly that he recognized at least one of the others, and, as we have said before, the history of the two is the same. We believe, therefore, that Clement received them both. The defect of explicit quotations would be unjustly invoked against those short books, which are of secondary importance from a doctrinal standpoint

The greater part of Clement's Hypotyposes, was devoted to the exegesis of the New Testament. Only fragments of the work remain in the Latin translation of Cassiodorus. Hence, is explained that in those fragments we find not Clement's commentary on the Epistle of St. James, on II. Peter, and III. John. Without doubt, they had place in the complete work according to the explicit testimony of Eusebius.

We find, therefore, at the close of the Second Century, that all the churches concur in receiving the four written Gospels.

These were sometimes called the "Writings of the Lord." Thus Dionysius of Corinth in Epistle to Romans: "It is not, therefore, matter of wonder if some have also attempted to adulterate the *sacred writings* of the Lord, since they have attempted the same in other works, that are not to be compared with these."

The writers of this period also give evidence, that they already of old time received these Gospels, and only these Gospels, were received by all the churches.

Certain allusions to the Acts of the Apostles are found in the writings of Clement of Rome, Ignatius martyr, and St. Justin; but the testimony of the Canon of Muratori is explicit for their canonicity. The faith of Irenaeus, as we have seen, was the same. Tertullian inveighs bitterly against those (the Manicheans) who rejected the Acts:

"— et utique implevit repromissum, probantibus Actis Apostolorum, descensum Spiritus Sancti. Quam Scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritus Sancti esse possunt, qui necdum Spiritum possint agnoscere discentibus missum, sed nec Ecclesiam defendere, qui, quando et quibus incunabulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent."

Clement of Alexandria also makes great use of this Scripture, and attributes it to Paul. All things warrant that it had a place in the Canon in all the churches, before the close of the second century, and no doubt has since been raised in the Catholic Church concerning it.

From a conspectus of the preceding data, it is evident that, excepting the Epistle to the Hebrews, all the Epistles of Paul were universally accepted as Holy Scripture. It is not the place here to answer the objections of F. Chr. Baur against the Epistles to the Thessalonians. Those objections, or rather cavils, are sought from the nature of the books themselves, and will be answered in the exegesis of the books. We are here dealing only with the belief of the Church regarding the books of Scripture and the evidences of this, as regards thirteen Epistles of Paul is convincing. Even the short Epistle to Philemon finds its place in Muratori's Canon, and in the words of Tertullian (*loc. cit.*), escaped the mutilation of Marcion. In the words of St. Jerome: "It would never have been received by all the churches throughout the whole world, unless it was held to be Paul's Epistle." (*Prol. in Philem.*)

In this period, the Epistle to the Hebrews was received with more favor in the East than in the West. We know from Eusebius (*loc. cit.*) that Clement of Alexandria received it.

Clement's testimony is confirmed by that of Pantaenus (the blessed presbyter). (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VI. 14.) All the Fathers of the Alexandrian Church have accepted and used the Epistle.

Its presence, as fourteenth among Paul's Epistles, in the Peschito, is sufficient guarantee of its reception by the ancient Syrian Church.

In reviewing the works of Irenaeus, we have pointed out his references to this Epistle. Eusebius (*loc. cit.*) confirms our belief that Irenaeus received it.*

The testimony of Tertullian, while it does not place the book beyond the possibility of doubt, recognizes the book as widely known and respected. The status of the book grew constantly more favorable in the Western Church from this time forth.

Rome seems to have been the centre of the doubts of that period regarding the divine authority of the book. We have seen that it is omitted from the Canon of Muratori, and Eusebius testifies also in Hist. Eccles. VI. 20, that Caius of Rome and other Romans, did not receive the Epistle.

The testimony of the first two centuries in favor of St. James' Epistle might be summed up as follows: Clear references in the works of Clement of Rome; allusions in the works of Justin and Irenaeus; quotations in the Pastor of Hermas; and a place among the canonical Scriptures in the Peschito.

The testimonies of this period in favor of the First Epistle of Peter are clear and explicit. Eusebius testifies, Hist. Eccles. III. 39, that Papias made use of testimonies from it. At least eight quotations from it are found in the short Epistle of Polycarp, that is preserved for us. The finest testimonies for it exist in the works of Clement, Irenaeus and Tertullian. We have already explained its omission from Muratori's Canon.

For the Second Epistle of St. Peter, we have nothing clearer in the first two centuries, than the references already adduced in the works of Irenaeus. With Origen the data becomes more convincing.

The Epistle of Jude has a secure place in the Canon of Muratori. Tertullian (*loc. cit.*) uses it as an authority acknowledged by all. Clement of Alexandria commented it.

*The statement of Gobar in Biblioth. of Photius, that Irenaeus rejected Paul's authorship of the Epistle, may simply mean that he doubted of the author, but not of the divine character of the book. Such view was held by more than one.

St. Jerome declares that : "Jude left a short epistle, which is one of the seven Catholic Epistles ; since he assumes a testimony from the apocryphal book of Henoch, it is rejected by several ; nevertheless, it merits authority by its antiquity and use, and is reckoned among the Holy Scriptures." (S. Hier. De Vir. Ill. M. 23, 645.)

The First Epistle of John was known and used by Papias and Polycarp. Irenaeus quotes it frequently, often naming its author. The Canon of Muratori places it among the Canonical Scriptures. Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria make it equal to the Gospel of St. John. The Peschito of the Syriac places it among the canonical Scriptures, and no reasonable doubt has ever been raised concerning it.

The other two Epistles of John have not equal indorsement in these two centuries. In the testimony of Jerome (De Vir. Ill. IX. 18), John's authorship of these two Epistles was rejected by many (*plerisque*). Investigation into patristic literature, fails to make known who these many were.

The Epistles have an indirect approbation in Tertullian, De Pudic. 19, where he speaks of the First Epistle of John as *prima*. Had he admitted only two, he would undoubtedly have used, *in priore*. We have before shown that Irenaeus received the Second Epistle of John, and as the history of the two is intimately bound up together, we believe that he received also the Third. The same can be said of Clement of Alexandria, who in Strom. II. 15, speaks of I. John as the greater Epistle. Fragments of his commentary on II. John are preserved for us by Cassiodorus, (*op. cit.*). Finally Muratori's Canon leaves no reasonable doubt that the three Epistles were received in the Church of Rome.

There is scarcely a book in the New Testament, which received so many clear testimonies in the second century as the Apocalypse. On the testimony of Irenaeus, we know that the book was written toward the close of the reign of Domitian, therefore, about the year 95 A. D. Wherefore no testimonies of the first century are to be sought. But in the following age St. Justin, St. Hippolyte, Tertullian, Irenaeus, Papias, Melito of Sardis, St. Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria and the Canon of Muratori, testify to its authenticity and divine character. Opposition and doubt arose in the following century concerning it. Certain heretics arose at that time who abused its authority to acquire favor for Millenarianism. Hence, though we find none who reject it, the Fathers made less use of it, as its deep mysterious sense perplexed the minds

of these who were defending Catholic truth against the error of the Chiliasts. St. Dionysius the Great, one of the leading Fathers, in combating this heresy, thus speaks of the book :

“Some, indeed, before us, have set aside, and have attempted to refute the whole book, criticising every chapter, and pronouncing it without sense and without reason. They say that it has a false title, for it is not of John. Nay, that it is not even a revelation, as it is covered with such a dense and thick veil of ignorance, that not one of the Apostles, and not one of the holy men, or those of the church could be its author. But that Cerinthus, the founder of the sect of Cerinthians, so called from him, wishing to have reputable authority for his own fiction, prefixed the title. For this is the doctrine of Cerinthus, that there will be an earthly reign of Christ ; and as he was a lover of the body, and altogether sensual in those things which he so eagerly craved, he dreamed that he would revel in the gratification of the sensual appetite, *i. e.* in eating and drinking, and marrying ; and to give the things a milder aspect and expression, in festivals and sacrifices, and the slaying of victims. For my part I would not venture to set this book aside, as there are many brethren that value it much ; but having formed a conception of its subject as exceeding my capacity, I consider it also containing a certain concealed and wonderful intimation in each particular. For, though I do not understand, yet I suspect that some deeper sense is enveloped in the words, and these I do not measure and judge by my private reason ; but allowing more to faith, I have regarded them as too lofty to be comprehended by me, and those things which I do not understand, I do not reject, but I wonder the more that I cannot comprehend.”

At the opening of the third century, we find the Canon of the New Testament well established not by official decree but by traditional usage. Certain divergencies existed regarding a few books. Muratori's Canon omits the Epistle of St. James ; while Clement of Alexandria uses it as though all the churches recognized its divine authority.

The two great representatives of Catholic thought of the Third Century are Origen and Eusebius.

The capacious mind of Origen examined the different collections of Scripture of the different churches, and compared them. His views respecting the Gospels are manifested in his Homily on Luke ; “The Church has four Gospels ; heresy has many. * * * Only four Gospels are approved, out of

which as representing our Law and Saviour, dogmas are to be proven. * * * In all these we admit naught else than is admitted by the Church, that only four Gospels are to be received."

Some recur to a testimony from Origen in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. VI. 25, to establish Origen's Canon :

"As I have understood from tradition, respecting the four Gospels, which are the only undisputed ones in the whole Church of God throughout the world. The first is written according to Matthew, the same that was once a publican, but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, who having published it for the Jewish converts, wrote it in the Hebrew. The second is according to Mark, who composed it, as Peter explained to him, whom he also acknowledges as his son in his general Epistle, saying, 'The elect church in Babylon, salutes you, as also Mark my son.' And the third, according to Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, which was written for the converts from the Gentiles, and last of all the Gospel according to John." And in the fifth book of his Commentaries on John, the same author writes as follows: "But he (Paul) being well fitted to be a minister of the New Testament, I mean a minister not of the letter but of the spirit; who, after spreading the Gospel from Jerusalem and the country around as far as Illyricum, did not even write to all the churches to which he preached, but even to those to whom he wrote he only sent a few lines. But Peter, upon whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, has left one Epistle undisputed. Suppose, also, the second was left by him, for on this there is some doubt. What shall we say of him who reclined upon the breast of Jesus, I mean John? who has left one Gospel, in which he confesses that he could write so many that the whole world could not contain them. He also wrote the Apocalypse, commanded as he was, to conceal, and not to write the voices of the seven thunders. He has also left an Epistle consisting of very few lines; suppose, also, that a second and third is from him, for not all agree that they are genuine, but both together do not contain a hundred lines." To these remarks he also adds the following observation on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in his homilies on the same; "The style of the Epistle with the title, 'To the Hebrews,' has not that simplicity of diction which belongs to the Apostle, who confesses that he is but common in speech, that is in his phraseology. But that this Epistle is more pure Greek in the composition of its phrases, every one will confess who is able to discern the

difference of style. Again, it will be obvious that the ideas of the Epistle are admirable, and not inferior to any of the books acknowledged to be apostolic. Every one will confess the truth of this, who attentively reads the Apostle's writings." To these he afterwards again adds: "But I would say, that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but the diction and phraseology belong to some one, who has recorded what the Apostle said, and as one who noted down at his leisure what his master dictated. If, then, any church considers this Epistle as coming from Paul, let it be commended for this, for neither did those ancient men deliver it as such without cause. But who it was that really wrote the Epistle, God only knows. The account, however, that has been current before us is, according to some, that Clement who was bishop of Rome wrote the Epistle; according to others, that it was written by Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts."

The Epistles of James and Jude are omitted; II. Peter and II. and III. John are considered doubtful. It would be erroneous to accept this as Origen's position on the Canon. The passage is found in the beginning of the fifth tome of his Commentary on St. John. He is there justifying himself for not writing more, and cites the example of some of the writers of the New Testament. To make the argument forcible, he restricts the works in the narrowest compass, and uses for this scope the occasional doubts that existed in some churches. In fact, Origen, through display of erudition, mentions there doubts which he did not personally entertain. There was no need of a complete list of the writers, and he has not drawn up a complete list. He took the more prominent. It is evident that it was not his intention to enumerate all the books of the New Testament.

Origen quoted II. Peter in his XII. Homily on Exodus, 4: "I know that it is written: 'For of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage.'" II. Pet. II. 19.

Again in Hom. IV. on Levit. 4: "And again Peter saith: 'Ye are become partakers of the divine nature.'" II. Pet. I. 4.

Hom. XIII. on Num. 8: "— *as the Scripture saith* in a certain place: '— the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet.'" II. Pet. II. 16.

Origen reveals his personal opinion of the Epistle of Jude in Comment, in Math. Tom. X. 17: "And Jude wrote an Epistle, of few verses, indeed, but full of efficacious words of divine grace; which he begins by saying: 'Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ, brother of James.'" Nevertheless, Origen was

not ignorant that some doubted of this Epistle, and he takes account of this doubt in op. cit. Tom. XVII.: "If any one receives also the Epistle of Jude, let him consider what follows from this doctrine, for the reason that: 'The Angels who kept not their first estate, but left their first habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.'" Jude, I. 6.

In this citation Origen simply shows his comprehensive knowledge of the thought of his day. He received the Epistle, but in arguing therefrom, he had to take into consideration that its authority would not have equal weight with all. It required a great deal in those days to secure for a book immunity from doubt; a slight cause was sufficient to raise some doubt, which "*crescebat eundo*," concerning some of the minor books of the Testament.

Equally certain are Origen's views on St. James' Epistle. In Hom. VIII. in Exod. 4, he says: "But the Apostle James says: 'A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways.'" James, I. 8.

In Hom. II. in Levit. 4: "Thus saith Holy Scripture: '—who converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.'" James, V. 20.

In Hom. XIII. in Genesim, 2, Origen likens the books of the New Testament to the wells which Isaac and his servants dug, and he places James and Jude in the number. In this simile, Isaac represents the Lord. The servants of Isaac represent the other authors of the New Testament: "Isaac, therefore, dug new wells; the servants of Isaac dug new wells also. The servants of Isaac are Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. His servants are Peter, James and Jude, and also Paul, for they all dug the wells of the New Testament."

Upon this data we believe that Origen's Canon is that which he makes known to us in his Seventh Homily on the Book of Joshua, I, wherein he compares the authors of the New Testament to Joshua and the priests who besieged Jericho: "The Lord Jesus Christ, of whom that first Joshua was a type, coming, sends priests, his Apostles bearing trumpets of rams' horns, the grand and heavenly doctrine of the Gospel. Matthew sounded first the sacerdotal trumpet in his Gospel; Mark follows; then Luke and John blow their proper trumpets. Peter sends forth blasts from the trumpets of his *two Epistles*; James and Jude do likewise. John joins in with the trumpet-blast of his *Epistles* and Apocalypse, and Luke

with the Acts of the Apostles. And lastly comes he who said: 'For I think that God hath set forth us, the Apostles, the least of men,' and thundering through the trumpets of his *fourteen* Epistles completely overthrows the engines of idolatry and the dogmas of the philosophers."

In ascribing a plurality of Epistles to John, the Second and Third of his Epistles are virtually approved, for they are inseparably linked together in their history.

Origen is not here formulating a new theory. He is there the oracle of two centuries of Catholic belief and practice.

The place in the Catholic Church which the Holy Books had acquired in Origen's time, they have retained ever since.

The sporadic doubts which in the course of the centuries arose and fell, availed naught to shake their credit in the Church. The books were a part of the mighty life of the Church, and the occasional doubts of individuals only served to bring out more clearly the doctrine which was the same from the beginning.

The documents which we shall henceforth adduce will be chosen out of the universal testimony of tradition, on account of their special bearing on the deuterocanonical books.

DIONYSIUS THE GREAT, the disciple of Origen, cites the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work of Paul. He employs the Epistle of James (Fragment on Luke XXII.), and recognizes the First and Second Epistles of John. (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VII. 25.)

METHODIUS OF TYR, cites the Apocalypse as inspired by Christ, and makes the Epistle to the Hebrews equal to the other Epistles of Paul. (Conviv. Or. I. 5; Or. VIII. 4.)

Eusebius of Caesarea, who was a diligent searcher into the traditions and documents of his times, has treated the question of the Canon of the New Testament *ex professo* in his Hist. Eccles. III. 25:

"This appears also to be the proper place, to give a summary statement of the books of the New Testament already mentioned. And here, among the first, must be placed the holy Quaternity of the Gospels; these are followed by the book of the Acts of the Apostles; after this must be mentioned the Epistles of Paul, which are followed by the acknowledged First Epistle of John, as also the First of Peter, to be admitted in like manner. After these, are to be placed, if proper, the Revelation of John, concerning which we shall offer the different opinions in due time. These, then, are acknowledged genuine. Among the disputed books, although they are well

known and approved by many, are reputed, that called the Epistle of James and that of Jude. Also the 'Second Epistle of Peter,' and those called "The Second and Third of John," whether they are of the Evangelist or of some other of the same name. Among the spurious must be numbered, both the books called 'The Acts of Paul,' and that called 'Pastor,' and 'The Revelation of Peter.' Beside these, the books called 'The Epistle of Barnabas,' and what are called 'The Institutions of the Apostles.' Moreover, as I said before, if it should appear right, "The Revelation of John," which some, as before said, reject, but others rank among the genuine. But there are also some who number among these, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have received Christ are particularly delighted. These may be said to be all concerning which there is any dispute. We have, however, necessarily subjoined here a catalogue of these also, in order to distinguish those that are true, genuine, and well authenticated writings, from those others which are not only not embodied in the Canon, but likewise disputed, notwithstanding that they are recognized by most ecclesiastical writers.

Thus we may have it in our power to know both these books, and those that are adduced by the heretics under the name of the Apostles, such, viz., as compose the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, and Matthew, and others beside them, or such as contain the Acts of the Apostles by Andrew, and John, and others, of which no one of those writers in the ecclesiastical succession has condescended to make any mention in his works; and, indeed, the character of the style itself is very different from that of the Apostles, and the sentiments, and the purport of those things that are advanced in them, deviating as far as possible from sound orthodoxy, evidently proves that they are the fictions of heretical men; whence they are to be ranked not only among the spurious writings, but are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious."

Eusebius has not passed definite judgment on the question of the Canon. As a faithful historian he records the historical status of the books. The echo of the doubts which had their origin in the preceding ages could not be stilled except by the authoritative voice of the Church.

Eusebius arranges the books in three classes. First came τὰ ὁμολογούμενα, the books of which no one ever doubted. These are the four Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles of Paul, the I.

of Peter, the I. of John, and, if one judges well, (εἰ φανεῖη) the Apocalypse. It is evident that Eusebius includes the Epistle to the Hebrews in Paul's Epistles, since it was universally known in his day, and he places it in no other class. Moreover, in lib. cit. III. he had declared "that the fourteen Epistles of Paul were manifestly known to all."

The second class is made up of the ἀντιλεγόμενα, γνώριμα δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, the books which had been doubted of by some, but received by the many. These are the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, II. Peter, and II. and III. of John.

The third class he calls spurious, νόθα, composed of the Acts of Paul, Pastor, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and, if it seems well, the Apocalypse of John. In an inferior place he ranges the impious books, the inventions of heretics.

This document contains not so much the present status of the books, as their past history; Eusebius fills the role of a chronicler, not a critic.

The peculiar position of the Apocalypse is the effect of the causes before mentioned. Up to the middle of the third century, the work had been received by all. In virtue of this universal acceptance Eusebius gives it its place among the books of the first Canon. The rise of the Millenarian heresy drew opposition upon the book. Its mysterious sense was abused by the Millenarians; and the defenders of the faith, being hard pressed, began by casting doubt upon the authenticity of the book, and later, upon its divine character. Hence, some rejected the book as spurious. As Eusebius rightly says, it was accepted by all in one period of history; it was rejected by some in another. He does not decide the issue; he adduces the historical data, and allows the reader to decide.

In op. cit. Lib. 3, Eusebius speaks thus: "As to the writing of Peter, one of his Epistles called the First, is acknowledged as genuine. For this was anciently used by the ancient Fathers in their writings, as an undoubted work of the Apostle. But that which is called the Second, we have not, indeed, understood to be embodied with the sacred books, ἐνδιαθηχόν, yet as it appeared useful to many, it was studiously read with the other Scriptures."

Again, *ibid.*: "The Epistles of Paul are fourteen, all well known and beyond doubt. It should not, however, be concealed, that some have set aside the Epistle to the Hebrews,

saying, that it was disputed, as not being one of St. Paul's Epistles; but we shall in the proper place, also subjoin what has been said by those before our time respecting this Epistle."

Eusebius is inclined to magnify the importance of the individual doubts, lest he should be thought to have been ignorant of them. The fact that a book was not mentioned by many ancient Fathers, though explainable from the nature of the writing, was often taken by him as an evidence of doubt. And yet, the testimony of tradition even at his hands is most favorable to our books.

The Church of Alexandria seems to have cleared itself from all doubt in the fourth century.

ST. ATHANASIUS, its oracle in that age, thus manifests its faith: "The books of the New Testament are the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John respectively; the Acts of the Apostles; Seven Epistles, which are one of James, two of Peter, three of John and one of Jude. The Fourteen Epistles of Paul follow in this order: Romans, two to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, Hebrews, two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon. Lastly comes the Apocalypse of John.

These are the fountains of salvation, where the thirst of those who thirst for the living words is slaked. Through these alone the doctrine of faith is delivered. Let no one add to them or take from them." (Epist. Fest. XXXIX). There is an air of security in these words that indicates that the faith of the Church of Christ was back of the speaker. The Canon of Athanasius is the Canon of Trent, because the faith of the Church in whose name he spoke was the same then as when she pronounced her definitive decree.

Cyrril of Jerusalem formulates the same canon with the exclusion of the Apocalypse, (Cyrril, Cat. IV. 36). In the fourth century this book encountered severe opposition in the East, on account of its abuse by the Chiliasts.

ST. EPIPHANIUS enumerates the books of the Canon: The Four Gospels, the fourteen Epistles of Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. (Haer. 76.)

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS has the same Canon, with the exception of the Apocalypse, which is placed among the books that are not authentic. (P. G. 41, 892.)

The Canon of Amphilochius is the same. He defends the Epistle to the Hebrews against those who term it apocryphal. "It is," he says, "verily inspired."

His testimony is rather unfavorable for the Apocalypse, which he says "is judged apocryphal by the greater number." (P. G. 37, 1595-1598.)

The doubts of these doctors seem to have regarded more the authorship of the Apocalypse than its divine inspiration. It was an echo of the opinion of Dionysius the Great, who called in question not the divine character of the book, but John's authorship of it. In fact, Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa have employed the Apocalypse as divine Scripture.

The Council of Laodicea in its sixtieth Canon receives all our books except the Apocalypse of John. (Mansi II. 573.)

No clear reference is found in the works of John Chrysostom of the II. and III. of John, the II. of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse. But this is not an indication that he rejected them. It was due to the minor doctrinal importance of the four Epistles that he found no occasion to employ them, and most probably the peculiar mysterious character of the Apocalypse moved him to seek his materials from other sources.

His temper of mind always favored the literal interpretation of Scripture, and there is little in the Apocalypse that appeals to such a mind. However, Suidas in his Lexicon, at the word *Ἰωάννης* declares that St. John received the Apocalypse as canonical.

In the works of St. Ephrem we find commentaries on all the books of our Canon of the New Testament. He seems to have paid slight heed to the doubts of some concerning the Apocalypse. As St. Ephrem knew not Greek, his use of all the books is an evidence that they then existed in Syriac.

The testimony of the four great Codices is favorable to the Catholic Canon.

Codex **Σ**, of Mt. Sinai, contains all the books.

Codex B, of the Vatican, undoubtedly did contain all the books, but as it is now mutilated, a portion of Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse are wanting.

Codex A, Alexandrinus, contains all the books.

The palimpsest Codex C, of St. Ephrem, originally contained all the books.*

* An accurate description of these Codices will be given later on in this work.

The Memphitic version of Scripture contains all the books of the Catholic Canon. The Sahidic version, also, though existing now only in fragments, plainly shows that it contained the same Canon.

The same Canon is found in the Ethiopian version, and in the Armenian version. The Peschito, as it exists now in the Nestorian Church, contains not II. Peter, II. and III. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, but it is certain that St. Ephrem recognized these books, as frequent quotations from all of them are found in his works. This gives us cause to suspect that the Nestorians, after the time of St. Ephrem, expunged these books from the Canon of Scripture.

In the Western Church, as time goes on, we find continued evidences that the Catholic Canon of to-day, was then the practical Canon of the Church.

HILARY OF POITIERS cites Hebrews, and attributes it to Paul. (De Trin. IV. II.) He cites also II. Peter (De Trin. I. 17,) and the Epistle of St. James (De Trin. IV. 8.)

LUCIFER OF CAGLIARI, (†371) cites the Epistle to Hebrews, and the Epistle of Jude (De non conv. cum. Haer. 10, ed. Hartel).*

ST. AMBROSE (†397) also employs often in his works the Epistle of the Hebrews and the Epistle of Jude.

ST. PHILASTRIUS OF BRESCIA (Haeres, 88) formulates this Canon: "It has been established by the Apostles and their successors, that nothing should be read in the Catholic Church except the Law, the Prophets, the thirteen Epistles of Paul and the seven Catholic Epistles." The omission of Hebrews and the Apocalypse is due to some shade of doubt that possessed his mind at that time. In other portions of his works he characterizes as heretics those who do not receive the Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Hebrews.†

*Lucifer was Bishop of Cagliari, metropolis of Sardinia, about the middle of the fourth century. He vigorously defended Athanasius in his combat against Arianism, and for this was exiled by the Arian Emperor, Constance. In his exile, he wrote his work against Constance, whereupon the Emperor sent him into upper Egypt. After the death of Constance, he was recalled by Julian in 361. He went to Antioch where the Church was rent by the discussion between Paulinus and Meletius. He consecrated Paulinus bishop of the See and thus augmented the schism. The saddest act in his whole career was his refusal to hold communion with the Pope after his restoration of the fathers of the Council of Rimini. He had many followers who took the name of Luciferans. He died in 371 at Cagliari.

†Philaster was Bishop of Brescia in Italy, about the year 374. He was with Ambrose in the Council of Aquileia in 381. His death is placed about the year 387. In his work on heresy he reveals much piety, but there is there great lack of critique.

RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA (*Expos. Symbol.* 37) has formulated the complete Catholic Canon, and terminates his list with these words: "These are the books which the Fathers have placed in the Canon, and upon which they build our faith."

The history of the New Testament has this advantage over that of the Old Testament, that it has not St. Jerome as an adversary. The works of Jerome are vast, and his references to the New Testament many. We can only adduce here some representative passages to show forth what was his mind on our Canon. In his *Epistle to Paulinus* (*Migne Patol. Lat.* 22, 548) he has the following testimony: "I will touch briefly upon the New Testament, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the "quadriga" of the Lord and the true Cherubim. * * * Paul wrote to seven Churches: the eighth to the Hebrews is placed by many outside the Canon. He exhorts Timothy and Titus, and entreats Philemon for the fugitive slave Onesimus.

* * * The Acts of the Apostles seem to contain but dry history, and to portray the infancy of the Church, but when we know that the writer was Luke, the physician, 'whose praise was in the Gospel,' we will understand that all his words are medicine for a sick soul. James, Peter, John, and Jude wrote seven Epistles, brief but deep, in mystery, brief in words, but long in the sense, so that many stumble in the understanding of them. The Apocalypse contains as many mysteries as words. This is insufficient praise; the book is above all praise."

Though drawn in an oratorical way and somewhat lacking in precision, this list contains Jerome's views on the Canon. He receives all the books, but records the doubt concerning the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. We shall now examine a few special references in the works of Jerome to the books of the New Testament, concerning which there existed doubt.

In his treatise *de Viribus Illustribus* (*Migne Pat. L.* 23, 615) *Cap. V.*, he enumerates Paul's Epistles thus: "Paul wrote nine Epistles to seven churches, to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two, and besides two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon. The Epistle which is styled: *To the Hebrews*, is not believed to be of his authorship, on account of the difference in style and diction. By Tertullian it is ascribed to Barnabas; others attribute it to Luke the Evangelist; and some believe it to be of Clement of Rome, afterwards Pope, who, they say, was associated with Paul, and ordered and embellished Paul's teaching in his own language, or to speak more

precisely, since Paul wrote to the Hebrews, and on account of their hatred of his name, he omitted it in the salutation in the beginning. He wrote as a Hebrew in Hebrew, eloquently in his own tongue, and what was eloquently spoken in Hebrew, was more eloquently translated in Greek, and for this cause the Epistle differs from the other Epistles of Paul."

Jerome estimated the thought of the Eastern world above that of the West. The doubts concerning Hebrews were nearly all centred in the West, and moved him little. Though he is ready to adopt any plausible theory to explain the absence of the Pauline style in Hebrews, he, in no uncertain terms, vindicates to Paul the formal creation of the work. We may say in passing, that all the discussion concerning the difference between the style of Hebrews and the other Pauline Epistles, is chiefly a vanity. It seems to have originated in the fact, that somebody, once upon a time, with some display of learning, claimed to have surpassed his fellow mortals in discernment by discovering 'it. By the imitative instinct in man, others followed him, till the number became so great that men feared to go against the tide. I believe that if it differs at all, it is by being more Pauline than the others. No writer writes at all times in the same manner.

In his Epistle to Dardanus (Migne, 22, 1103), he is even more explicit in favor of the Hebrews. "The Epistle which is entitled: To the Hebrews, is received as the Epistle of Paul, not only by all the churches of the Orient, but also by all the Greek writers up to the present time; although many claim that the words were written by Barnabas or Clement. It matters not who the writer was, since he was an ecclesiastical man, and the Epistle is promulgated by the daily reading of the churches. And if the Latin usage does not receive it among the canonical Scriptures, neither do the Greek churches receive the Apocalypse with full sanction; but we receive them both, following not the usage of our time, but the authority of the old writers."

Jerome has exaggerated the doubts of the Western Church in regard to Hebrews. It was received by that Church, and the doubts were only scattering and individual. No doubt had properly invaded the corporate belief of the Church. Jerome rises above these doubts, and receives the book on the warrant of tradition and the usage of the Church. Wherever he mentions elsewhere in his works these doubts, it is simply to historically state that which he did not personally entertain.

In his Commentary on Ezechiel, VIII. (Migne, 25, 1465), he introduces a quotation from Hebrews, with the remark: "If, in receiving the Epistle, the Latin people does not reject the authority of the Greeks." I believe this to be a rhetorical figure to belittle the importance of the occasional doubts of the West. It was equivalent to saying: Against the few doubts of the West is arrayed the authority of the whole Greek world.

Jerome also records a doubt which regarded not the divine character, but the authorship of II. Peter. "Peter," he says, "wrote two Epistles which are called Catholic. The second of these is not believed to be his by many, on account of its difference from the first in style." The statement of Jerome's own views is clear enough, namely, that Peter wrote two Epistles; but it was inexact to say that many rejected the second. The doubt of Peter's authorship of the Second Epistle only existed in some Greek churches, who strove thus to justify its omission from their incomplete Canon.

In his Epistle to Hedibia, (Migne, 22, 1002) he sets at naught this doubt, and ascribes the difference in style to different amanuenses: "The two Epistles ascribed to Peter differ in tenor and style, whence we understand that he used different scribes." The opinion in itself is more of a myth than that concerning Hebrews. The two Epistles are Peter's, and Petrine.

In the before-mentioned treatise, *De Viris Illustribus*, II. (Migne, P. L. 23, 607), Jerome delivers the following testimony concerning the Epistle of James: "James, who is called the brother of the Lord, wrote one Epistle which is one of the seven Catholic Epistles. It is said that it was published under his name by another, and that gradually, with the course of time, it acquired authority." The evident reason why Jerome does not deal with the opinion which he here notices is that it left intact the divine inspiration of the book.

In op. cit. (Migne, 23, 613) he makes a similar statement respecting Jude's Epistle: "Jude, the brother of James, left a short Epistle, which is one of the Catholic Epistles. For the reason that he employs a testimony from the Apocryphal book of Henoch, it is rejected by many, but it has merited authority by its antiquity and usage (in the Church), and is reckoned among the Holy Scriptures." There is a lack of precision, a lack of critical weighing of data, in these testimonies that has drawn from the Bollandists the just declaration: "Il con-

vient le peser avec la défiance que doit inspirer un écrivain qui se montre plutôt publiciste de talent, écrivant au courant de la plume qu' historien consciencieux."

In the same work, (Migne P. L. 23, 623, 637), Jerome inserts a loose testimony concerning the Epistle of St. John: " John * * * has written one Epistle which is approved by all the ecclesiastical writers and learned men. The two others are attributed to John the Ancient, of whom they show the tomb at Ephesus, distinct from that of the Apostle, although others believe that both monuments belong to the Evangelist." As we have said before, these theories in the mind of Jerome left intact the divinity of the books. He separated the authorship of the books from their inspiration. He accepted their inspiration on the warrant of the Church; the other question interested him but little. He was willing to record every legend concerning it, and suspend judgment. Much of Jerome's erudition is crude and undigested.

Traces of the last mentioned opinion of Jerome are found in the DECREE OF GELASIUS. That decree contains all the books of the Catholic Canon, although the II. and III. of John are in some manuscripts ascribed to John the Ancient. Its evidential force is independent of this detail, for it plainly receives all the books as divine Scripture.

THE CANON OF POPE INNOCENT sent to Exuperius is identical with the Canon of the Council of Trent.

We have before adduced the Canon of ST. AUGUSTINE (Christian Doctrine, Chap. VIII.) which also is identical with that of the Council of Trent. He was not ignorant of the scattering doubts in the Western church. " The Epistle to the Hebrews," he says " has been doubted by some; but I prefer to follow the authority of the Eastern churches which receive it as canonical." (Migne, P. L. 44, 137).

The authority of St. Augustine is not shaken by the least shadow of doubt. He received all the books as divinely inspired Scripture.

The three African Councils held in 393, 397, and 419, formulated a canon identical in substance with that of the Council of Trent.

In the writings of representative men of the churches of Gaul and Spain of that period, we always find evidences of the complete Canon. Thus we see that at the end of the fourth century, all the great churches of the world possessed complete Canons. Some of the books had entered into their estate

easier than others, but the energy of the divine character finally placed there those which, considered from a doctrinal standpoint, were unimportant.

It is needless to attempt to record the data of the following centuries in favor of these books. The whole Christian world was unanimous in adopting them. The Syriac Version made in the sixth century contains them all. The Council in Trullo which is authority for the Greeks approved them all. In the West, the Bible of Cassiodorus contains all the books. The great doctors of the Latin Church are unanimous in receiving the complete Canon. In fact the complete Canon enjoyed a period of undisturbed peace up to the fifteenth century.

We have before mentioned the peculiar views on the Canon held by John of Salisbury. His views on the New Testament are also bizarre. "The Epistles of Paul," he says, "are fifteen, comprised in one volume, although the common and almost universal opinion, is that there are only fourteen, ten to the churches, and four to individuals, if the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be enumerated with the Epistles of Paul, which the doctor of doctors, Jerome, endeavors to prove in his Preface, where he refutes the cavils of those who contended that it was not of Paul. The fifteenth is that written to the Church at Laodicea, and although, as Jerome says, it is rejected by all, nevertheless it was written by the Apostle. Neither is this judgment founded on the opinion of others, but rests on the testimony of the Apostle who makes mention of such Epistle, in his Epistle to the Colossians."

The uncritical mind of Salisbury failed to advert that his argument does not conclude. Paul wrote a letter to the Church at Laodicea, but that fact can not be alleged to prove that the letter of which Salisbury spoke was that letter of Paul. Salisbury had no followers, his opinion died with him.

Toward the middle of the fifteenth century POPE EUGENE IV., in his Bull of Union with the Jacobites, enumerated the complete Canon of all our books as the Holy Scriptures. The definition awakened no word of discussion, for it was but promulgating in official form what the whole Christian world believed.

In the general upheaval of the settled status of things, which came with the great apostasy of the sixteenth century, doubt and error also invaded the thought of the age concerning Holy Scripture.

In the first edition of his Greek New Testament, which he dedicated to Leo X., Erasmus outlined certain doubts con-

cerning the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, II. Peter, II. and III. John, and the Apocalypse. The faculty of the Sorbonne rose up against him and censured him. One must confess, however, that the arguments of the Sorbonne are not conclusive, and their action inconsiderate.

Erasmus protested that he held to the divinity of the books; he only doubted of the authors. "There has always been doubt," he says, "regarding the author of Hebrews; and I confess candidly that I doubt yet." The faculty responded by affixing to the opinion the note of temerity and schism. Erasmus appealed to history. "Doubt was entertained for a long time," he says, "regarding the Apocalypse, not by heretics, but by orthodox men, who, though uncertain of the author, received the book as coming from the Holy Ghost." Though Erasmus adduces here a fact, he does not deal justly thereby. The mere fact that certain scattering doubts arose in some churches concerning the author of this book, was not sufficient data to cast a doubt upon its author. The Sorbonne would have acted more wisely in pointing out the weakness of the great humanist's position, than in condemning him in toto for that which was more against a sound critique than against faith.

Erasmus at length sent to the faculty the following response, which does honor to the man: "According to the mind of man, I believe not that the Epistle to the Hebrews is of Paul, or of Luke, nor that II. Peter is of the Apostle, nor the Apocalypse of John. * * * Only this doubt holds my mind, whether the Church receives the titles of the books, so that she not only bids us hold as infallible what is written in the books, but also commands us to hold as infallible that the books came from the authors whose names they bear. If she has canonized the titles, I renounce my doubt. A clear judgment of the Church moves me more than all the arguments of men."

Issues are mixed here. The Church has certainly canonized some titles, and some she has not. But regarding the books of which Erasmus spoke, the mind of the Church is now clear, since she mentioned them in the decree of Trent as belonging to their respective authors.

The most notable opposition to the antilegomena in this period came from Cajetan.*

*Thomas de Vio is surnamed Cajetanus, from the village of Gaeta or Cajeta, in the old kingdom of Naples where he was born on the 20th of February, 1469. At the age of fifteen, he entered the Dominican order. He

We have before reviewed his position on the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. His views on the antilegomena are focalized in the following statement: "From these and other words of Jerome, the prudent reader will know that

studied theology at Bologna, and made brilliant progress in the sacred sciences. He took the degree of doctor of theology in a general assembly of the order held at Ferrara, in 1494. He taught theology for some years at Brescia, Pavia, and at Rome. In 1500 he was made procurator general; and in 1508, General of the Order by the express recommendation of Julius II. In 1517 he was created Cardinal by Leo X., and soon after was sent by the Pope into Germany to move the Emperor Maximilian against the Turks, and to make head against Luther. In the latter project, he was entirely unsuccessful. In fact it seems unfortunate that Cajetan should have been selected for this mission. He was but the echo of the excessively elaborate speculativism of the scholastics. It required living thought, the comprehension by a master mind of the peculiar causes that were influencing men's minds, to stop the tide of that dreadful sea which broke over Europe through the breach made by Luther's defection. A man like Philip Neri would have accomplished more by his clear call to the supernatural, than the subtle dialectician.

In 1519 Cajetan was made Bishop of Gaeta. After several other missions in state affairs, in 1523 he fixed his domicile at Rome, and devoted his life to the study of theology and the Holy Scriptures. In dogmatic theology, Cajetan was an absolute "Thomist"; in Scripture, an absolute "Jeromist." This led to a sort of disdain for all the resources of sacred science outside the writings of these alone. This led him to enunciate many strange and dangerous opinions, especially in regard to the Scriptures. There is in his works a certain display of arrogance in the way he essays to solve every question by his intellection of these two doctors.

In 1527 Rome was taken by the army of the Emperor, and Cajetan was made prisoner. He regained his liberty only by a ransom of fifty thousand Roman crowns. The remaining years of his life were consecrated to study till his death in 1534.

Cajetan is undoubtedly the greatest commentator on the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas. This is also the greatest of his works. He commented all the Old Testament except the *Cantic of Canticles* and the *Prophets*. He has a commentary on the first three chapters of *Isaiah*. He commented all the New Testament except the *Apocalypse*. His method was to bring out the literal sense, and for this cause he declared himself unable to explain the *Apocalypse*. Cajetan's disregard for the Fathers, Jerome excepted, appears in his statement that one may hold that which is not contrary to the express doctrine of the Church, even "against a torrent of holy doctors." (*Praef. in Lib. Moysis.*) It would be better to deny even the supposition of Cajetan on this point.

The Dominican Catharinus moved the Sorbonne to censure sixteen propositions taken from Cajetan's commentaries on the Gospels. After Cajetan's death the same Catharinus wrote a work filled with bitter criticism and severe accusations against him.

Melchior Canus also attacks Cajetan in his celebrated work *De Locis Theologicis*. He has been defended by Sixtus Sennensis, and by Richard Simon. Though the errors of Cajetan were not formal, it must be held in truth that his works on Scripture are defective in many places, and his temper of mind is far from laudable.

Jerome was not absolutely certain of the author of this Epistle, and since we have taken Jerome for our rule, lest we should err in the discernment of the canonical books, and those which he delivered to be canonical, we hold canonical, and those which he cut off from the Canon, we place outside the Canon ; therefore, from the fact that the author of this Epistle is doubtful with Jerome, the Epistle becomes doubtful, for if it be not of Paul, it is not clear that it is canonical. Wherefore, from the authority of this Epistle alone, questions of faith cannot be decided."

Regarding Jude's Epistle he says: "From which things (the statements of St. Jerome) it appears that the Epistle is inferior in authority to Holy Scripture." He repeats in effect this statement in regard to II. and III. John and the Epistle of James. He says naught of the Apocalypse, but he defended the canonicity of II. Peter. In regard to this Epistle, there was no choice between authenticity and a literary forgery, for the author claims to be Peter. (II. Peter, I. 1). Cajetan shrank from characterizing a book, which the Church had used for centuries, as a literary fraud.

In examining the testimonies of Cajetan, we find him more of a "Jeromist" than Jerome himself. Jerome had noted certain doubts regarding the antilegomena, but he had never admitted that the books were of doubtful inspiration. The great doctor rightly separated the question of authorship from that of divinity. He incidentally mentioned doubts regarding the former question, the other question with him was fixed and sure. It is a lamentable lack of logic in Cajetan's reasoning to say, that if the author of a book be uncertain, the book itself is of inferior authority. The two questions were distinct in Jerome's time, and in Cajetan's time.

The prerogative given to Jerome by Cajetan in the matter of the Canon is absurd. The Church, and the Church alone merits such authority. The whole testimony is like much that Cajetan wrote, an intense expression of himself. He had a perfect confidence in his heroes and himself, he cared little for what other men thought.

It is generally stated that the opinion of Cajetan was one of the disposing causes, which drew from the Church the defined Canon of the Scriptures. The protestants had already set forth similar views in Germany. The great credit of Cajetan would tend to draw Catholics towards the new opinions. The juncture had come for the Church to act, and she in her Decree of Trent, spoke the faith which she had held from the beginning: "The books of the New Testament are

the four Gospels, of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John : the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke : the fourteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, viz., Romans, two to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, one to Philemon, and one to the Hebrews ; two Epistles of Peter the Apostle, three Epistles of John the Apostle, one of James the Apostle, one of Jude the Apostle, and the Apocalypse of John the Apostle. If any man will not receive as sacred and canonical all these books entire, with all their parts, as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they exist in the old Latin Edition of the Vulgate, * * * * let him be anathema." (Council of Trent, Sess. IV.)

In the Council of Trent, the discussion of the Canon of the New Testament was less extensive and intense, than that which had come upon the Canon of the Old Testament. Not a voice opposed the canonicity of the antilegomena of the New Testament ; Luther and his supporters were recognized as their sole opponents.

Regarding the last verses of the Gospel of Mark ; Luke's account of the sweat of the Lord in Gethsemani ; and the section relating to the adulteress in the Gospel of John, some discussion was moved. Cardinal Pacheco demanded in the general assembly of the Council on the 27th of March, that these portions should be expressly indicated in the decree. Cajetan had placed that the final verses of Mark were of less authority in matters of faith. (Mark. XVI. 9—20.)

The Fathers believed that it was inopportune to even notice the doubts concerning these passages. The question was put to vote whether express mention should be made of these passages, and it was decided in the negative by thirty-four votes against seventeen. Some discussion followed till finally the point raised by Pacheco was safeguarded by the clause : "the books *with all their parts*."

The next point of discussion regarded the authors of the books.

The question was submitted : Whether the books should be received together with the authors. Forty-four of the assembly voted on the 1st of April, that the authors should be received as well as the books.

In consequence of this the schema was modified, so that the author of every book of the New Testament is most clearly mentioned with the respective books. Hence the question which had been open up to that time was settled. The Council fixed the canonicity and authorship of the books.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF THE SECTS.

The Canon of the schismatic Greek Church, is the same as that of the Roman Catholic Church.

In Syria, the Nestorians receive only the Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Epistles of Paul, I. Peter, I. John, and the Epistle of James. Ebed Jesu, the Nestorian Metropolitan of Nisibe, (†1318), does not mention the four shorter Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse in his catalogue of the New Testament.

The schismatic Armenians receive all our books, and add two letters of the Corinthians to Paul, and Paul's response.

The Ethiopian Canon contains all the books, and adds the Apostolical Constitutions.

Calvin and his sect received the full Canon.

The Anglican Church also received all the books of the Catholic Canon.

In the Lutheran Church there was much fluctuation of opinion. Luther had doubted of the Epistles of James, Jude, Hebrews and the Apocalypse; his followers went farther, and rejected II. Peter, and II. and III. John. But the Lutherans were not constant in this opinion. The lack of support of the other sects, and the feebleness of their position brought it about that Bossuet was able to write in 1700 to Leibnitz: "*Nous convenons tous ensemble, protestants et catholiques, également des mêmes livres du Nouveau Testament; car je ne crois pas que personne voulût suivre encore les emportements de Luther contre l'Épître de saint Jacques. Passons donc une même canonicité à tous ces livres, contestés autrefois ou non contestés: après cela, Monsieur, permettez-moi de vous demander si vous voulez affaiblir l'autorité ou de l'Épître aux Hébreux, si haute, si théologique, si divine, ou celle de l'Apocalypse, ou reluit l'esprit prophétique avec autant de magnificence que dans Isaïe et dans Daniel?*"

The Lutherans had abandoned their theory, but in many of their Bibles the preface of Luther was long after printed. It is for this cause that Richard Simon ridicules them for such an apparent contradiction. Finally, these prefaces were expunged, and the opinions of their founder on this point consigned to oblivion.

The rise of rationalism has changed the estate of the books of both Testaments in the protestant church. It is now no longer a question of the divinity of any particular book, but belief in the divinity of the whole collection is fast dying in all the sects.

CHAPTER XV.

THE APOCRYPHAL AND LOST BOOKS OF BOTH TESTAMENTS.

The radical signification of apocryphal, *ἀπόκρυφος* from *ἀποκρύπτειν*, is that of hidden.

Cornely believes that the application of the term to scriptural writings came from the custom of the Greeks of preserving the *ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία* in the temples of the gods. These books, they fabled, had come to them from the gods; hence, the later imposters, according to his opinion, feigned a mysterious origin for their productions, which thus were styled apocryphal. His arguments to prove this theory are very feeble.

In our judgment the first signification of the term as applied to our books, was to denote that the origin and authorship of the book were unknown. By its etymological force, it would extend to all books of unknown authorship. But language is a living growth, and can not be bound by etymology.

The books which, though of an uncertain author, were certainly of an inspired author, were thus preserved immune from this appellation. So that the term became exclusively applied to books, whose *real character* was *hidden*.

At all events the use of the term to-day is to signify a book which by its title seems to lay claim to divinity, but which has no sufficient data to substantiate this claim. Perhaps we could not better the definition of Origen: "Books which were produced under the names of the saints (biblical personages), but which are outside the Canon."

Not all the Apocrypha are of the same character. Some are impious; others are composed of legends and pious reflections intended for the edification of the faithful.

The Apocrypha are of two great classes, those of the Old Testament, and those of the New. We know from the testimonies of the Fathers that a vast multitude of Apocrypha existed in the early ages of the Church. The pious fictions of Christians, the fictions of the Jews, and the forgeries of the heretics conspired to augment the number.

The first official enumeration of the Apocrypha is in the following Canon of Gelasius, sanctioned in a council at Rome in 495-496.

List of apocryphal books which are not received :

- The Itinerary under name of Peter the Apostle, which is entitled of Clement, eight books, apocryphal.
- The Acts of Andrew the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Acts of Thomas the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Acts of Peter the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Acts of Philip the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Acts of Thaddaeus the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Gospel of Thaddaeus, apocryphal.
- The Gospel of Mathias, apocryphal.
- The Gospel of Peter the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Gospel of James the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Gospel of Barnabas, apocryphal.
- The Gospel of Thomas, used by the Manicheans, apocryphal.
- The Gospel of Bartholomew the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Gospel of Andrew the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Gospel corrupted by Lucian, apocryphal.
- The Book of the Infancy of the Saviour, apocryphal.
- The Gospels corrupted by Hesychius, apocryphal.
- The Book of the Nativity of the Lord and Mary and the Wise Woman, apocryphal.
- The Book called Pastor, apocryphal.
- All the books made by Lucius, the disciple of the devil, apocryphal.
- The Book called The Foundation, apocryphal.
- The Book called The Treasure, apocryphal.
- The Book of the Daughters of Adam, or the Little Genesis, apocryphal.
- The Book called the Acts of Thecla and Paul, apocryphal.
- The Book called of Nepos, apocryphal.
- The Book of Proverbs, written by heretics, and circulated under the name of S. Sixtus, apocryphal.
- The Apocalypse, which bears the name of Paul the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Apocalypse which bears the name of Thomas the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Apocalypse which bears the name of Stephen the Apostle, apocryphal.
- The Book called "Transitus", that is the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, apocryphal.
- The Book called the Penance of Adam, apocryphal.
- The Book of Ogias, who is supposed by the heretics to have combated with the dragon after the deluge, apocryphal.
- The Book called the Testament of Job, apocryphal.
- The Book called the Penance of Origen, apocryphal.
- The Book called the Penance of St. Cyprian, apocryphal.
- The Book called the Penance of Jamne and Mambre, apocryphal.
- The Book called The Lots of the Holy Apostles, apocryphal.
- The Book called The Praise of the Apostles, apocryphal.
- The Book called The Canon of the Apostles, apocryphal.
- The Letter of Jesus to King Abgar, apocryphal.
- The Letter of Abgar to Jesus, apocryphal.
- The Book called The Contradiction of Solomon, apocryphal. (Mansi. Coll. Conc. Tom. VIII.

A minor list of apocryphal books appears in the works of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (†828).

Psalms and Canticles of Solomon, 2100 verses.
 Apocalypse of Peter, 300 verses.
 Epistle of Barnabas, 1360 verses.
 Gospel according to the Hebrews, 2200 verses.
 Henoch, 4800 verses.
 The Patriarchs, 5100 verses.
 The Prayer of Joseph, 1100 verses.
 The Testament of Moses, 1100 verses.
 The Assumption of Moses, 1400 verses.
 Abraham, 300 verses.
 Eldad and Modad, 400 verses.
 Elias, the Prophet, 316 verses.
 Sophonias, the Prophet, 600 verses.
 Zachary, the father of John, 500 verses.
 Baruch, Habacuc, Ezechiel, and Daniel, Pseudepigrapha.
 The Itinerary of Peter, 2750 verses.
 The Itinerary of John, 2600 verses.
 The Itinerary of Thomas, 1700 verses.
 The Gospel of Thomas, 1300 verses.
 The Doctrine of the Apostles, 200 verses.
 The I. and II. Epistle of Clement, 2600 verses.
 Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Pastor of Hermas.—(Opusc. Hist. ed. Boor).

A list of Apocryphal books published from different manuscripts by Montfaucon, Cotelier, Hody and Pitra contains the following :

Adam.	Apocalypse of Ezra.
Henoch.	History of James.
Lamech.	Apocalypse of Peter.
Patriarchs.	Voyage and Doctrine of the Apostles.
Prayer of Joseph.	Epistle of Barnabas.
Eldad and Modad.	Acts of Paul.
Testament of Moses.	Apocalypse of Paul.
Assumption of Moses.	Doctrine of Clement.
Psalms of Solomon.	Doctrine of Ignatius.
Apocalypse of Elias.	Doctrine of Polycarp.
Vision of Elias.	Gospel of Barnabas.
Vision of Isaias.	Gospel of Matthew.
Apocalypse of Sophonias.	
Apocalypse of Zachary.	

(Pitra Jur. Eccles. Graec. Hist.)

It is not within the scope of our work to give an extended notice upon all these Apocryphal books. We shall only speak of those of greater importance in the bearing upon the Holy Scriptures. We shall first speak of those which the Church permitted to be printed outside the Canon in the Vulgate.

Outside the Canonical books in the edition, of the Vulgate, are found the third and fourth Books of Ezra, and the Prayer of Manasses.

The Third Book of Ezra, sometimes called "Ezra Graecus", is largely made up of passages taken literally from the Canonical I. Ezra and II. Chronicles. It has only the third, fourth, and six first verses of the fifth chapter original. In many codices of the Greek text, it precedes the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemias, which are comprised in one volume. It also occupies the same place in the old versions derived from the Suptuagint.

Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Prosper have quoted the third and fourth chapters, but the quotations are scattering, and feeble in mode of enunciation. It gradually lost credit, till after the fifth century it disappears in the recorded use of Scripture in the Church.

The book was not absolutely rejected by the Church in the Council of Trent, and she permits its reading. There would be no difficulty in approving its portions wherein it accords with the aforesaid canonical books, but there are internal defects in its original chapters in point of doctrine, which will probably forever prevent it from entering upon the estate of canonical books.

Though less entitled to credit than the former, the FOURTH BOOK OF EZRA had more influence on early traditions. It was upon the data of this book that the role of Ezra as promulgator of the Canon was founded.

Up to the eighteenth century, the Greek text of the book was not known, and the Latin text alone was in the possession of the world.

Since then Whiston published a translation of the Arabic text (*Primitive Christianity Revived*, London, 1711); Ewald, in 1863, published the Arabic text; Lawrence, in 1820, published the Ethiopian text; Ceriani published, in 1860, a Latin translation of the Syriac text; and the Armenian Bibles of Venice, 1805, contain the Armenian translation.

These show that the Latin work has suffered mutilations and interpolations. The aforesaid versions do not contain the two first and two last chapters of the text as found in the Latin, and they insert a long passage between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth verses of the seventh chapter. It is evident from the context, and the references of the Fathers, that these versions are more in accord with the original.

The original book consisted of seven visions, in which the last judgment is said to impend, and men are exhorted to prepare for it. The original work seems to have been the work

of a Jew, writing soon after the fall of Jerusalem. The first two chapters and also the last two are, doubtless, the interpolation of a Christian.

Aside from the influence that the book had in the traditional role of Ezra, the only certain evidence that the book was known to the Greek Fathers, is in Strom. III. 16, of Clement of Alexandria :

IV. Ezra V. 35.

Clem. Strom. III. 16.

“And I said : ‘Why, O Lord ? For what was I born ? or why did not the womb of my mother become my tomb, that I might not see the affliction of Jacob and the travail of my people, Israel ?’ ”

“ ‘Why was not the womb of my mother my tomb, that I might not see the affliction of Jacob, and the tribulation of Israel,’ saith Ezra, the Prophet.”

Among the Latin Fathers, Ambrose often quotes it as Scripture.

The Latin Church also has incorporated certain passages from it into its Liturgy.

IV. Ezra II. 37.

Introit of Feria III. after Pentecost.

“Commendatum donum accipite et jucundamini, gratias agentes ei, qui vos ad coelestia regna vocavit.”

“Accipite jucunditatem gloriae vestrae, alleluja ; gratias agentes Deo, alleluja ; qui vos ad coelestia regna vocavit.”

In the Sixth Responsorium in the Office of the Apostles, we find the following :

IV. Ezra II. 45.

“Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt, et immortalem sumpserunt, et confessi sunt nomen Dei ; Modo coronantur, et accipiunt palmas.”

“Isti sunt triumphatores et amici Dei, qui contemnentes, jussa principum meruerunt prae-mia aeterna : modo, coronantur et accipiunt palmam.”

IV. Ezra II. 35.

Responsorium IV. of Paschal Office of Martyrs.

“Parati estote ad praemia regni, quia lux perpetua lucebit vobis per aeternitatem temporis.”

“Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis tuis, Domine, et aeternitas temporum.”

These extrinsic data for the approbation of the book, in no wise, effect an argument in its favor. It never entered into the sacred literature of the Church. I found only this one reference in Clement's works, and it is not strange that he should have given some notice to the book ; for he browsed on every

pasture where he could feed his hunger for knowledge. Ambrose is more pious than critical, and the visions of the pseudo Ezra pleased him.

The reception of a passage into Missal or Breviary adds but little to its historical claim to authenticity. Both Missal and Breviary could very profitably be revised again. Moreover, the passages quoted are in themselves true, and well expressed, and appropriate to the theme for which used.

Although the book is not absolutely condemned by the Church, it is certainly not of divine origin. In fact, it is not free from doctrinal errors regarding the state of the souls after death, and contains many rabbinic fables.

We know upon the authority of II. Chronicles XXXIII. 12, 18, that Menasseh, son of Ezechias, when a captive in Babylon in punishment for his sins, was moved to penance, and prayed to God. But we have no means of knowing whether the prayer of Menasseh of the Latin Vulgate, be that authentic prayer. There is very little in its favor; the work is unimportant, and it probably will always remain one of the unsettled points of history.

In editions of the Greek text of the Old Testament, we find the CLI. Psalm attributed to David. St. Athanasius (Epist. ad Marcell. 15) and Euthemius (In Ps. Proem.) regarded it as authentic. The import of the Psalm is to celebrate David's victory over Goliath. It was never received in the Latin version, but it has place in the Ethiopian, Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic. It is not lacking in grace of thought and diction, but no good authority warrants its inspiration.

In some good codices of the Septuagint, Eighteen Psalms are found entitled *Ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ Σαλομῶντος*. They were unknown in the West, till De la Cerda in 1626, published them from a Codex of Constantinople, which had been brought into Germany. The burden of the Psalms is the fallen estate of Israel, and the cry for the Messiah. It is evident that the original was Hebrew or Aramaic. As it is natural for parents to love their children, De la Cerda stoutly advocated the cause of his work, claiming that these Psalms were either of Solomon or some one who, with pious intent, wrote in Solomon's name. But the very nature of the argument precludes the authorship of Solomon. Under him Israel, reached the zenith of her glory. They were probably written by some Jew, after Israel had begun to suffer the subjugation of foreign foes.

In the Alexandrian, Sinaitic, and other good codices, there is found a work which is known as the Third Book of Macca-

bees. It narrates a persecution of the Alexandrine Jews by Ptolemy IV., Philopator. Other history is silent concerning this persecution. The book is in no way connected with the Maccabees or their history, and seems to have acquired its name from its position immediately after the books of Maccabees. The Eighty-fifth Canon of the Apostles enumerates it among the canonical books, and it finds an occasional mention from some anonymous or obscure Greek writer, but it is but little known in the West, and never found its way into a Latin codex. Its apocryphal character is an assured fact.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is a sort of essay to prove that reason should rule the movements of the soul. It appeals to the history of Eleazar, and the seven martyr sons of the woman mentioned in II. Maccabees. It is evident from a marked similarity that the author used the second book of Maccabees in the construction of his work. Eusebius, Jerome, and Philostorgius attribute the work to Flavius Josephus. The book obtained some slight recognition from Gregory Nanz. and Ambrose, but there is nothing either extrinsic or intrinsic to found its divinity. In fact, it seems to favor the errors of the Stoics and other errors, and is placed as apocryphal by all.

We mention now in the second class, the apocryphal books to which allusions are said by some to be found in the New Testament. The most notable of these is the Book of Henoch.

In Gen. V. 24, it is said of Henoch that he walked with God. This expression was interpreted to mean not only that he led a godly life, but also that he had been vouchsafed the privilege of divine intercourse, and of receiving divine revelations. Jewish antiquity regarded him therefore as a prophet, equally familiar with heavenly things and the future fortunes of the human race. These views of his character gave occasion for attributing to Henoch the apocryphal writing which constitutes one of the principal monuments of the apocalyptic literature of later Judaism. This *Book of Henoch* was much used by Jewish and Christian writers in the following centuries, but was subsequently almost entirely lost—a few fragments only having been preserved in the chronography of Georgios Synkellos—till re-discovered in the last century in an Ethiopic translation. James Bruce, in 1773, brought back two MSS. into Europe, to which some others have been subsequently added. Silvestre de Sacy was the first to publish, in 1800, some particulars concerning the contents of this writing. (*Magasin Encyclop.* VI. I. 382 seqq.). Lawrence was

the first to edit an English translation (*The Book of Enoch, an Apocryphal Production*, &c., Oxford, 1821, 2d ed. 1833, 3rd ed. 1838), followed by the original Ethiopic text from Bruce's manuscripts (*Libri Enoch Versio Aethiopica*, Oxford, 1838). A German translation, with learned introduction and continuous commentary, was published by Prof. A. G. Hoffmann in Jena (*Das Buch Henoch in vollständiger deutscher Uebersetzung*, &c., 2 Theile, Leipzig, 1833-1838). The first part is translated from the English, but the second is based likewise on the Frankfort manuscript of the Ethiopic text. The Latin version of Gfrörer, made from the English and German translations, is of no value (*Prophetæ veteres pseudepigraphi*, Stuttgart, 1840). The best edition of the Ethiopic text is that of Dillmann, who made use of five manuscripts (*Liber Henoch Aethiopice*, Leipzig, 1851). Of the improved text thus obtained, Dillmann published another German translation with critical introduction and copious commentary (*Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1853). The Ethiopic version was not made immediately from the Hebrew original, but from the Greek. There is no reason to doubt its substantial fidelity, though it not unfrequently differs from the Greek text of fragments preserved elsewhere, one at least of which is not to be found in the Ethiopic text. The whole work as it now lies before us, is divided into five books, but closer investigation makes it evident that this text has passed through various hands, and is a composite work. It has been assumed by various critics that we have before us a collection of several books of Enoch independent one of another. This hypothesis, however, is untenable; we must, on the contrary, assume the existence of an original document, which at different times was enriched with additions from various sources. The critical treatment of the book has occupied, besides de Sacy, Lawrence, and Hoffmann, the following scholars, whose labors deserve a special mention here: Ernst Krieger [Lützelberger] (in the *Beiträge zur Kritik und Exegese*, Nürnberg, 1845), Lücke (*Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*, 2d ed. Bonn, 1852), Dillmann (as above), Ewald (*Ueber des Aethiopischen Buches Henoch Entstehung und Zusammensetzung*), K. R. Köstlin ("Ueber die Entstehung des Buches Henoch," *Theologische Jahrbücher von Baur und Zeller*, Jahrgang, 1856), and Hilgenfeld (*Jüdische Apokalyptik*, Jena, 1857; *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1860, p. 319 seqq., 1861, p. 212 seqq., 1862, p. 216 seqq.).

Excluding first the so-called Parables (cc. 37-71), the following chapters—1-19, 21-36, 72-105—form a well-connected

whole, which professes to be a variety of revelations committed to writing which had been vouchsafed to the prophet Henoch, partly in ecstatic visions in the heavenly world, partly in prophetic dreams. The introduction (cc. 1-5) announces first a benediction of the prophet on the righteous, and then a prophecy of the great day of judgment, on which the impious will receive well-merited punishment for their disobedience to the ordinances of God. Whereupon follows (cc. 6-16) an account of the origin of the universal corruption of the human race, induced by the fall of the angels and their carnal intercourse with the daughters of men. In consequence of the abominations resulting from this fall, God is about to impose a heavy judgment, which Henoch has to announce to the fallen "Watchers." These are to be in future bound in subterranean prisons for the whole period of earth's history, the duration of which is fixed at seventy generations, until the day of final judgment, whereon they will be cast forever into the lake of fire. In what follows, the original text appears in a somewhat fragmentary form in the Ethiopic version. As in the introduction, a reference to the fixed divine laws which heaven itself and the whole physical universe have to obey served to exhibit in the strongest light the guilt of sinners in transgressing the will of God, so now is made to follow (cc. 17-19, 21-36) an account of the mysteries of heaven and earth, which have been exhibited to Henoch by angels during an ecstatic rapture from earth to heaven. In this miraculous journey round the universe Henoch sees first the place of the winds and the regions whence lightning and thunder come. After that the water of life, and the sea of fire which is destined to receive the setting sun, the streams of Hades, the dwelling-place of the dead, the mountains of black winter clouds, the waters of Oceanus, the winds which support the universe, seven fiery mountains of precious stones, the mid-one of which, being the throne of God, reaches to heaven, the hell of fire, and in the vacant spaces of the universe the prison-houses of fallen star-spirits, and the future place of punishment for the angels who had held sinful intercourse with the daughters of men. In a subsequent journey Henoch is taken a second time to the same places. First to the place of punishment for the fallen angels; then into Hades and its different compartments; to the fire at which the stars are kindled; to the place of future judgment; to the seven mountains, the middle one of which rises in the form of a throne; and then into the Holy Land and the vale of Hinnom, the future place of punishment for impious men;

and then further eastward to the legendary home-lands of noble spices, and on as far as Paradise. In a third journey Henoch arrives at the gates of Heaven, and the places whence issue stars and winds. Thereupon follows (cc. 72-82) the book concerning the courses of the heavenly lights, which describes once more in the form of a journey the movements and orders of stars and constellations, the courses of sun and moon, and the relation of the solar to the lunar year, to which are attached a series of further communications regarding the various winds, their origin and operations, concerning the seven mountains, seven streams, and seven islands. The laws of the lights and powers of heaven are announced to Henoch on his journeys by the instrumentality of angels. All this he imparts to his son Methuselah, who is to commit it in his turn to following generations. In some parts of this section the original order seems to have been disturbed. Chapter 82 ought properly to stand before chapter 79, while chapter 81 forms the conclusion of this section. Henoch in this chapter contemplates the writing on the heavenly tables, wherein are recorded the actions of men to the latest generations, and then returns from his journeys to earth, in order to spend one last year in the circle of his family.

The revelations which follow concerning the future fortunes of mankind (cc. 83-91, 11; 93; 91, 12-19) are presented in the form of visions which Henoch, has been vouchsafed at different times of his life, but which he now, for the first time, on the conclusion of his wondrous journey, relates to his son Methuselah.

The first vision, seen by him while still a boy, in the house of his grandfather Mahalaleel, describes the flood (c. 83); the second, which had been imparted to him before his marriage, gives in apocalyptic figures a general survey of the history of the chosen people, from the first human pair to the struggles of the Israelites against the Syrians, in the time of John Hyrcanus. The account of these struggles is immediately followed by that of the approaching universal judgment (cc. 84-90). A third description of the future, introduced by exhortations to his children, gives once more a rapid survey of the world's history divided into ten great weeks. At the end of the seventh week, which is the actual writer's own time, the righteous receive a sevenfold instruction concerning the whole creation; in the eighth week the righteous celebrate their triumph and enter on their kingdom; in the ninth, judgment is passed on the ungodly; to the tenth is assigned the judgment of the

fallen angels and the renewal of heaven and earth. The last section (cc. 92; 94-105) contains the Doctrines of Wisdom which Henoch the writer imparts to his children and all future generations, warnings against sin in its various forms, admonitions to righteousness, fidelity, and perseverance, comminations against the ungodly, and promises for the righteous.

The text of this comprehensive work appears in some parts not to belong to the original form. Apart from the lacuna between chapters 16 and 17, and some smaller interpolations of which we shall have to speak farther on, it strikes one with surprise to find several things seen by Henoch in his journeys repeatedly told again in the same words. The revelations, moreover, vouchsafed to Henoch on his first journey (cc. 17-19) are for the most part repeated, chapters 21-36. The section about the Winds, on the other hand, chapters 76 and 77, together with the addition about the Seven Mountains, &c., disturbs too much the connection of the book about the Lights of Heaven. It repeats, also, in more detail, what has already been treated of (chapters 33-36), only much more briefly.

As there is little probability that these repetitions were intentional, we are warranted in supposing that there may have been different recensions of the text, which held their ground side by side, and were put together by some simple-minded collector.

The book, in any case, remains a remarkable monument of Jewish theological opinion, at the close of the first and beginning of the second century before Christ.

The result of these observations seems to be that the Book of Henoch must be regarded as a collective work, consisting of various parts, about the composition of which it will be difficult to form a certain judgment until the Hebrew original, or at any rate the Greek version from which the Ethiopic is derived, shall have been recovered.—(Dict. of Christ. Biog. of Smith & Wace.)

The Book of Henoch acquired much of its fame from a supposed reference made to it by Jude in his Epistle, V. 14: "Prophetavit autem et de his septimus ab Adam Henoch dicens: 'Ecce venit Dominus in sanctis millibus suis.'" The words of the Book of Henoch are: "Et ecce venit cum decem millibus sanctorum, ut iudicium exerceat de iis et disjiciat improbos, etc."

Moved especially by this passage of Jude, Tertullian was much inclined to receive the book. His words, however, show that he was conscious that tradition was not with him. The

joint basis of Catholic faith in tradition does not consist of the stray voices of men, who, through the frailty of human reason, at times lapsed into unsupported vagaries. No man representing the Christian thought of the time, ever said that the Book of Henoch was divine. Augustine and Jerome forcibly repudiate it.

It was conceded by those two Fathers and by many others that the Apostle Jude quoted this book in his Epistle. The Fathers argue that such use of the book did not necessarily canonize the book. Provided the Apocryphal book did, in the referred passage, contain a real statement by Henoch, I am not disposed to either affirm or deny this position. But there is no sufficient evidence for the application of such theory to the matter in question. It is far more probable that both the reference of Jude and the apocryphal book are based upon some common traditional or documentary data, available in that early age, or perhaps the apocryphal book took its passage from the Epistle of Jude, since much moves us to ascribe to the book a later origin than the date of the Epistle. In fact the passage in the Ethiopian exemplar seems like an interpolation, being not in harmony with the context.

All things considered, we must conclude that the book is evidently a spurious product of unknown causes.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES according to Origen, Didymus, and Oecumenius is cited by St. Jude, I. 9, (Orig. De Prin. III. 2; Didym. et Oecum. in Epist. Jud.). It is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria and others. The original which seems to have been Aramaic Hebrew, is lost, as also the Greek translation. All that is preserved to us is a fragment of the Latin translation, found by Ceriani in a Palimpsest of the Ambrosian Library, and published by him in his *Monumenta Sacra* in 1861.

The book represents Moses, on the point of leaving his people, conversing with Joshua, and revealing to him the future destiny of the chosen people; their establishment in the promised land, the overthrow of Jerusalem and the Temple, the Babylonian captivity, the restoration and second temple; the sins of the Jews in the latter times, and their chastisement by a foreigner. The theme is weird and desolate. It seems to be the plaint of a Jew of the time of Herod, bemoaning the decadence of his people.

There is no foundation for the opinion that Jude cited this book. Certain data respecting the death of Moses existed with the Jews, and these formed the common source from which both authors drew.

THE APOCALYPSE of Moses is a small book published for the first by Tischendorf, in Greek, in 1866. The work is a Jewish romance of the fifth century. It is unimportant, and almost unknown to the older writers. Certain later Greek writers have tried to find in it one of the sources of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (Gal. V. 6; VI. 15). If there be any resemblance between the two documents, it must have resulted from the use which the author of the spurious document made of Paul's Epistle.

In 1819 Lawrence published the Ethiopian text of the ASCENSION OF ISAIAH. In 1828 Card. Mai discovered and published two fragments of an ancient Latin version of the same work. A third Latin fragment was brought out in 1878 by Gebhardt. According to Dillman, who translated into Latin the text of Lawrence, the work is of a composite character. 1.—An account of the martyrdom of Isaiah, dating from end of the first century and known to Justin, Tertullian, Origen and Ambrose. 2.—The Ascension of Isaiah. This document narrates that in the seventh year of the reign of Ezechias, Isaiah is rapt to the heavens by an angel. He traverses successively the six circles, and comes to the seventh heaven to the throne of God, where the Trinity reveals itself to him, and the mystery of the Incarnation is made known to him. This part is of Gnostic origin, dating from about the beginning of the second century. 3.—These two works were joined by some later Christian, and finally the work received a later interpolation.

St. Jerome narrates (in Is. 64, 4) that some derived what Paul writes, I. Cor. II. 9, from this apocryphal book, while others derive them from the APOCALYPSE OF ELIAS. Origen conjectured that Math. XXVII. 9, was derived from an apocryphal book of Jeremias. Both these works and these opinions are unimportant, and have no influence on Christian thought, and we turn to more important things.

Chief among the apocryphal books of the New Testament are the Letter of Abgar, King of Osrhoene, to Jesus Christ, and Jesus' response. The two documents, as preserved for us by Eusebius, are as follows :

“COPY OF THE LETTER WRITTEN BY KING AGBARUS TO
JESUS, AND SENT TO HIM, AT JERUSALEM,
BY ANANIAS, THE COURIER.

‘Agbarus, prince of Edessa, sends greeting to Jesus, the excellent Saviour, who has appeared in the borders of Jeru-

salem. I have heard the reports respecting thee and thy cures, as performed by thee without medicines and without the use of herbs. For as it is said, thou causest the blind to see again, the lame to walk, and thou cleanseest the lepers, and thou castest out impure spirits and demons, and thou healest those that are tormented by long disease, and thou raisest the dead. And hearing all these things of thee, I concluded in my mind one of two things: either that thou art God, and having descended from heaven, doest these things, or else doing them, thou art the son of God. Therefore, now I have written and besought thee to visit me, and to heal the disease with which I am afflicted. I have, also, heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and are plotting to injure thee; I have, however, a very small but noble state, which is sufficient for us both.'

This epistle, he thus wrote, whilst yet somewhat enlightened by the rays of divine truth. It is, also, worth the time to learn the epistle sent to him from Jesus, by the same bearer, which, though very brief, is yet very nervous, written in the following style:

THE ANSWER OF JESUS TO KING AGBARUS, BY THE COURIER,
ANANIAS.

'Blessed art thou, O Agbarus, who, without seeing, hast believed in me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me will not believe, that they who have not seen, may believe and live. But in regard to what thou hast written, that I should come to thee, it is necessary that I should fulfill all things here, for which I have been sent. And after this fulfillment, thus to be received again by Him that sent me. And after I have been received up, I will send to thee a certain one of my disciples, that he may heal thy affliction, and give life to thee and to those who are with thee.' "

The continuation of the account in Eusebius narrates that after the resurrection of Jesus, Thaddeus the Apostle, went to the king, healed him of his infirmity and converted his people. The celebrated historian of Armenia, Moses of Khorene, testifies to the substantial facts of Eusebius' account.

Several other accounts of the legend are in existence, some of them containing additional data. According to Moses of Khorene, the ambassador sent to Jesus by Abgar, brought back a portrait of the Lord which was venerated at Edessa up to the fifth century. The Syriac account of the correspondence affirms that the answer of Jesus was not by writing, but by

oral declaration delivered to the ambassador of the king. The whole legend appears in the celebrated Doctrine of Addai. It is, of course, legendary, a curious monument of Oriental literature. It is, as we have seen, declared apocryphal in the decree of Gelasius, *De Recipiendis Libris* (Migne, Patrol. Lat. 59, 164).

St. Ephrem fully believed in the authenticity of the recital, and Baronius declared that the recital was worthy of a certain veneration, but a critical examination of the history reveals a certain element of the impossible and the incredible, which plainly stamps it as fiction.

Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Tom. I. p. 843 et seqq., exhibits three letters of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The first is addressed to St. Ignatius of Antioch, and is as follows :

“ The letter of the Blessed Virgin Mary to St. Ignatius of Antioch.

The humble handmaid of Jesus Christ salutes Ignatius, the beloved disciple. What things you have heard of John concerning Jesus, and believed, are true. Believe them ; cleave to them, and firmly cling to the doctrine of Christianity, which thou hast received, and conform thy acts and thy life thereto. I shall come with John to visit thee and those that are with thee. Stand fast in faith, and work manfully. Let not the acerbity of persecution move thee, but let thy spirit wax strong, and exult in God, thy Saviour. Amen.”

The second is to the people of Messina, the text of which is as follows :

“ The Virgin Mary, daughter of Joachim, the most humble handmaid of God, the mother of the crucified Jesus, of the tribe of Juda, of the line of David, sends greeting and the blessing of the Almighty God to all of Messina.

It is attested by public document that ye in great faith sent to us messengers and legates, (vos omnes fide magna legatos et nuncios per publicum documentum ad nos misisse constat). Being taught the way of truth through the preaching of Paul, ye confess that our Son is the begotten of God, God and man, and that after his resurrection, he ascended into Heaven. Wherefore, we bless you and your city, and profess ourselves its perpetual protector.

In the year of our Son forty-two, the Nones of July, the seventeenth moon, the fifth day of the week, at Jerusalem,

THE VIRGIN MARY.”

Any one that has ever read the Magnificat, or Mary's history in the Gospel, has no need of other proof than the mere reading to pronounce this a forgery. It is, in mode of expression, as bombastic as a state document in Rome, in the days of the humanists. Critics wisely concur in placing them as supposititious, and assign to them a quite recent date.

In the Cathedral Church in Messina, there exists an exemplar of this letter, and on the fifth of June, the yearly commemoration of it is celebrated, called by the people "*Festa della Sacra Lettera*," Rev. Father Inchofer published in 1631 an erudite defense of the authenticity of the letter. It is an evidence of the strange uses to which a man may devote talents of a high order.

A third letter of the Blessed Virgin is directed to the Florentines: "Florence, dear to the Lord Jesus Christ, my son, and to me. Hold to the faith, be instant in prayer, be strong in patience, for by these will you obtain eternal salvation with God." In some text there is added: "and glory with men."

This letter is of the same character as the former, and its origin is similar.

The same Fabricus and Sixtus of Sienna, have preserved for us six letters of the Apostle Paul to Seneca, and eight letters of Seneca to Paul. They at least have the credit of antiquity, since Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.*) and Augustine (*Epist. 54 ad Maced.*) praise them. The drift of the letters is moral, and they contain nothing contrary to doctrine, but, from internal evidence critics agree that they are supposititious. They contain nothing of Paul's vigor of thought. The opinion is well founded, however, that relations of esteem existed between Seneca and Paul, and some have held that there did exist some letters of their correspondence, of which these are forged imitations.

Liturgies exist of St. Peter, St. James, St. Matthew, and St. Mark. That they are not of the authorship of these is plain. It is probable, however, that they were written during the Apostolic epoch or soon after, but have suffered later interpolations and additions.

In the founts of tradition we find mention of the "*Doctrine of the Apostles*," "*The Constitutions of the Apostles*," "*The Canons of the Apostles*," and "*The Two Ways or Judgment of Peter*." These seem to be different forms of one composite work, composed of the Constitutions and Canons of

the Apostles. Concerning these, we excerpt the following data from Smith's & Cheetham's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities :

About 500 A. D., Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman monk of great learning, at the request of Stephen, Bishop of Salona, made a collection of Greek Canons, translating them into Latin. At the head of this collection he placed 50 Canons, with this title, "Incipiunt Regulae Ecclesiasticae sanctorum Apostolorum, prolatae per Clementem Ecclesiae Romanae Pontificem." At the same time, however, Dionysius says in the preface to his work, "In principio itaque canones, qui dicuntur Apostolorum, de Graeco transtulimus *quibus quia plurimi consensum non praebuere facilem*, hoc ipsum vestram noluimus ignorare sanctitatem, quamvis postea quaedam constituta pontificum ex ipsis canonibus assumpta esse videantur."

These words obviously point to a difference of opinion prevailing in the Church, though it has been doubted by some whether the dissentients spoken of rejected the Canons altogether, or merely denied that they were the work of the Apostles. And with regard to the last clause, it is much disputed whether previous popes can be shown to have known and cited these Canons. Hefele denies that "Pontifices" means Popes, and would understand it of bishops in their synodical constitutions.

About fifty years after the work of Dionysius, John of Antioch, otherwise called Johannes Scholasticus, patriarch of Constantinople, set forth a *σύνταγμα κανόνων*, which contained not 50 but 85 Canons of the Apostles. And in the year 692 these were expressly recognized in the decrees of the Quinisextine Council, not only as binding Canons, but (it would seem) as of apostolic origin. They are therefore in force in the Greek Church.

How it came to pass that Dionysius translated only 50 does not appear. Some writers have supposed that he rejected what was not to be reconciled with the Roman practice. But, as Hefele observes, this could hardly be his motive, inasmuch as he retains a canon as to the nullity of heretical baptism, which is at variance with the view of the Western Church. Hence it has been suggested that the MS. used by Dionysius was of a different class from that of John of Antioch (for they vary in some expressions, and have also a difference in the numbering of the canons), and that it may have had only the 50 translated by the former. And an inference has also been drawn that the 35 latter Canons are of later date. Indeed,

according to some, they are obviously of a different type, and were possibly added to the collection at the same time that the Canons were appended to the Constitutions.

Both in the collection of John of Antioch, and in that of Dionysius they are alleged to have been drawn up by Clement from the directions of the Apostles. In several places the Apostles speak in the first person, and in the 85th canon Clement uses the first person singular of himself.

Their subjects are briefly as follow:

“1 & 2 (I. & II.). Bishop to be ordained by two or three bishops; presbyters and deacons, and the rest of the clerical body, by one.

3 & 4 (III.) relate to what is proper to be offered at the altar; mentioning new corn, grapes, and oil, and incense at the time of the holy oblation.

5 (IV.). First-fruits of other things are to be sent to the clergy at their home, not brought to the altar.

6 (V.). Bishop or presbyter or deacon not to put away his wife under pretence of piety.

7 (VI.). Clergy not to take secular cares on them.

8 (VII.). Nor to keep Easter before the vernal equinox, according to the Jewish system.

9 (VIII.). Nor to fail to communicate without some good reason.

10 (IX.). Laity not to be present at the reading of the Scriptures without remaining for prayer and the Communion.

11 (X.). None to join in prayer, even in a house, with an excommunicated person.

12 (XI.). Clergy not to join in prayer with a deposed man, as if he were still a cleric.

13 (XII. & XIII.). Clergy or lay persons, being under excommunication or not admitted to Communion, going to another city, not to be received without letters.

14 (XIV.). Bishop not to leave his own diocese and invade another, even on request, except for good reasons, as in case he can confer spiritual benefit; nor even then except by the judgment of many other bishops, and at pressing request.

15 (XV.). If clergy leave their own diocese, and take up their abode in another without consent of their own bishop, they are not to perform clerical functions there.

16 (XVI.). Bishop of such diocese not to treat them as clergy.

17 (XVII.). One twice married after baptism, or who has taken a concubine, not to be a cleric.

18 (XVIII.). One who has married a widow or divorced woman, or a courtesan or a slave, or an actress, not to be admitted into the clerical body.

19 (XIX.). Nor one who has married two sisters or his niece.

20 (XX.). Clergy not to become sureties.

21 (XXI.). One who has been made a eunuch by violence, or in a persecution, or was so born, may be a bishop.

22 (XXII.). But if made so by his own act, cannot be a cleric.

23 (XXIII.). A cleric making himself so, to be deposed.

24 (XXIV.). A layman making himself a eunuch, to be shut out from Communion for three years.

25 & 26 (XXV.). Clerics guilty of incontinence, perjury, or theft, to be deposed, but not excommunicated (citing Nah. i, 9: οὐκ ἐδικήσει δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν θλίψει).

27 (XXVI.). None to marry after entering the clerical body, except readers and singers.

28 (XXVII.). Clergy not to strike offenders.

29 (XXVIII.). Clergy deposed not to presume to act, on pain of being wholly cut off from the Church.

30 (XXIX.). Bishop, &c. obtaining ordination by money to be deposed, and together with him who ordained him, cut off from communion, as was Simon Magus by me, Peter.

31 (XXX.). Bishop obtaining a church by means of secular rulers to be deposed, &c.

32 (XXXI.). Presbyters not to set up a separate congregation and altar in contempt of his bishop, when the bishop is just and godly.

33 (XXXII.). Presbyter or deacon, under sentence of his own bishop not to be received elsewhere.

34 (XXXIII.). Clergy from a distance not to be received without letters of commendation, nor, unless they be preachers of godliness, are they to have anything beyond the supply of their wants.

35 (XXXIV.). The bishops of every nation are to know who is chief among them, and to consider him their head, and do nothing without his judgment, except the affairs of their own dioceses, nor must he do anything without their judgment.

36 (XXXV.). Bishop not to ordain out of his diocese.

37 (XXXVI.). Clergy not to neglect to enter on the charge to which they are appointed, nor the people to refuse to receive them.

38 (XXXVII.). Synod of bishops to be held twice a year to settle controversies.

39 (XXXVIII.). Bishop to have care of all ecclesiastical affairs, but not to appropriate anything for his own family, except to grant them relief if in poverty.

40 (XXXIX. & XL.). Clergy to do nothing without bishop. Bishop to keep his own affairs separate from those of the Church, and to provide for his family out of his own property.

41 (XLI.). Bishop to have power over all ecclesiastical affairs, and to distribute through the presbyters and deacons, and to have a share himself if required.

42 (XLII.). Cleric not to play dice or take to drinking.

43 (XLIII.). Same as to subdeacon, reader, singer, or layman.

44 (XLIV.). Clergy not to take usury.

45 (XLV.). Clergy not to pray with heretics, still less to allow them to act as clergy.

46 (XLVI.). Clergy not to recognize heretical baptism or sacrifice.

47 (XLVII.). Clergy not to rebaptize one truly baptized, nor to omit to baptize one polluted by the ungodly, otherwise he contemns the cross and death of the Lord, and does not distinguish true priests from false.

48 (XLVIII.). Layman who has put away his wife not to take another, nor to take a divorced woman.

49 (XLIX.). Baptism to be in name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, not of three eternal, or three sons, or three paracles.

50 (L.). Baptism to be performed by three immersions, making one initiation—not one single immersion into the Lord's death.

LI. Clergy not to hold marriage, or the use of meat and wine, things evil in themselves, or to abstain on any other than ascetic grounds.

LII. Bishop or presbyter to receive, not to reject penitents.

LIII. Clergy not to refuse to partake of meat and wine on feast days [as if evil, or on other than ascetic grounds].

LIV. Clerics not to eat in taverns except on a journey.

LV. Clerics not to insult bishop.

LVI. Nor presbyter or deacon.

LVII. Nor to mock the maimed, deaf, dumb, blind, or lame, nor must a layman do so.

LVIII. Bishops and presbyters not to neglect their clergy or people.

LIX. Nor to refuse succour to the needy clergy.

LX. Nor to publish in the Church, as sacred, works forged by the ungodly in false names.

LXI. Those convicted of incontinence or other forbidden practices not to be admitted into the clerical body.

LXII. Clerics, from fear of Jew or Gentile or heretic, denying Christ to be excommunicated, or if only denying that they are clerics, to be deposed. On repentance, to be admitted as laymen.

LXIII. Cleric eating blood, or things torn by beasts or dying of themselves, to be deposed, on account of the prohibition in the law. Laymen doing so to be excommunicated.

LXIV. Cleric or layman entering synagoge of Jews or heretics to pray, to be deposed and excommunicated.

LXV. Cleric, in a struggle striking a single blow that proves mortal, to be deposed for his precipitancy. Layman to be excommunicated.

LXVI. Neither cleric nor layman to fast on Sunday or on any Saturday but one.

LXVII. Any one doing violence to an unbetrothed virgin to be excommunicated. He may not take another, but must keep her, though poor.

LXVIII. Clergy not to be ordained a second time, unless when ordained by heretics, for those baptized or ordained by heretics have not really been brought into the number of the faithful or of the clergy.

LXIX. Bishop, presbyter, deacon, reader, or singer, not fasting in the holy forty days, or on the fourth and sixth days, to be deposed, unless suffering from bodily weakness. Laymen to be excommunicated.

LXX. None to keep fast or feast with the Jews, or receive their feast-gifts, as unleavened bread and so forth.

LXXI. No Christian to give oil for a heathen temple or Jewish synagogue, or to light lamps at their feast times.

LXXII. Nor to purloin wax or oil from the Church.

LXXIII. Nor to convert to his own use any consecrated gold or silver vessel or linen.

LXXIV. Bishop accused by credible men, to be summoned by the bishops; and if he appear and confess the charge, or be proved guilty, to have appropriate sentence; but if he do not obey the summons, then to be summoned a second and third time by two bishops personally; and if he still be

contumacious, then the Synod is to make the fit decree against him, that he may not appear to gain anything by evading justice.

LXXV. No heretic, nor less than two witnesses, even of the faithful, to be received against a bishop (Deut. 19, 15).

LXXVI. Bishop not to ordain relatives bishops out of favour or affection.

LXXVII. One having an eye injured or lame may still be a bishop, if worthy.

LXXVIII. But not one deaf, dumb, or blind, as being practical hindrances.

LXXIX. One that has a devil not to be a cleric, nor even to pray with the faithful, but when cleansed he may, if worthy.

LXXX. A convert from the heathen or from a vicious life not forthwith to be made a bishop; for it is not right that while yet untried he should be a teacher of others, unless this come about in some way by the grace of God.

LXXXI. We declare that a bishop or presbyter is not to stoop to public [secular] offices, but to give himself to the wants of the Church (Matt. 6, 24).

LXXXII. We do not allow slaves to be chosen into the clerical body without consent of their masters, to the injury of those who possess them, for this would subvert households. But if a slave seem worthy of ordination, as did our Onesimus, and the masters consent and set him free, let him be ordained.

LXXXIII. Clergy not to serve in the army, and seek to hold both Roman command and priestly duties (Matt. 22, 21).

LXXXIV. Those who unjustly insult a king or ruler to be punished.

LXXXV. For you, both clergy and laity, let these be, as books to be revered and held holy, in the Old Testament—five of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy—of Jesus the son of Nun, one; of Judges, one; Ruth, one; of Kings, four; of Paraleipomena the book of days, two; of Esdras, two; of Esther, one; of Maccabees, three; of Job, one; of the Psalter, one; of Solomon, three—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs; of the Prophets, thirteen; of Isaiah, one; of Jeremiah, one; of Ezekiel, one; of Daniel, one. Over and above is to be mentioned to you that your young men study the Wisdom of the learned Sirach. But of ours, that is of the New Testament, let there be four gospels, Matthew's, Mark's, Luke's, John's; fourteen Epistles of Paul; two Epistles of Peter; three of John; one of Jude; two Epistles of Clement; and the regulations addressed to you

bishops through me, Clement, in eight books, which it is not right to publish before all, on account of the mysteries in them; and the Acts of us, the Apostles."

The above is merely the substance of the Canons in an abridged form. It will not of course supersede the necessity of referring to the original in order to form an exact judgment. For the sake of brevity, the penalties have been in most cases omitted. They are usually deposition for the clergy, excommunication for laymen.

The subject is too vast for us to pass any critical judgment thereon here. We are content to state that there is no good evidence that the works should be attributed to the Apostles.

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS is often spoken of in early tradition. Its origin appears from the following data. Out of the Judaizing tendencies of the first century, arose the sects of the Nazarites and the Ebionites. Both these sects strove to bring the rites of the Old Law into the Christian dispensation, and it is quite certain that the Ebionites rejected the divinity of Jesus Christ. Both sects used a Gospel in Hebrew, which each mutilated and adapted to their theories. Excellent historical data warrant that this Hebrew text was a recension of the original Hebrew text of Matthew.

(Irenaeus, *Haer.* I. 26, 2; III. 11, 7; Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXVIII. 5; XXX. 3, 13, 24; Philaster, *Haer.* 36; Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* II. 1; comp. Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 25, 27; Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXIX. 9; XXX. 6, etc.) Papias is an early witness for St. Matthew having written in Hebrew (*ap.* Euseb. III. 39) and the same tradition is repeated by Irenaeus (*Haer.* III. 1, 1); Pantaenus (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10); Origen (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 25); Eusebius (*H. E.* III. 24, and elsewhere); Jerome (*in Matth. Praefat. et passim*); Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* XIV.) The existence of this Gospel of the Hebrews as a distinct work, differing from our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew, is first put on record by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* II. 9; p. 453 Potter) and by Origen who makes several citations from it (*in Joann.* tom. II. 6; *in Jerem.* XV. 4; *in Matth.* tom. XV. 14). Hegesippus is also reported to have borrowed some things from the Gospel of the Hebrews (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 22). According to Origen (*Hom.* I. *in Luc.*) and Jerome (*in Matth. praef.*; *c. Pelag.* III. 1) it also bore among the Ebionites the title of *Gospel according to the Apostles*. Jerome translated it into Greek and Latin from a copy found at Beroea (*Vir. illustr.* 2, 3; *ad Mich.* VII. 2; *in Matth.* XII. 13; *contra Pelagian.* III. 1).

Jerome's testimony alone on this point would be conclusive. "Matthew," he says, "who is also called Levi, the publican called to be an Apostle, was the first who wrote in Hebrew words and characters the Gospel for the converted Jews. It is uncertain who afterwards translated this into Greek. The Hebrew Exemplar is preserved to-day in the library at Caesarea, which Pamphilius, the martyr, with great zeal founded. Permission to copy this volume was given me by the Nazarites of Beroea, a city of Syria." (*De Vir. Ill. III. P. L. Migne*, 23, 614.)

He testifies (in *Math. XII. 13*, *P. L. 26*, 78) that he translated this text into Greek. Hence, we conclude that the original text in Hebrew of Matthew, mutilated and interpolated, formed the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews. Only fragments of it remain, which have been collected by Hilgenfeld. (*Nov. Test. extra can. recept. IV.*)

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE LAODICEANS is mentioned in Muratori's fragment, and by Jerome and Theodoret. (*Hier. De Vir. Ill. V.*; *Theod. in Coll. IV. 16.*) Both these Fathers repudiate it. In the Codex of Fulda, the text of such a letter exists. From Colossians, *IV. 16*, it is highly probable that Paul wrote to the Church of Laodicea, but it is evident from an inspection of the text of Fulda that it is supposititious. The same judgment must be passed on the third letter to the Corinthians, which the Armenians retain in their bibles.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, before mentioned, was in much favor in the early Church. Clement of Alexandria and Origen considered it authentic. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles. III. 25.*) places it among the spurious books. It is found in the Codex of Mt. Sinai. Some of those who have denied the inspiration of the book have maintained that it was of Barnabas' authorship. But the internal evidence disproves its divinity and its authorship. The matter is trifling and excessively allegorical, ill fitting the "son of consolation," the co-laborer of Paul. The writer reveals complete ignorance of the Jewish Law and rites; whereas Barnabas was a Levite, who had lived long in Jerusalem. Moreover, the writer is opposed to the Jewish Law, even to deal with it unjustly. These reasons moved Hefele to reject the authorship of the Epistle, and we believe them conclusive. As to date, though we may not be certain, it is most probably a product of the first century.

In the latter half of the second century there was in circulation a book of visions and allegories, purporting to be

written by one Hermas, and which was commonly known as *The Shepherd*. This book was treated with respect bordering on that paid to the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament, and it came into the public reading of different churches. A passage from it is quoted by Irenaeus (IV. 20, p. 253) with the words, "Well said the Scripture," a fact taken notice of by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 8). We may with probability infer that in the time of Irenaeus the work was publicly read in the Gallican churches, for if Irenaeus were not quoting a well-known text, he would be likely to have named the source of his quotation; but that he did not place the book on a level with the canonical Scriptures may be inferred from his having quoted it but once, not appealing to it in his discussion of Scripture testimonies in his third book. The mutilated commencement of the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria, opens in the middle of a quotation from *The Shepherd*, and about ten times elsewhere he cites the book, always with a complete acceptance of the reality and divine character of the revelations made to Hermas, but without any explanation of his opinion, who Hermas was or when he lived. In the next generation Origen, who frequently cites the book, says (*in Rom.* XVI. 14, vol. IV. p. 683), that it seems to him very useful, and he gives it as his individual opinion that it was divinely inspired. He further makes a guess, which was repeated by others after him, but which appears to rest on no earlier authority, that it was written by the Hermas mentioned at the end of the Epistle to the Romans. His other quotations show that less favorable views of the book were current in his time. His quotations from *The Shepherd* are carefully separated from those from the canonical books; he generally adds to a quotation from *The Shepherd* a saving clause, giving the reader permission to reject it; he speaks of it (*in Matt.* XIX. 7, Vol. III. p. 644) as a writing current in the Church, but not acknowledged by all, and (*De Princ.* IV. 11) as a book despised by some. Eusebius (II. 25), places the book among the *vótha* with the Acts of Paul, Revelation of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, etc. Elsewhere (III. 3), while he is unable to place it among the *ὁμολογούμενα* as being rejected by some, he owns that it had been publicly used in churches, that some of the most eminent writers had employed it, and that it was judged by some most necessary for those who have particular need of elementary instruction in the faith. Athanasius, too (*Ep. Fest.* 39, Vol. I. pt. II. p. 963), classes *The Shepherd* with some of the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament and with "the teaching

of the Apostles," as not canonical, but useful to be employed in catechetical instruction. *The Shepherd* is found in the Sinaitic MS. following the Epistle of Barnabas, as an appendix to the books of the New Testament. After the fourth century the book rapidly passed out of ecclesiastical use in the East.

The Western tradition as to the book deserves more attention, as external evidence shows Rome to have been its place of composition. Foremost comes the writer of the MURATORIAN FRAGMENT on the Canon, who tells us that the book had been written during the episcopate of Pius, by Hermas, a brother of that bishop, in a period which the writer speaks of as within then living memory. He concludes that the book ought to be read, but not to be publicly used in the Church among the prophetic writings, the number of which was complete, nor among the apostolic. The statement that the book not only might but ought to be read is a high recognition of the value attributed to it by the writer, and we may gather that at least in some places the church use of the book at that time had been such as to cause danger of its being set on a level with the canonical Scriptures. Tertullian, in one of his earliest treatises, *De Oratione*, disputes against a practice of sitting down immediately after prayer, for which he knows no other reason assigned than that, in *The Shepherd*, Hermas is said, on prayer ended, to have sat upon the bed. He points out the unreasonableness of converting a narrative statement into a rule of discipline, and remarks that, if it were so regarded, the precept of sitting on a bed would not be satisfied by sitting on a bench or chair. A book which could so influence the practice of churches must evidently have enjoyed high authority at the time, an authority which Tertullian's argument does not dispute. It had probably been translated into Latin, and was used in church reading. That Tertullian read it in a Latin translation, may be inferred from his describing it by the Latin title *Pastor*, and not by a Greek title, as he usually does when he refers to Greek writings. Very different is Tertullian's treatment of the book some ten years later or more, after he had become a Montanist. When the authority of *The Shepherd* is urged in behalf of re-admitting adulterers to communion, he rejects the book as one not counted worthy of being included in the Canon, but placed by every council of the churches, even of the Catholic party, among false and apocryphal writings (*De Pudic.* cap. 10). Quoting the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says that this is at least more received than that apocryphal *Shepherd* of the adulterers (Cap. 20). The phrase "*more received*" warns us to

take *cum grano salis* Tertullian's assertion as to the *universal* rejection of *The Shepherd*; but we may well believe that the line of distinction between apostolic and later writings was then being drawn more sharply than it had been before, and that in the interval between Tertullian's two writings, *The Shepherd* was excluded from the public reading of many churches which before had admitted it. Possibly to this result may have contributed the publication by the Muratorian writer of the greatness of the interval which separated Hermas from apostolic times. The statement of this writer is repeated in an entry in the Liberian papal catalogue, that under the episcopate of Pius, his brother Hermas wrote a book in which the commands and precepts were contained, which the angel gave him when he came to him in the habit of a shepherd. It has been thought with high probability, that this entry was derived from the catalogue of Hippolytus, which is the basis of the Liberian catalogue [CHRONICON CANISIANUM]. It will be observed that, while refusing to assign the book to apostolic times, it makes no doubt of the reality of the angelic appearance to Hermas. Later biographical notices of popes, undertake to tell what the message given to Hermas was, namely, that Easter should always be celebrated on a Sunday. This notice clearly is the offspring of a time when all knowledge of the book of Hermas had been lost, and when it was attempted to supply by invention the imperfection of the earlier entry. This story of a revelation to Hermas about Easter celebration is amplified a little in the forged decretal letter of Pius I. (Mansi, *Concil.* I. 672). The later papal catalogues makes Pius the brother of Pastor, and another spurious letter of Pius tells of a contemporary presbyter Pastor. The poem of the Pseudo-Tertullian against Marcion, had described the brother of Pius as "angelicus Pastor." A confusion between the name of Hermas and that of his book would imply that the book was not at the time in use. Jerome, when copying what Eusebius had said about the book (*De Vir. Illust.* 10, Vol. II. 845), adds that among the Latins it was almost unknown. He himself speaks contemptuously of it (*In Habac.* I. 14, Vol. VI. p. 604), for it seems to us certain that the book of Hermas is what he here refers to. It is marked in the Gelasian decree as apocryphal. Notwithstanding, there are several traces that some use of the book continued in the West, one decisive fact being that there still exist some twenty MSS. of the Latin version. In the African church of the fourth century we find from the list in the *Codex Claromontanus* (Westcott, *Canon N. T.* p. 557)

that it was placed with the Acts of Paul, and the Revelation of St. Peter as an appendix to the New Testament books; and it occupies a similar place in the Sinaitic MS., the only Greek Bible known to have contained it. But in some of the existing Latin MSS. it is placed with the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, a position no doubt assigned to it in conformity with the opinion of Athanasius already quoted, which was known through Rufinus in the West.

Turning now from the external history of the book to the book itself, we find it divides itself into three parts. The first part consists of visions. It opens with what reads like the narration of a real dream. Hermas tells that he who had brought him up, had sold him at Rome to a lady named Rhoda, that after a considerable time he renewed his acquaintance with her and began to love her as a sister; that he saw her one day bathing in the Tiber and assisted her out of the water; that admiring her beauty, he thought within himself how happy he should be if he had a wife like her in person and disposition. Further than this his thought did not go. But a little time after he had a vision. He fell asleep, and in his dream he was walking and struggling in ground so rugged and broken that it was impossible to pass. At length he succeeded in crossing the water by which his path had been washed away, and coming into smooth ground knelt to confess his sins to God. Then the heavens were opened, and he saw Rhoda saluting him from the sky. On his asking her what she did there, she told him she had been taken up to accuse him, because God was angry with him for having sinned in thought against her. Then Hermas was overwhelmed with horror and fear, not knowing how he could abide the severity of God's judgment, if such a thought as his was marked a sin. Rhoda now passes out of his dream, and he sees a venerable aged lady clad in shining garments sitting on a great white chair and holding a book in her hand. She asks him why he, usually so cheerful, is now so sad. On telling her, she owns what a sin any impure thought would be in one so chaste, so singleminded and so innocent as he; but she tells him this is not why God is displeased with him, but because of the sins of his children, whom he, through false indulgence, had allowed to corrupt themselves, but to whom repentance was open if he would warn them. Then she reads to him out of her book, but of all she reads he can remember nothing save the last sentence, save that this alone was comforting, and all that preceded was terrible and threatening. She parted from him with the words, "Play the man, Hermas."

In another vision, a year after, he saw again the lady and her book, and received the book to copy, but still it conveyed no idea to his mind. He then set himself by fasting and prayer to learn the meaning of it, and after a fortnight was gratified. He learns, too, that the lady whom he had seen is not, as he had imagined, the sibyl, but the Church, and that she appeared as old because she was created first of all, and for her sake the world was made.

After his first two visions, Hermas watched eagerly for new revelations, and set himself to obtain them by fasting and prayer. In those later visions, while the pictures presented to his mind are such as we can without difficulty believe to have been dream representations, the explanations given of them have a coherence only to be found in the thoughts of a waking man. This is still more true of the second and third parts of the work. At the end of a first part he has the vision in which he sees him, who gives the name, which, in strictness only belongs to these two latter parts of the work, a man dressed like a Shepherd, who tells him that he is the angel of repentance, who has come to dwell with him, being the guardian to whose care he had been entrusted. From this Shepherd he receives, for the instruction of himself and of the Church, the "Commandments," which form the second, and the "Similitudes," which form the third, part of the work. (Salmon in Dict. of Christ. Biog.)

The compass of the present work will not permit us to review the numerous other apocryphal writings.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LOST BOOKS OF BOTH TESTAMENTS.

It is the common opinion of theologians that an inspired book may perish, and that some *de facto* have perished. As authorities for this opinion we may cite Origen, Chrysostom, St. Thomas, Bellarmine, Serarius, Pineda, Bonfrere, and nearly all the later Theologians.*

Salmeron strove to set aside this opinion by the following arguments: "The Providence of God, which gave a book to teach men, will preserve that book. Moreover, if the Church, even in its preparatory state in the Old Law, should allow a

*Orig. in Cant. Prol. c. fin. (M. 13, 84); *S. Chrys.* in 1. Cor. hom. 7, 3 (M. 61, 58); *S. Thom.* Comm. in ep. S. Paul. ad 1 Cor. 5, 4 et Col. 4, 16; *Bellarmin.* de verbo Dei IV. 4; *Serar.* Proleg. c. VIII. qu. 14. 15; *Pineda* Salom. præv. I. 1; *Bonfrer.* Praeloq. VI. 2, etc.

book to perish, which had been committed to her care, she would be unfaithful to her trust." In response we say first that two questions are confused here. It is one thing that a book divinely inspired, not yet canonized by the Church, should perish; another that a book delivered to the Church by canonization should perish. This latter fact has never happened. Franzelin, in response to Salmeron, argues that it is possible that even a canonical book should perish, for the reason that such book is not the sole or absolutely necessary means of teaching men the truth. The Church is only infallible and indefectible in furnishing an adequate means to impart truth to man, and her teaching power would not be hampered by the loss of a book, or portion thereof, of Holy Scripture. The argument of Salmeron that God, who gave the book, would preserve it, is feeble, for the book may be superseded by another, or it may not be necessary for succeeding ages.

The common opinion is, therefore, that an inspired book may perish, and that some have perished. Many proverbs and canticles of Solomon and writings of Prophets, spoken of in the Scriptures, have certainly perished, and some, at least, of these were inspired.

In the Old Testament we find mention of the following works: The Book of the Wars of the Lord (Num. XXI. 14); The Book of the Just (Jos. X. 13); The Book of the Words of the Days of Solomon (II. Sam. XI. 41); The Book of the Words of the Days of the Kings of Juda (III. Kings, XIV. 19); The Book of the Words of the Days of the Kings of Israel (III. Kings XIV. 20); The Book of Samuel the Prophet (I. Chron. XXIX. 29); The Words of Nathan, the Prophet (l. c.); The Book of Gad, the Prophet (l. c.); The Books of Ahias (II. Chron. IX. 29); The Vision of Addo, the Prophet (l. c.); The Book of Semeia the Prophet (II. Chron. XII. 15); The Book of Jehu, the Son of Hanan (II. Chron. XX. 34); The Discourse of Hosai (II. Chron. XXXIII. 19); The Deeds of Ozias by Isaiah (II. Chron. XXVI. 22); three thousand Parables of Solomon (III. Kings IV. 22); five thousand Canticles of Solomon (l. c.); the treatise of Solomon on Natural History (l. c.); certain writings of Jeremiah (II. Maccab. II. 1); The Book of the Days of John Hyrcanus (I. Maccab. XVI. 24); The Book of Jason, the Cyrenean (II. Maccab. II. 24).

We hold it undoubted that a person inspired, in one production, may write another without such influence of the Holy

Spirit. We admit that some of the mentioned works were not inspired ; but there are others whose titles clearly prove that they were inspired works, and we no longer possess them.

Of the New Testament, nearly all admit that one of Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians (I. Cor. V. 9), and the Epistle to the Church of Laodicea (Coloss. IV. 16), have perished. Who will deny that in these Paul also was inspired ?

Wherefore, we conclude that the opinion which maintains the possibility and the actuality of the loss of inspired writings, rests on convincing data.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

All the protocanonical books of the Old Testament, except some Chaldaic fragments of Ezra and Daniel, were written in Hebrew.*

Of the deuterocanonical books, Wisdom and II. Maccabees were originally written in Greek ; Ecclesiasticus was written in Hebrew, but the text has perished. Jerome saw the Hebrew text of I. Maccabees, but this has also perished. It is not certain whether the others were originally written in Hebrew or Chaldaic.

Concerning the history of the Hebrew language, we have thought good to excerpt from Horne's Introduction to Holy Scripture, Vol. II. In dealing with the criticism of the text of the Old Testament, we shall frequently excerpt material from this author, with the alterations which we shall judge to be good.

The languages of Western Asia, though differing in respect to dialect, are *radically* the same, and have been so, as far back as any historical records enable us to trace them. Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Arabia, and also Ethiopia are reckoned as the countries, where the languages commonly denominated *Oriental* have been spoken. Of late, many critics have rejected the appellation "*Oriental*," as being too comprehensive, and have substituted that of "*Shemitish*," a denominative derived from *Shem*. Against this appellation, however, objections of a similar nature may be urged ; for no inconsiderable portion of those, who spoke

*Of Daniel, the portion from the fourth verse of second chapter, to the twenty-eighth verse of seventh chapter, was written in Chaldaic. Of Ezra, the portions from I. Ezra IV. 8, to VI. 18, and from the twelfth to the twenty-sixth verse of seventh chapter were written in Chaldaic.

the languages in question, were not descendants of Shem. It is a matter of indifference which appellation is used, if it be first defined.

The Oriental Languages may be divided into three principal dialects, viz., the Aramaean, the Hebrew, and the Arabic.

1.—The *Aramaean*, spoken in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia or Chaldaea, is subdivided into the Syriac and Chaldee dialects; or, as they are sometimes called, the East and West Aramaean.

2.—The *Hebrew* or Canaanitish (Isa. XIX. 18.) was spoken in Palestine, and probably with little variation in Phœnicia, and the Phœnician colonies, as at Carthage and other places. The names of the Phœnician and Punic dialects are too few, and too much disfigured, to enable us to judge with certainty how extensively these languages were the *same* as the dialect of Palestine.

3.—The *Arabic*, to which the Ethiopic bears a special resemblance, has, in modern times, a great variety of dialects, as a spoken language, and is spread over a vast extent of country. But, so far as we are acquainted with its former state, it appears more anciently to have been principally limited to Arabia and Ethiopia.

The Arabic is very rich in forms and words; the Syriac, so far as it is yet known, is comparatively limited in both; the Hebrew holds a middle place between them, both as to copiousness of words and variety of forms.

Besides the preceding dialects, there are many slighter variations of language, sometimes distinguished from the general names by local appellations. Thus, the Ephraimites could not distinguish between the letters ש (s) and שׁ (sh), as the Hebrews did, in speaking: hence the Ephraimites pronounced *Sibboleth* instead of *Shibboleth*. (Judges XII. 6.) Nehemiah was indignant, that part of his countrymen should speak the language of Ashdod. (Neh. XIII. 23—25.)

The *Samaritan* Dialect appears to be composed (as one might expect, see II. Kings XVII.) of Aramaean and Hebrew: and the slighter varieties of Arabic are as numerous as the provinces where the language is spoken.

Numerous appellations have, at different times, been given to the Hebrew language. In the Scriptures it is nowhere called Hebrew. This term, as it is used in John V. 2, and in several other passages in the New Testament, does not refer to the biblical Hebrew, but to the Syro-Chaldaic dialect prevalent in Palestine in the time of Jesus Christ. In II. Kings XVIII. 26.

it is called the *language of the Jews*. In the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases of the Old Testament, the appellation—*holy tongue*—is first applied to it: but the name, by which it is usually distinguished, is *Hebrew*, as being the language of the Hebrew nation.

Concerning the origin of this name, there has been considerable difference of opinion. According to some critics, it derived its name from Heber, one of the descendants of Shem (Gen. X. 21. 25. XI. 14. 16, 17.): but other learned men are of opinion that it is derived from the root עבר (ABER), *to pass over*, whence Abraham was denominated the *Hebrew* (Gen. XIV. 13.), having *passed over* the river Euphrates to come into the land of Canaan. This last opinion appears to be best founded, from the general fact that the most ancient names of nations were appellative. But, whatever extent of meaning was attached to the appellation *Hebrew*, before the time of Jacob, it appears afterwards to have been limited only to his posterity, and to be synonymous with *Israelite*.

The origin of the Hebrew language must be dated farther back than the period, to which we can trace the appellation *Hebrew*. It is plain, from the names of persons and places in Canaan, that, wherever Abraham sojourned, he found a language in which he could easily converse, viz., the Hebrew or Phœnician language. That this was originally the language of Palestine, is evident from the names of nations being appellative, and from other facts in respect to the formation of this dialect. Thus, the *West* is, in Hebrew, ים, which means the *sea*, that is, towards the Mediterranean Sea. As the Hebrew has no other proper word for *west*, so it must be evident that the language, in its distinctive and peculiar forms, must have been formed in Palestine.

The Jewish Rabbins, Jonathan the author of the Chaldee Paraphrase, Solomon Jarchi, and Aben-Ezra, have affirmed that Hebrew was the primitive language spoken in Paradise; and their opinion has been adopted by Origen, Jerome, Augustine, and some other Fathers, as well as by some modern critics and philologers. Huet, however, and the majority of modern critics, are of opinion, that the language spoken by Adam perished in the confusion of tongues at Babel. But it seems highly probable, that if the original parents of mankind were placed in Western Asia, they spoke substantially the language which has for more than fifty centuries pervaded that country. Wherefore, from internal evidence, and from the biblical account, we believe that Hebrew has preserved in the main the

substance of the original language of mankind. We feel warranted in asserting that, in the confusion of tongues, the Hebrew remained substantially the old radical tongue, and that the divers tongues were formed in the dispersion, not by destroying the original Hebrew word, but by forming other languages, whose radical affinity with the Hebrew was not sufficient to make the speech of the nations intelligible to each other. We believe that some affinity with Hebrew is traceable in all the languages of the human race. At times this will be faint, for the reason that the change, in the dispersion, was substantial; and, secondly, language is a living growth, and man will exercise his aptitude for speech by creating new words, and changing the old ones to correspond to his ever-changing relations with nature. The language faculty of man continually moulds into articulate speech some reflection of nature, and thus the languages of men have grown away from their original affinity with the root-language.

Various circumstances, indeed, combine to prove that Hebrew is in the main the original language. It is of all languages that one which comes closest to nature. The words of which it is composed are very short, and admit of very little flexion, as may be seen on reference to any Hebrew grammar or lexicon. The names of persons and places are descriptive of their nature, situation, accidental circumstances, &c. The names of brutes express their nature and properties more significantly and more accurately than any other known language in the world. The names also of various ancient nations are of Hebrew origin, being derived from the sons or grandsons of Shem, Ham, and Japhet: as, the Assyrians from Ashur; the Elamites from Elam; the Aramaeans from Aram; the Lydians from Lud; the Cimbrians or Cimmerians from Gomer; the Medians from Madai, the son of Japhet; the Ionians from Javan, &c. Further the names given to the heathen deities suggest an additional proof of the antiquity and originality of the Hebrew language: thus, Japetus is derived from Japhet; Jove, from JAHVE; Vulcan, from Tubal-Cain, who first discovered the use of iron and brass, &c., &c. Lastly, the traces of Hebrew which are to be found in very many other languages, and which have been noticed by several learned men, afford another argument in favor of its antiquity and priority. These vestiges are particularly conspicuous in the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Persian Phœnician, and other languages spoken by the people who dwelt nearest to Babylon, where the first division of languages took place.

The knowledge of the Hebrew language was diffused very widely by the Phœnician merchants, who had factories and colonies on almost every coast of Europe and Asia: that it was identically the same as was spoken in Canaan, or Phœnicia, is evident from its being used by the inhabitants of that country from the time of Abraham to that of Joshua, who gave to places mentioned in the Old Testament, appellations which are pure Hebrew; such are Kiriathsepher, or the *city of books*, and Kiriath-sannah, or the *city of learning*. (Josh. XV. 15. 49.). Another proof of the identity of the two languages arises from the circumstance of the Hebrews conversing with the Canaanites, without an interpreter; as the spies sent by Joshua, with Rahab (Josh. II.); the ambassadors sent by the Gibeonites to Joshua (Josh. IX. 3—25.), &c. But a still stronger proof of the identity of the two languages is to be found in the fragments of the Punic tongue, which occur in the writings of ancient authors. That the Carthaginians (Pœni) derived their name, origin, and language from the Phœnicians, is a well-known and authenticated fact; and that the latter sprang from the Canaanites might easily be shown from the situation of their country, as well as from their manners, customs, and ordinances. Not to cite the testimonies of profane authors on this point, which have been accumulated by Walton, we have sufficient evidence to prove that they were considered as the same people, in the fact of the Phœnicians and Canaanites being used promiscuously to denote the inhabitants of the same country. Compare Exod. VI. 15. with Gen. XLVI. 10. and Exod. XVI. 35. with Josh. V. 12., in which passages, for the Hebrew words translated *Canaanitish* and *land of Canaan*, the Septuagint reads Phœnician, and the country of Phœnicia.

The period from the age of Moses to that of David has been considered the *golden* age of the Hebrew language, which declined in purity from that time to the reign of Hezekiah or Manasseh, having received several foreign words from the commercial and political intercourse of the Jews and Israelites with the Assyrians and Babylonians. This period has been termed the *silver* age of the Hebrew language. In the interval between the reign of Hezekiah and the Babylonish captivity, the purity of the language was neglected, and so many foreign words were introduced into it, that this period has, not inaptly, been designated its *iron* age. During the seventy years' captivity, though it does not appear that the Hebrews *entirely* lost their native tongue, yet it underwent so considerable a

change from their adoption of the vernacular languages of the countries where they had resided, that afterwards, on their return from exile, they spoke a dialect of Chaldee mixed with Hebrew words. On this account it was, that, when the Hebrew Scriptures were read, it was found necessary to interpret them to the people in the Chaldæan language; as, when Ezra, the scribe, brought the book of the law of Moses before the congregation, the Levites are said to have caused the people to understand the law, because *they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly, AND GAVE THE SENSE, AND CAUSED THEM TO UNDERSTAND THE READING.* (Neh. VIII. 9.) Some time after the return from the great captivity, Hebrew ceased to be spoken altogether: though it continued to be cultivated and studied, by the priests and Levites, as a learned language that they might be enabled to expound the law and the prophets to the people, who, it appears from the New Testament, were well acquainted with their general contents and tenor; this last-mentioned period has been called the *leaden age* of the language. "How long the Hebrew was retained, both in writing and conversation; or in writing, after it ceased to be the language of conversation, it is impossible to determine. The coins, stamped in the time of the Maccabees, are all the oriental monuments we have, of the period that elapsed between the latest canonical writers, and the advent of Christ; and the inscriptions on these are in Hebrew. At the time of Maccabees, Hebrew was probably understood, at least, as the language of books: perhaps, in some measure, also, among the better informed, as the language of conversation. But soon after this, the dominion of the Seleucidae, in Syria, over the Jewish nation, uniting with the former influence of the Babylonish captivity, in promoting the Aramæan dialect, appears to have destroyed the remains of proper Hebrew, as a living language and to have universally substituted, in its stead, the Hebræo-Aramæan, as it was spoken, in the time of our Saviour. From the time when Hebrew ceased to be vernacular, down to the present day, a portion of this dialect has been preserved in the Old Testament. It has always been the subject of study among learned Jews. Before and at the time of Christ, there were flourishing Jewish academies at Jerusalem; especially under Hillel and Shammai. After Jerusalem was destroyed, schools were set up in various places, but particularly they flourished at Tiberias, until the death of R. Judah, surnamed *Hakkodesh* or *the Holy*, the author of the Mishna; about A. D. 230. Some of his pupils

set up other schools in Babylonia, which became the rivals of these. The Babylonian academies flourished until near the tenth century." From the academies at Tiberias and in Babylonia, we have received the Targums, the Talmud, the Masora (of all which an account will be found in the course of the present volume), and the written vowels and accents of the Hebrew language. The Hebrew of the Talmud and of the Rabbins has a close affinity with the later Hebrew; especially the first and earliest part of it, the Mishna.

The present Hebrew Characters, or Letters, are twenty-two in number, and of a square form: but the antiquity of these letters is a point that has been most severely contested by many learned men. From a passage in Eusebius's Chronicle, and another in Jerome, it was inferred by Joseph Scaliger, that Ezra, when he reformed the Jewish church, transcribed the ancient characters of the Hebrews into the square letters of the Chaldæans: and that this was done for the use of those Jews, who, being born during the captivity, knew no other alphabet than that of the people among whom they had been educated. Consequently, the old character, which we call the Samaritan, fell into total disuse. This opinion Scaliger supported by passages from both the Talmuds, as well as from rabbinical writers, in which it is expressly affirmed that such characters were adopted by Ezra. But the most decisive confirmation of this point is to be found in the ancient Hebrew coins, which were struck before the captivity, and even previously to the revolt of the ten tribes. The characters engraven on all of them are manifestly the same with the modern Samaritan, though with some trifling variations in their forms, occasioned by the depredations of time. These coins, whether shekels or half shekels. have all of them, on one side, the golden manna-pot (mentioned in Exod. XVI. 32, 33.), and on its mouth, or over the top of it, most of them have a Samaritan Aleph, some an Aleph and Schin, or other letters, with this inscription, *The Shekel of Israel*, in Samaritan characters. On the opposite side is to be seen Aaron's rod with almonds, and in the same letters this inscription, *Jerusalem the holy*. Other coins are extant with somewhat different inscriptions, but the same characters are engraven on them all.

The opinion originally produced by Scaliger, and thus decisively corroborated by coins, has been adopted by Casaubon, Vossius, Grotius, Walton, Louis Cappel, Prideaux, and other eminent biblical critics and philologers, and is now generally received: it was, however, very strenuously though

unsuccessfully opposed by the younger Buxtorf, who endeavored to prove, by a variety of passages from rabbinical writers, that *both* the square and the Samaritan characters were anciently used; the present square character being that in which the tables of the law, and the copy deposited by the ark, were written; and the other characters being employed in the copies of the law which were made for private and common use, and in civil affairs in general; and that, after the captivity, Ezra enjoined the former to be used by the Jews on all occasions, leaving the latter to the Samaritans and apostates. Independently, however, of the strong evidence against Buxtorf's hypothesis, which is afforded by the ancient Hebrew coins, when we consider the implacable enmity that existed between the Jews and Samaritans, is it likely that the one copied from the other, or that the former preferred, to the beautiful letters used by their ancestors, the rude and inelegant characters of their most detested rivals? And when the vast difference between the Chaldee (or square) and the Samaritan letters, with respect to convenience and beauty, is calmly considered, it must be acknowledged that they never could have been used at the same time. After all, it is of no great moment which of these, or whether either of them, were the original characters, since it does not appear that any change of the words has arisen from the manner of writing them, because the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs almost always agree, notwithstanding the lapse of so many ages. It is most probable that the form of these characters has varied at different periods: this appears from the direct testimony of Montfaucon, and is implied in Kenicott's making the characters, in which manuscripts are written, one test of their age. It is, however, certain that the Chaldee or square character was the common one: as in Matt. V. 18. the yod is referred to as the smallest letter in the alphabet. It is highly probable that it was the common character, when the Septuagint version was made; because the departures in the Hebrew text from that version, so far as they have respect to the letters, can mostly be accounted for, on the ground, that the square characters were then used, and that the final letters which vary from the medial or initial form, were then wanting.

But however interesting these inquiries may be in a philological point of view, it is of far greater importance to be satisfied concerning the much litigated, and yet undecided, question respecting the antiquity of the Hebrew points; because, unless the student has determined for himself, after a mature investi-

gation, he cannot with confidence apply to the study of this sacred language.

Three opinions have been offered by learned men on this subject. By some, the origin of the Hebrew vowel points is maintained to be coeval with the Hebrew language itself: while others assert them to have been first introduced by Ezra after the Babylonian captivity. A third hypothesis is, that they were invented, about five hundred years after Christ, by the doctors of the school of Tiberias, for the purpose of marking and establishing the genuine pronunciation, for the convenience of those who were learning the Hebrew tongue.

This opinion, first announced by Rabbi Elias Levita in the beginning of the sixteenth century, has been adopted by Cappel, Casaubon, Scaliger, Masclef, Erpenius, Houbigant, L'Advocat, Walton, Hare, Lowth, Kennicott, Geddes, and other eminent critics, and is now generally received, although some few writers of respectability continue strenuously to advocate their antiquity. The *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum* of Cappel was opposed by Buxtorf in a treatise *De Punctorum Vocalium Antiquitate*, by whom the controversy was almost exhausted.

That the vowel points are of modern date, and of human invention, rests upon the following considerations:

I.—“The kindred Semitic languages *anciently* had no written vowels. The most ancient Estrangelo and Kufish characters, that is, the ancient characters of the Syrians and Arabians, were destitute of vowels. The Palmyrene inscriptions, and nearly all the Phenician ones, are destitute of them. Some of the Maltese inscriptions, however, and a few of the Phenician have marks, which probably were intended as vowels. The Koran was confessedly destitute of them, at first. The punctuation of it occasioned great dispute among Mohammedans. In some of the older Syriac writings is found a single point, which, by being placed in different positions in regard to words, served as a diacritical sign. The present vowel system of the Syrians was introduced so late as the time of Theophilus and Jacob of Edessa. (VIII. Cent.) The Arabic vowels were adopted soon after the Koran was written; but their other diacritical marks did not come into use until they were introduced by Ibn Mokla (about A. D. 900), together with the Nishi character, now in common use.”

2.—The Samaritan letters, which (we have already seen) were the same with the Hebrew characters before the captivity, have no points; nor are there any vestiges whatever of vowel points to be traced, either in the shekels struck by the kings of Israel, or in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The words have always been read by the aid of the four letters, Aleph, He, Vau, and Jod, which are called *matres lectionis*, or mothers of reading.

3.—The copies of the Scriptures used in the Jewish synagogues to the present time, and which are accounted particularly sacred, are constantly written without points, or any distinctions of verses whatever: a practice that could never have been introduced, nor would it have been so religiously followed, if vowel points had been coeval with the language, or of divine authority. To this fact we may add, that in many of the oldest and best manuscripts, collated and examined by Kennicott, either there are no points at all, or they are evidently a *late* addition; and that all the ancient various readings marked by the Jews, regard only the letters; not one of them relates to the vowel points, which could not have happened if these had been in use.

4.—Rabbi Elias Levita ascribes the invention of vowel points to the doctors of Tiberias, and has confirmed the fact by the authority of the most learned rabbins.

5.—The ancient Cabbalists draw all their mysteries from the letters, but none from the vowel points, which they could not have neglected if they had been acquainted with them. And, hence it is concluded, that the points were not in existence when the Cabbalistic interpretations were made.

6.—Although the Talmud contains the determinations of the Jewish doctors concerning many passages of the law, it is evident that the points were not affixed to the text when the Talmud was composed; because there are several disputes concerning the sense of passages of the law, which could not have been controverted if the points had then been in existence. Besides, the vowel points are never mentioned, though the fairest opportunity for noticing them offered itself, if they had really then been in use. The compilation of the Talmud was not finished until the *sixth century*.

7.—The ancient various readings, called Keri and Ketib, or Khetibh (which were collected a short time before the completion of the Talmud), relate entirely to consonants, and not to vowel points; yet, if these had existed in manuscript at the time the Keri and Khetib were collected, it is obvious that

some reference would directly or indirectly have been made to them. The silence, therefore, of the collectors of these various readings is a clear proof of the non-existence of vowel points in their time.

8.—The ancient versions—for instance, the Chaldee paraphrases of Jonathan and Onkelos, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, but especially the Septuagint version—all read the text, in many passages, in senses different from that which the points determine them to mean. Whence, it is evident, that if the points had then been known, pointed manuscripts would have been followed as the most correct; but as the authors of those versions did not use them, it is a plain proof that the points were not then in being.

9.—The ancient Jewish writers themselves are totally silent concerning the vowel points, which surely would not have been the case if they had been acquainted with them. Much stress, indeed, has been laid upon the books of Zohar and Bahir, but these have been proved not to have been known for a thousand years after the birth of Christ. Even Buxtorf himself admits, that the book Zohar could not have been written till after the tenth century; and the rabbis, Gedaliah and Zachet, confess that it was not mentioned before the year 1290, and that it presents internal evidence that it is of a much later date than is intended. It is no uncommon practice of the Jews to publish books of recent date under the names of old writers, in order to render their authority respectable, and even to alter and interpolate ancient writers in order to subserve their own views.

10.—Equally silent are the ancient Fathers of the Christian Church, Origen and Jerome. In some fragments still extant, of Origen's vast biblical work, entitled the Hexapla (of which some account is given in a subsequent page), we have a specimen of the manner in which Hebrew was pronounced in the third century; and which, it appears, was widely different from that which results from adopting the Masoretic reading. Jerome, also, in various parts of his works, where he notices the different pronunciations of Hebrew words, treats *only of the letters*, and nowhere mentions the points, which he surely would have done, had they been found in the copies consulted by him.

11.—The letters א, ה, ו, י, (Aleph, He, Vau, and Yod,) upon the plan of the Masorites, are termed *quiescent*, because, according to them, they have no sound. At other times, these same letters indicate a variety of sounds, as the fancy of these

critics has been pleased to distinguish them by points. This single circumstance exhibits the whole doctrine of points as the *baseless fabric of a vision*. To suppress altogether, or to render insignificant, a *radical* letter of any word, in order to supply its place by an *arbitrary dot or a fictitious mark*, is an invention fraught with the grossest absurdity.

12.—Lastly, as the *first* vestiges of the points that can be traced are to be found in the writings of Rabbi Ben Asher, president of the Western School, and of Rabbi Ben Naphthali, chief of the Eastern School, who flourished about the middle of the *tenth* century, we are justified in assigning that as the epoch when the system of vowel points was established.

Such are the evidences on which the majority of the learned rest their convictions of the modern date of the Hebrew points.

Besides the vowel points, the antiquity of which has been considered in the preceding pages, we meet in pointed Hebrew Bibles with other marks or signs, termed ACCENTS; the system of which is inseparably connected with the present state of the vowel points, inasmuch as these points are often changed in consequence of the accents. The latter, therefore, must have originated contemporaneously with the written vowels, at least, with the completion of the vowel system. Respecting the design of the accents, there has been great dispute among Hebrew grammarians. Professor Stuart, who has discussed this subject most copiously in his valuable Hebrew Grammar, is of opinion that they were designed, not to mark the tone-syllable of a word or the interpunction, but to regulate the *cantillation* of the Scriptures. It is well known that the Jews, from time immemorial, in the public reading of the Scriptures, have *cantillated* them, that is, read in a kind of half singing or recitative way. In this manner, most probably, the Ethiopian eunuch was reading the prophecy of Isaiah, when he was overheard and interrogated by Philip. (Acts VIII. 30.) In this manner, also, Mussulmen read the Koran; and the people of the East generally deliver public discourses in this way. The mode of cantillating Hebrew in different countries is at present various, but guided in all by the accents; that is, the accents are used as musical notes, though various powers are assigned to them.

The Aramæan language derives its name from the very extensive region of Aram, in which it was anciently vernacular. As that region extended from the Mediterranean sea through Syria and Mesopotamia, beyond the river Tigris, the language there spoken necessarily diverged into various dialects; the two principal of which are the Chaldee and the Syriac.

The Chaldee, sometimes called by way of distinction the *East-Aramæan* dialect, was formerly spoken in the province of Babylonia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the original inhabitants of which cultivated this language as a distinct dialect, and communicated it to the Jews during the Babylonian captivity. By means of the Jews it was transplanted into Palestine, where it gradually became the vernacular tongue; though it did not completely displace the old Hebrew until the time of the Maccabees. Although the Aramæan, as spoken by Jews, partook somewhat of the Hebrew character, no entire or very important corruption of it took place; and to this circumstance alone the Babylonians are indebted for the survival, or at least the partial preservation, of their language, which, even in the mother-country, has, since the spread of Mohammedism, been totally extinct.

The principal remains of the Chaldee dialect now extant will be found:

(1.)—In the Canonical Books, Ezra IV. 8. to VI. 18. and VII. 12—16. Jer. X. 2., and Dan. II. 4. to the end of chapter VII.; and

(2.)—In the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases of the Books of the Old Testament.

The Syriac or *West-Aramæan* was spoken both in Syria and Mesopotamia; and, after the captivity, it became vernacular in Galilee. Hence, though several of the sacred writers of the New Testament expressed themselves in Greek, their ideas were Syriac; and they consequently used many Syriac idioms, and a few Syriac words. The chief difference between the Syriac and Chaldee consists in the vowel-points or mode of pronunciation; and, notwithstanding the forms of their respective letters are very dissimilar, yet the correspondence between the two dialects is so close, that if the Chaldee be written in Syriac characters without points, it becomes Syriac, with the exception of a single inflection in the formation of the verbs. The earliest document still extant in the Syriac dialect is the Peschito or old Syriac version of the Old and New Testament.

Though more remotely allied to the Hebrew than either of the preceding dialects, the Arabic language possesses sufficient analogy to explain and illustrate the former, and is not, perhaps, inferior in importance to the Chaldee or the Syriac; particularly as it is a living language, in which almost every subject has been discussed, and which has received the minutest investigation from native writers and lexicographers. The

Arabic language has many roots in common with the Hebrew tongue ; and this again contains very many words which are no longer to be found in the Hebrew writings that are extant, but which exist in the Arabic language. The learned Jews, who flourished in Spain from the tenth to the twelfth century under the dominion of the Moors, were the first who applied Arabic to the illustration of the Hebrew language ; and subsequent Christian writers, as Bochart, the elder Schultens, Olaus Celsius, and others, have diligently and successfully applied the Arabian historians, geographers, and authors on natural history, to the explanation of the Bible.

The history of the text of the Old Testament may be divided into four epochs, viz. 1.—From the writing of the Hebrew book, to the time of Christ ; 2.—From the time of Christ to the period of the Masorites ; 3.—From the time of the Masorites to the invention of the art of printing ; 4.—From the invention of printing to our own time.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE WRITING OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT UNTIL THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST.

We commence with the Pentateuch, concerning the earliest history of which we have more minute information than we have of the other books of the Old Testament. Previously to the building of Solomon's Temple, the Pentateuch was deposited by *the side of the Ark of the Covenant* (Deut. XXXI. 24—26.), to be consulted by the Israelites ; and after the erection of that sacred edifice, it was deposited in the treasury, together with all the succeeding productions of the inspired writers.* On the subsequent destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, the autographs of the sacred books are supposed to have perished : but some learned men have conjectured that they were preserved, because it does not appear that Nebuchadnezzar evinced any particular enmity against the Jewish religion ; and in the account of the sacred things carried to Babylon (II. Kings XXV. II. Chron. XXXVI. Jer. LII.), no mention is made of the sacred books. However this may be, it is a fact, that copies of these autographs were car-

*That the Law was placed by the side of the Ark of the Covenant, and not in it, rests on clear evidence. The Hebrew expression in Deut. XXXI. 26, is: שְׂמַתֶּם אֹתוֹ מִצֵּד אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יְהוָה "Ye shall place it (the Law) by the side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord." This interpretation is supported by the Greek and Samaritan texts.

ried to Babylon; for we find the prophet Daniel quoting the Law, (Dan. IX. 11. 13.) and also expressly mentioning the prophecies of Jeremiah (IX. 2.), which he could not have done, if he had never seen them. We are further informed that, on the finishing of the temple in the sixth year of Darius, the Jewish worship was fully re-established according *as it is written in the book of Moses* (Ezra VI. 18.); which would have been impracticable, if the Jews had not had copies of the Law then among them. But what still more clearly proves that they must have had transcripts of their sacred writings during, as well as subsequent to, the Babylonian captivity, is the fact, that when the people requested Ezra to produce the law of Moses (Nehem. VIII. 1.), they did not entreat him to get it dictated *anew* to them; but that he would bring forth *the book of the Law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel*. Further, long before the time of Jesus Christ, another edition of the Pentateuch was in the hands of the Samaritans, which has been preserved to our time; and though it differs in some instances from the text of the Hebrew Pentateuch, yet upon the whole it accurately agrees with the Jewish copies. And in the year 286 or 285 before the Christian Era, the Pentateuch was translated into the Greek language; and this version, whatever errors may now be detected in it, was so executed as to show that the text, from which it was made, agreed with the text which we now have.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST TO THE AGE OF THE MASORITES.

As the Jews were dispersed through various countries, to whose inhabitants Greek was vernacular, they gradually acquired the knowledge of this language, and even cultivated Greek literature: it cannot therefore excite surprise, that the Septuagint version should be so generally used, as to cause the Hebrew original to be almost entirely neglected. Hence the Septuagint was read in the synagogues: it appears to have been exclusively followed by the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, and it was most frequently, though not solely, consulted by Josephus, who was well acquainted with Hebrew.

In the second century, both Jews and Christians applied themselves sedulously to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. Besides the Peschito or Old Syriac version (if indeed this was not executed at the close of the first century), which was made from the Hebrew for the Syrian Christians, three Greek Versions were undertaken and completed; one for the Jews by

Aquila, an apostate from Christianity to Judaism, and two by Theodotion and Symmachus. The Hebrew text, as it existed in the East from the year 200 to the end of the fifth century, is presented to us by Origen in his Hexapla, by Jonathan in his Targum or Paraphrase on the Prophets, and by the rabbins in the Gemaras or Commentaries on the Mishna or Traditionary Expositions of the Hebrew Scriptures. The variants are scarcely more numerous or more important than in the versions of the second century. But the discrepancies, which were observed in the Hebrew manuscripts in the second or at least in the third century, excited the attention of the Jews, who began to collate copies, and to collect various readings; which, being distributed into several classes, appear in the Jerusalem Talmud about the year 280.

The state of the Hebrew text, in the west of Europe, during the fifth century, is exhibited to us in the Latin version made by Jerome from the original Hebrew, and in his commentaries on the Scriptures. From a careful examination of these two sources, several important facts have been collected, particularly that

(1.) The Old Testament contained the same books which are at present found in our copies.

(2.) The form of the Hebrew letters was the same which we now have, as is evident from Jerome's frequently taking notice of the similar letters, beth and caph, resh and dalet, mem and samech, &c.

(3.) The modern vowel-points, accents, and other diacritic signs were utterly unknown to Jerome. Some words were of doubtful meaning to him, because they were destitute of vowels.

(4.) The divisions of chapters and verses did not exist in any Hebrew MSS.; but it seems that both the Hebrew original and the Septuagint Greek version were divided into larger sections, which differ from those in our copies, because Jerome, in his commentary on Amos VI. 9., says that what is the beginning of another chapter in the Hebrew, is in the Septuagint the end of the preceding.

(5.) The Hebrew MS. used by Jerome for the most part agrees with the Masoretic text, though there are a few unimportant various readings.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE AGE OF THE
MASORITES TO THE INVENTION OF THE
ART OF PRINTING.

1. After the destruction of Jerusalem, and the consequent dispersion of the Jews into various countries of the Roman empire, some of those who were settled in the East applied themselves to the cultivation of literature, and opened various schools, in which they taught the Scriptures. One of the most distinguished of these academies was that established at Tiberias, in Palestine, which Jerome mentions as existing in the fifth century. The doctors of this school, early in the sixth century, agreed to revise the sacred text, and issue an accurate edition of it; for which purpose they collected all the scattered critical and grammatical observations they could obtain, which appeared likely to contribute towards fixing both the reading and interpretation of Scripture, into one book, which they called **מסורה** (*MaSORaH*), that is *tradition*, because it consisted of remarks which they had received from others. Some rabbinical authors pretend that, when God gave the law to Moses on Mount Sinai, he taught him, first, its *true meaning*, and, secondly, its *true interpretation*; and that both these were handed down by oral tradition, from generation to generation, until at length they were committed to writing. The former of these, viz., the true reading, is the subject of the Masora; the latter or true interpretation is that of the *Mishna* and *Gemara*, of which an account is given in a subsequent chapter of the present volume.

The Masoretic notes and criticisms relate to the books, verses, words, letters, vowel points, and accents. The *Masorites*, or Masorets, as the inventors of this system were called, were the first who distinguished the books and sections of books into verses. They marked the number of all the verses of each book and section, and placed the amount at the end of each in numeral letters, or in some symbolical word formed out of them; and they also marked the middle verse of each book. Further, they noted the verses where something was supposed to be forgotten; the words which they believed to be changed; the letters which they deemed to be superfluous; the repetitions of the same verses; the different reading of the words which are redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found at the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; what

letters are pronounced, and what are inverted, together with such as hang perpendicular, and they took the number of each, for the Jews cherish the sacred books with such reverence, that they make a scruple of changing the situation of a letter which is evidently misplaced; supposing that some mystery has occasioned the alteration. They have likewise reckoned which is the middle of the Pentateuch, which is the middle clause of each book, and how many times each letter of the alphabet occurs in all the Hebrew Scriptures. The following table from Walton, will give an idea of their laborious minuteness in these researches:

		Times.			Times.
א Aleph	occurs in the Hebrew Bible	42377	ל Lamed	occurs in the Hebrew Bible	41517
ב Beth	"	38218	מ Mem	"	77778
ג Gimel	"	29537	נ Nun	"	41696
ד Daleth	"	32530	ס Samech	"	13580
ה He	"	47554	ע Ain	"	20175
ו Vau	"	76922	פ Pe	"	22725
ז Zain	"	22867	צ Tsaddi	"	21882
ח Cheth	"	23447	ק Koph	"	22972
ט Teth	"	11052	ר Resh	"	22147
י Yod	"	66420	ש Shin	"	32148
כ Caph	"	48253	ת Tau	"	59343

Such is the celebrated Masorah of the Jews. At first, it did not accompany the text; afterwards the greatest part of it was written in the margin. In order to bring it within the margin, it became necessary to abridge the work itself. This abridgement was called the *little Masora*, *Masora parva*; but, being found too short, a more copious abridgment was inserted, which was distinguished by the appellation of the *great Masora*, *Masora magna*. The omitted parts were added at the end of the text, and called the *final Masora*, *Masora finalis*.

The age when the Masorites lived has been much controverted. Some ascribe the Masoretic notes to Moses; others attribute them to Ezra, and the members of the great synagogue, and their successors after the restoration of the temple worship on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Usher places the Masorites before the time of Jerome; Cappel, at the end of the fifth century; Marsh is of opinion that they cannot be dated higher than the fourth or fifth century; Walton, Basnage, Jahn, and others, refer them to the rabbins of Tiberias in the sixth century, and suppose that they commenced the Masora, which was augmented and continued at different times, by various authors; so that it was

not the work of one man, or of one age. In proof of this opinion, which we think the most probable, we may remark that the notes which relate to the variations in the pointing of particular words, must have been made *after* the introduction of the points, and consequently after the Talmud; other notes must have been made before the Talmud was finished, because it is from these notes that it speaks of the points *over* the letters, and of the variations in their size and position. Hence it is evident, that the *whole* was not the work of the Masorites of Tiberias; further, no good reason can be assigned to prove the Masora the work of Ezra, or his contemporaries; much appears to show that it was not; for, in the *first* place, most of the notes relate to the vowel points, which, we have seen, were not introduced until upwards of fifteen hundred years after his time, and the remarks made about the shape and position of the letters are unworthy of an inspired writer, being more adapted to the superstition of the rabbins, than to the gravity of a divine teacher. *Secondly*, No one can suppose that the prophets collected various readings of their own prophecies, though we find this has been done, and makes part of what is called the Masora. *Thirdly*, The rabbins have never scrupled to abridge, alter or reject any part of these notes, and to intermix their own observations, or those of others, which is a proof that they did not believe them to be the work of the prophets; for in that case they would possess equal authority with the text, and should be treated with the same regard. *Lastly*, Since all that is useful in the Masora appears to have been written since Ezra's time, it is impossible to ascribe to him what is useless and trifling; and from these different reasons it may be concluded that no part of the Masora was written by Ezra. And even though we were to admit that he began it, that would not lead us to receive the present system in the manner the Jews do, because, since we cannot now distinguish what he wrote, and since we find many things in it plainly unworthy of an inspired writer, we may justly refuse it the credit due to inspiration, unless his part were actually separated from what is the work of others. On the whole, then, it appears that what is called the Masora is entitled to no greater reverence or attention than may be claimed by any other human compilation.

Concerning the *value* of the Masoretic system of notation, the learned are greatly divided in opinion. Some have highly commended the undertaking, and have considered the work of the Masorites as a monument of stupendous labor, and un-

wearied assiduity, and as an admirable invention for delivering the sacred text from a multitude of equivocations and perplexities to which it was liable, and for putting a stop to the unbounded licentiousness and rashness of transcribers and critics, who often made alterations in the text on their own private authority. Others, however, have altogether censured the design, suspecting that the Masorites corrupted the purity of the text by substituting, for the ancient and true reading of their forefathers, another reading, more favorable to their prejudices, and more opposite to Christianity, whose testimonies and proofs they were desirous of weakening as much as possible.

Without adopting either of these extremes, Marsh observes, that "the text itself, as regulated by the learned Jews of Tiberias, was probably the result of a collation of manuscripts. But as those Hebrew critics were cautious of *too many* corrections into the text, they noted in the margins of their manuscripts, or in their critical collections, such various readings, derived from other manuscripts, either by themselves or by their predecessors, as appeared to be worthy of attention. This is the *real* origin of those marginal or Masoretic readings which we find in many editions of the Hebrew Bible. But the propensity of the later Jews to seek mystical meanings in the plainest facts, gradually induced the belief that both textual and marginal readings proceeded from the sacred writers themselves; and that the latter were transmitted to posterity by *oral* tradition, as conveying some mysterious application of the *written* words. They were regarded therefore as materials, not of *criticism*, but of *interpretation*." The same critic elsewhere remarks, that notwithstanding all the care of the Masorites to preserve the sacred text without variations, "if their success has not been complete, either in *establishing* or *preserving* the Hebrew text, they have been guilty only of the fault which is common to every human effort."

In the period between the sixth and the tenth centuries, the Jews had two celebrated academies, one at Babylon in the East, and another at Tiberias in the West: where their literature was cultivated, and the Scriptures were very frequently transcribed. Hence arose two *recensions* or editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were collated in the eighth or ninth century. The differences or various readings observed in them were noted, and have been transmitted to our time under the appellation of the Oriental and Occidental, or Eastern and Western Readings. They are variously computed at 210,

216, and 220, and are printed by Walton in the Appendix to his splendid edition of the Polyglott Bible. It is worthy of remark, that not one of these various readings is found in the Septuagint: they do not relate to vowel points or accents, nor do any of them affect the sense. Our printed editions vary from the Eastern readings in fifty-five places.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW TEXT FROM THE INVENTION OF THE ART OF PRINTING TO OUR OWN TIMES.

Shortly after the invention of the art of printing, the Hebrew Scriptures were committed to the press; at first in detached portions, and afterwards the entire Bible.

We excerpt here from Horne (l. c.) the principal editions of Hebrew Scriptures.

EDITIONES PRINCIPES.

Psalterium Hebraicum, cum commentario KIMCHII. Anno 237 (1477). 4to.

The *first* printed Hebrew book. It is of extreme rarity, and is printed (probably at Bologna) with a square Hebrew type, approaching that of the German Jews. The text is without points, except in the four first psalms, which are clumsily pointed. The commentary of Rabbi Kimchi is subjoined to each verse of the text in the rabbinical character, and is much more complete than in the subsequent editions, as it contains all those passages which were afterwards omitted, as being hostile to Christianity. Prof. Jahn states that it is incorrectly printed, and that the *matres lectionis* are introduced or omitted at the pleasure of the editors.

Biblia Hebraica, cum punctis. Soncino, 1488, folio.

The first edition of the *entire Hebrew Bible* ever printed. It is at present of such extreme rarity, that only nine or ten copies of it are known to be in existence. One of these is in the library of Exeter College, Oxford.

EDITIONES PRIMARIE, OR THOSE WHICH HAVE BEEN ADOPTED AS THE BASES OF SUBSEQUENT IMPRESSIONS.

Biblia Hebraica, 8vo. Brixia, 1494.

This edition was conducted by GERSON, the son of Rabbi Moses. It is also of extreme rarity, and is printed in long lines, except part of the Psalms, which is in two columns. The identical copy of this edition, from which Luther made his German translation, is said to be preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. This edition was the basis of: 1.—The

Hebrew Text of the Complutensian Polyglott; 2.—Bomberg's *first* Rabbinical Bible, Venice, 1518, in 4 vols. folio; 3.—*Daniel*, Bomberg's 4to. Hebrew Bible, Venice, 1518; 4.—His second Hebrew Bible, 4to. Venice, 1521; and, 5.—Sebastian Munster's Hebrew Bible, Basil, 1536, in 2 vols. 4to.

Another primary edition is the *Biblia Hebraica Bombergiana* II. folio, Venice, 1525, 1526, folio.

This was edited by Rabbi Jacob Ben CHAJIM, who had the reputation of being profoundly learned in the Masora, and other branches of Jewish erudition. He pointed the text according to the Masoretic system. This edition is the basis of all the modern pointed copies.

EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE, WITH RABBINICAL COMMENTARIES.

Besides the *Biblia Rabbinica* I. et II. just mentioned, we may notice in this class the three following editions, viz:

Biblia Hebraica cum utraque Masora, Targum, necnon commentariis Rabbinorum, studio et cum præfatione R. Jacob F. Chajim, Venetiis, 1547–1549, 4 tomis in 2 vols. folio.

This is the second of Rabbi Jacob Ben Chajim's editions; and, according to M. Brunet, is preferable to the preceding, as well as to another edition executed in 1568, also from the press of Daniel Bomberg.

Biblia Hebræa, cum utraque Masora et Targum, item cum commentariis Rabbinorum, studio Johannis Buxtorfii, patris; adjuncta est ejusdem Tiberias, sive commentarius Masoreticus. Basileæ, 1618, 1619, 1620, 4 tomis in 2 vols. folio.

This great work was executed at the expense of Louis Kœnig, an opulent bookseller at Basle. On account of the additional matter which it contains, it is held in great esteem by Hebrew scholars, many of whom prefer it to the Hebrew Bibles printed by Bomberg. Buxtorf's *Biblia Rabbinica* contains the commentaries of the celebrated Jewish Rabbins, Jarchi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Levi Ben Gerson, and Saadiah Haggaon. An appendix is subjoined, containing, besides the Jerusalem Targum, the great Masora, corrected and amended by Buxtorf and the various lections of the Rabbis Ben Ascher and Ben Naphtali. Buxtorf also annexed the points to the Chaldee paraphrase. The *Tiberias*, published by Buxtorf in 1620, was intended to illustrate the Masora and other additions to his great Bible.

Biblia Hebraica Magna Rabbinica. Amstelodami 1724–27, 4 vols. folio.

"This is unquestionably the most copious and most valuable of all the Rabbinical Bibles, and was edited by Moses Ben Simeon, of Frankfort. It is founded upon the Bomberg editions, and contains not only their contents, but also those of Buxtorf, with additional remarks by the editor."

PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE, INCLUDING THOSE WITH CRITICAL NOTES AND APPARATUS.

The first edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed by Bomberg, and edited by Felix PRATENSIS (Venice, 1518), contains the various lections of the Eastern and Western recensions, which are also to be found in Buxtorf's *Biblia Rabbinica*.

Biblia Hebraica, cum Latina Versione Sebastiani MUNSTERI. Basileæ, 1534, 1535, 2 vols. folio.

The Hebrew type of this edition resembles the characters of the German Jews. The Latin version of Munster is placed by the side of the Hebrew text. Though the editor has not indicated what manuscripts he used, he is supposed to have formed his text upon the edition printed at Brescia in 1494, or the still more early one of 1488. His prolegomena contain much useful critical matter, and his notes are subjoined to each chapter. This is the first edition of the Hebrew Bible printed in Germany.

Hebraicorum Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina Interpretatio, operâ olim Xantis Pagnini, Lucensis: nunc verò Benedicti Ariæ Montani, Hispalensis, Francisci Raphelengii, Alnetani, Guidonis et Nicolai Fabriciorum Boderianorum fratrum collato studio, ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissimè expensa. Christ. Plantinus Antwerpia excudebat, 1571. Folio.

This is the first edition executed by Plantin, and is reputed to be the most correct. The Hebrew text is the same as that printed in the Antwerp, or Spanish Polyglott; and the interlineary Latin version is that of Pagninus, corrected by B. Arias Montanus. The Latin words correspond with the Hebrew above them; and the Hebrew roots are placed in the margin to assist the reader. The order of the books of the Old Testament agrees with that of the Latin Bibles, and not with that of the Jews. The New Testament in Greek, also with an interlineary Latin version, printed in 1572, is added to this edition.

Biblia Hebraica: eorundem Latina Interpretatio Xantis Pagnini, Lucensis, recenter Benedicti Ariæ Montani, Hispalensis et quorundam aliorum collato studio, ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissimè expensa. Accesserunt et huic editioni

Libri Græcè scripti, qui vocantur Apocryphi, cum interlineari interpretatione Latina ex Bibliis Complutensibus petita. Antwerpia, ex officinâ Christophori Plantini. 1584. Folio.

This is the second edition printed by Plantin; and it has the New Testament in Greek, also with an interlineary version and a separate title.

Biblia Sacra Hebræa correctæ, et collatæ cum antiquissimis exemplaribus manuscriptis et hactenus impressis. Amstelodami. Typis et sumtibus Josephi Athiæ. 1661, 1667, 8vo.

An extremely rare edition of a most beautifully executed Hebrew Bible. The impression of 1667 is said to be the most correct.

Biblia Hebraica, cum notis Hebraicis et Lemmatibus Latinis, ex recensione Dan. Ern. JABLONSKI, cum ejus Præfatione Latina. Berolini, 1699, large 8vo.

De Rossi considers this to be one of the most correct and important editions of the Hebrew Bible ever printed. It is extremely scarce. Jablonski published another edition of the Hebrew Bible in 1712, at Berlin, without points, in large 12mo., and subjoined to it Leusden's Catalogue of 2294 select verses, containing all the words occurring in the Old Testament. There is also a Berlin edition of the Hebrew Bible without points, in 1711, 24mo., from the press of Jablonski, who has prefixed a short preface. It was begun under the editorial care of S. G. Starcke, and finished, on his death, by Jablonski.

Biblia Hebraica, edente Everardo VAN DER HOOCHT. Amstelodami et Ultrajecti, 8vo. 2 vols. 1705.

A work of singular beauty and rarity. The Hebrew text is printed after Athias' second edition, with marginal notes pointing out the contents of each section. The characters, especially the vowel points, are uncommonly clear and distinct. At the end, Van der Hooght has given the various lections occurring in the editions of Bomberg, Plantin, Athias, and others.

Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis, et Versione Latina ad notas criticas facta. Accedunt Libri Græci, qui Deuterocanonici vocantur, in tres Classes distributi. Autore Carolo Francisco HOUBIGANT. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1753, 4 vols. folio.

The text of this edition is that of Van der Hooght, without points; and in the margin of the Pentateuch, Houbigant has added various lections from the Samaritan Pentateuch. He collated twelve manuscripts, of which, however, he is said not to have made all the use he might have done. Houbigant has

also printed a new Latin version of his own, expressive of such a text as his critical emendations appeared to justify and recommend. The book is most beautifully printed.

Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, cum variis Lectionibus. Edidit Benjaminus KENNICOTT, S. T. P. Oxonii, 1776, 1780, 2 vols. folio.

This splendid work was preceded by two dissertations on the state of the Hebrew text, published in 1753 and 1759, the object of which was to show the necessity of the same extensive collation of Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament as had already been undertaken for the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. The utility of the proposed collation being generally admitted, a very liberal subscription was made to defray the expense of the collation, amounting on the whole to nearly ten thousand pounds, and the name of his Majesty King George III. headed the list of subscribers. Various persons were employed both at home and abroad; but of the foreign literati, the principal was Professor Bruns, of the University of Helmstadt, who not only collated Hebrew manuscripts in Germany, but went for that purpose into Italy and Switzerland. The business of collation continued from 1760 to 1769, inclusive, during which period Kennicott published annually an account of the progress which was made. More than six hundred Hebrew manuscripts, and sixteen manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, were discovered in different libraries in England and on the Continent, many of which were wholly collated, and others consulted in important passages. Several years necessarily elapsed, after the collations were finished, before the materials could be arranged and digested for publication. The variations, contained in nearly *seven hundred* bundles of papers, being at length digested (including the collations made by Professor Bruns), and the whole, when put together, being corrected by the original collations, and then fairly transcribed into *thirty* folio volumes, the work was put to press in 1773. In 1776 the first volume of Kennicott's Hebrew Bible was delivered to the public, and in 1780 the second volume. It was printed at the Clarendon Press; and the University of Oxford has the honor of having produced the first critical edition upon a large scale, both of the Greek Testament and of the Hebrew Bible.

"The text of Kennicott's edition was printed from that of Van der Hooght, with which the Hebrew manuscripts, by Kennicott's direction, were all collated. But, as variations in the points were disregarded in the collation, the points were

not added in the text. The various readings, as in the critical editions of the Greek Testament, were printed at the bottom of the page, with references to the correspondent readings of the text. In the Pentateuch, the deviations of the Samaritan text were printed in a column parallel to the Hebrew; and the variations observable in the Samaritan manuscripts, which differ from each other as well as the Hebrew, are likewise noted, with references to the Samaritan *printed* text. To this collation of manuscripts was added a collation of the most distinguished *editions* of the Hebrew Bible, in the same manner as Wetstein has noted the variations observable in the principal editions of the Greek Testament. Nor did Kennicott confine his collation to manuscripts and editions. He further considered, that as the quotations from the Greek Testament in the works of ecclesiastical writers afford another source of various readings, so the quotations from the Hebrew Bible in the works of *Jewish* writers are likewise subjects of critical inquiry. For this purpose he had recourse to the most distinguished among the rabbinical writings, but particularly to the Talmud, the *text* of which is as ancient as the third century. In the quotation of his authorities he designates them by numbers, from 1 to 692, including manuscripts, editions, and rabbinical writings, which numbers are explained in the *Dissertatio Generalis*, annexed to the second volume."

To Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, M. de Rossi published an important supplement at Parma (1784-1787), in four volumes 4to. of *Varie Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*. This work and Kennicott's edition form one complete set of collations. Of the immense mass of various readings which the collations of Kennicott and M. de Rossi exhibit, multitudes are *insignificant*, consisting frequently of the omission or addition of a single letter in a word, as a vau, &c.

Closely allied in history with the Hebrew text is the Samaritan Codex.

When the ten tribes seceded from the central government under Roboam, and set up an independent government under Jeroboam at Samaria, they were always regarded by those who had remained faithful to Solomon's issue in the kingdom of Juda, as prevaricators. Many fierce and bloody wars were waged between the two kingdoms, till the Assyrians overthrew the kingdom of Israel, and took her sons captive (721 B. C.). To inhabit the land of Israel thus made desolate, the Assyrian monarchs sent thither colonists from the provinces of Babylon, from Cutha, Ava, Chamath, Sepharvaim. The remnants of

Jews that had been left in the land blended with these foreign colonists, and thus a mongrel race was formed that was termed Samaritans, from the name of the chief city of their land. Samaria, Heb. Shomeron, was thus called because it was built on a hill purchased from one Shomer. At first they brought with them their heterodox idolatry, which ignored Jahve. It would be dangerous to allow such a people to entrench themselves so close to Juda, and carry on the false worship of the Assyrian gods, so Jahve sent upon them lions to ravage their land, to show that they must recognize him. Moved by this scourge, Assarhaddon, [Assur-ah-iddin] the Assyrian monarch, sent to them one of Israel's priests, that had been taken captive, to teach them the religion of Jahve. The polytheism of the Assyrians admitted of any number of gods, and it was thought by them that the punishment had come upon the colonists simply because they ignored the god of the land. That is, they believed that the land had a particular deity, who was to be united in worship to the other particular deities which they worshipped. The knowledge that the captive priest gave them of Jahve did not, in effect, exclude the worship of their own deities. They recognized Jahve only as a particular god of the land, and though they built temples to him, his worship was held in an inferior rank, for they chose as Jahve's priests the lowest of the people. They neglected the supreme and exclusive character of Jahve's worship, and must have considered such demands by Jahve as a jealous exclusiveness, which they could not sanction. So that, at the same time that they maintained a sort of worship of Jahve, every nation worshipped its own particular deity. For the men of Babylon made Soccoth Benoth, and the Cuthites made Nerghal, and the men of Chamath made Asima, and the men of Ava made Nibhaz and Thartack, and they that were of Sepharvaim burnt their children in fire to Adramelech and Anamelech, the gods of Sepharvaim (IV. Kings XVII. 30, 31). Such was the origin and religion of the Samaritans. They have a copy of the Pentateuch, in which the Hebrew words are inscribed in Samaritan characters. The date of this is uncertain, but it certainly must go back to the time of the captive priest, sent thither to instruct them. He could not well do this without a copy of the Law. It is not improbable that its date would go back even further, to the founding of the kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam.

Although the Samaritan Pentateuch was known to and cited by Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius of Gaza,

Diodorus of Tarsus, Jerome, Syncellus, and other ancient Fathers, yet it afterwards fell into oblivion for upwards of a thousand years, so that its very existence began to be questioned. Joseph Scaliger was the first who excited the attention of learned men to this valuable relic of antiquity; and M. Peiresc procured a copy from Egypt, which, together with the ship that brought it, was unfortunately captured by pirates. More successful was Usher, who procured six copies from the East; and from another copy, purchased by Pietro della Valle for M. de Sancy (then ambassador from France to Constantinople, and afterwards Archbishop of St. Maloes), Father Morinus printed the Samaritan Pentateuch, for the first time, in the Paris Polyglott. This was afterwards reprinted in the London Polyglott by Walton, who corrected it from three manuscripts which had formerly belonged to Usher.

VARIATIONS OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH FROM THE HEBREW.

The celebrated critic, Le Clerc, has instituted a minute comparison of the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Hebrew text; and has, with much accuracy and labor, collected those passages in which he is of opinion that the former is more or less correct than the latter. For instance:

1.—*The Samaritan text appears to be more correct than the Hebrew*, in Gen. II. 4, VII. 2, XIX. 19, XX. 2, XXIII. 16, XXIV. 14, XLIX. 10, 11, L. 26; Exod. I. 2, IV. 2.

2.—*It is expressed more conformably to analogy*, in Gen. XXXI. 39, XXXV. 26, XXXVII. 17, XLI. 34, 43, XLVII. 3; Deut. XXXII. 5.

3.—*It has glosses and additions* in Gen. XXIX. 15, XXX. 36, XLI. 16; Exod. VII. 18, VIII. 23, IX. 5, XXI. 20, XXII. 5, XXIII. 10, XXXII. 9; Lev. I. 10, XVII. 4; Deut. V. 21.

4.—*It appears to have been altered by a critical hand*, in Gen. II. 2, IV. 10, IX. 5, X. 19, XI. 21, XVIII. 3, XIX. 12, XX. 16, XXIV. 38, 55, XXXV. 7, XXXVI. 6, XLI. 50; Exod. I. 5, XIII. 6, XV. 5; Numb. XXII. 32.

5.—*It is more full than the Hebrew text*, in Gen. V. 8, XI. 31, XIX. 9, XXVII. 34, XXXIX. 4, XLIII. 25; Exod. XII. 40, XL. 17; Numb. IV. 14; Deut. XX. 16.

6.—*It is defective* in Gen. XX. 16, and XXV. 14.

It agrees with the Septuagint version in Gen. IV. 8, XIX. 12, XX. 16, XXIII. 2, XXIV. 55, 62, XXVI. 18, XXIX. 27, XXXV. 29, XXXIX. 8, XLI. 16, 43, XLIII. 26, XLIX. 26; Exod. VIII. 3, and in various other passages.

7.—*It sometimes varies from the Septuagint*, as in Gen. I. 7, V. 29, VIII. 3, 7, XLIX. 22; Num. XXII. 4.

The differences between the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs may be accounted for by the usual sources of various readings, viz., the negligence of copyists, introduction of glosses from the margin into the text, the confounding of similar letters, the transposition of letters, the addition of explanatory words, &c. The Samaritan Pentateuch, however, is of great use and authority in establishing correct readings; in many instances it agrees remarkably with the Greek Septuagint, and it contains numerous and excellent various lections, which are in every respect preferable to the received Masoretic readings, and are further confirmed by the agreement of other ancient versions.

The most material variations between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Hebrew, which affect the authority of the former, occur, first, in the prolongation of the patriarchal generations; and, secondly, in the alteration of Ebal into Garizim (Deut. XXVII.), in order to support their separation from the Jews.

With regard to the charge of altering the Pentateuch, it has been shown by Kennicott, from a consideration of the character of the Samaritans, their known reverence for the Law, our Lord's silence on the subject in his memorable conversation with the woman of Samaria, and from various other topics; that what almost all biblical critics have hitherto considered as a wilful corruption by the Samaritans, is in all probability the *true* reading, and that the corruption is to be charged on the Jews themselves. In judging, therefore, of the genuineness of a reading, we are not to declare absolutely for one of these Pentateuchs against the other, but to prefer the true readings in both. "One ancient copy," Kennicott remarks, with equal truth and justice, "has been received from the Jews, and we are truly thankful for it; another ancient copy is offered by the Samaritans; let us thankfully accept that likewise. Both have been often transcribed; both, therefore, may contain errors. They differ in many instances, therefore the errors must be many. Let the two parties be heard without prejudice; let their evidences be weighed with impartiality; and let the genuine words of Moses be ascertained by their joint assistance. Let the variations of all the manuscripts on each side be carefully collected, and then critically examined by the context and the ancient versions. If the Samaritan copy should be found in some places to correct the

Hebrew, yet will the Hebrew copy in other places correct the Samaritan. *Each* copy, therefore, is invaluable; each copy, therefore, demands our pious veneration, and attentive study. The Pentateuch will never be understood perfectly, till we admit the authority of both."*

VERSIONS OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

Of the Samaritan Pentateuch two versions are extant; one in the proper Samaritan dialect, which is usually termed the Samaritan Version, and another in Arabic.

We here reproduce on the opposite page a specimen of the Samaritan Codex, and its Samaritan translation from Walton's Polyglott. The passage is from Genesis, I. 1-14.

The Samaritan Version was made in Samaritan characters, from the Hebræo-Samaritan text into the Samaritan dialect, which is intermediate between the Hebrew and the Aramaean languages. This version is of great antiquity, having been made at least before the time of Origen, that is, early in the second century. The author of the Samaritan version is unknown, but he has in general adhered very closely and faithfully to the original text; so that this version is almost exactly the counterpart of the original Hebrew-Samaritan Codex with all its various readings. This shows, in a degree really surprising, how very carefully and accurately the Hebrew Pentateuch has been copied and preserved by the Samaritans, from the ancient times in which their version was made.

After the rise of protestantism, the adherents of the new sect made a fierce attack on the Latin Vulgate. They, at the same time, greatly extolled the original languages of Holy Scripture, and strove to maintain that the Hebrew text had persevered unchanged from the beginning. To counteract this movement, some Catholics depreciated the Hebrew text far below its merits. It is undoubtedly true that both opinions are extreme. The Hebrew text, like all other old documents, has suffered much from various causes, and in the text are many uncertain readings. In fact, as it is older than the other texts of Scripture, its vicissitudes have been greater, and the resulting corruption greater; but we stoutly deny that it is so vitiated, that it is no longer an authentic text of Scripture. Justin, (martyr) Origen, Chrysostom, the pseudo Athanasius, Tertullian, Jerome and others accused the Jews of corrupting the Scriptures.†

*Kennicott, Diss. II. pp. 20-165.

†S. Iustin. c. Tryph. 71, 72, etc. (M. 6, 644); S. Iren. c. haer. III. 21; IV. 12 (M. 7, 946, 1004); Origen. Ep. ad Afric. 9; in Ierem. hom. 16, 10 (M. 12, 65

TEXT. ET VER. SAM.
Translatio Latina.

CAP. I.
IN Principio creavit Deus
caelum & terram. Terra
autem erat inanis &
vacua, & tenebrae erant
super faciem abyssi: & vi-
tus quoque Dei (a) se-
dabat super aquas. Di-
xitque Deus, fiat lux, &
facta est lux. Et vidit De-
us lucem quod bona esset.
Et separavit Deus inter
lucem & inter tenebras.
Vocavitque Deus lucem,
dicim, & tenebras voca-
vit noctem: Et factum est
vespere, factumque est
mane, dies unus. Et dixit
Deus, fiat firmamentum
in medio aquarum: & se-
paravitque aquas ab aquis. Et
fecit Deus firmamentum:
separavitque aquas quae
erant subter firmamen-
tum ab aquis quae erant
super firmamentum: &
factum est ita. Vocavit-
que Deus firmamentum,
caelum: Et factum est ve-
sper, factumque est ma-
ne, dies secundus. Et di-
xit Deus, congregentur
aquae quae sub caelo sunt in
locum unum, & convenerit

[illegible]

arida: & factum est iua.
Et vocavit Deus aridam, 10
terram; & congregationē
aquarum; vocavit maria:
viditque Deus quod bonū
esset. Et dixit Deus, ger- 11
minet terra herbam vi-
gentem, (b) facientem se-
men; & arborem fru-
geram; facientem fru-
ctum secundum speciem
suam, cuius semen sit in
ea super terram: & fa- 12
ctum est ita. Produxitque
terra herbam viventē (c)
facientem semen secundū
speciem suā; & (d) arbore
fecit: fructū (e) habentē
semen in semetipsa, secun-
dum speciem suam: Et vi- 13
dit Deus quod bonū esset.
Et factum est vespere, fa-
ctumque est mane, dies ter- 14
tius. Et dixit Deus, fiat
luminaria in (f) firmamen-
to celi, ut luceant super
terram, & separent diem
à nocte: sintque in signa
& in tempora, & in dies,
& annos.

VERS.SA. (a) perfians su
o in seipfa est (f) orbe cœli

Martianay, Nicolas of Lyra, Paul of Burgos, Salmeron, Melchior Canus, Morini and others also have laid this accusation upon them.*

Jerome, in another place, stoutly defends the integrity of the Hebrew text. Augustine, Sixtus of Sienna, Bellarmine, Genebrard, Mariana, Richard Simon and others have also defended its integrity.†

In studying the question, we are led to the following conclusions: 1.—They err greatly who believe that any extensive corruption was wrought in the Hebrew text in hatred of the Messiah. That such corruption could not have been wrought before the time of the Christ is self-evident. There was lacking the motive for such movement, and, moreover, had it been done in hatred of the Messiah, he would have charged them with this great crime. That such corruption were wrought after the advent of Christ is disproven first, from the impossibility of the work. There were many codices scattered abroad through the world, several of which were in possession of those who would not conspire in such undertaking. No system would suffice to reach them all. And, moreover, some of the sublimest of the messianic prophecies never arrive, in their translations, at the grandeur that they have in the original. We believe, also, that the Providence of God would not permit that code to be essentially corrupted, in which he had first covenanted with the chosen people. But it is not our mind to deny that an occasional corruption has been wilfully fastened upon the Hebrew text. Hatred of the Messiah is bound up in the heart of the Jew. Now, as they were the chief custodians of the Hebrew text, it is quite probable that, wherever the reading or the sense was doubtful, they would incline to that reading or interpretation which was less favorable to the Messiah. Again, some certain texts may have been deliberately corrupted in some codices, whence the corruption spread,

sq.; 13, 449 sqq.); S. Chrys. in Matth. hom. 5, 2 (M. 57); Ps. Athan. Synops. SS. 78 (in textu latino tantum; M. 28, 438); Tertull. de cultu fem. I. 3 (M. 1, 1308); S. Hier. in Gal. 3, 10 (M. 26, 357).

*Raym. Mart. Pug. fid. II. 3, 9 p. 277; Lyran. et Paulus Burg. in Os. 9; Salmer. Proleg. 4; Cani Loci theol. II. 13; Morin. Exercit. bibl. I. 1, 2 p. 7 sqq. eorum et aliorum multorum testimonia recitat.

†S. Hier. in Is. 6, 9 (M. 24, 99); S. Aug. De Civ. D. XV. 13 (M. 41, 452); Bellarm. De verbo Dei II. 2; Sim. de Muis Triplex assertio pro veritate hebraica. Opp. II. p. 131 sqq.; Genebrard in Ps. 21, 19; Sixt. Sen. Biblioth. s. VIII. haer. 13; Ioan. Mariana Pro Vulgata c. 7; Rich. Sim. Hist. crit. du V. T. III. 18; Marchini De divin. et canonic. libr. sacr. I. 6; Lamy Introd. in SS. I. p. 83 sqq.; Reinke Beiträge VII. p. 292 sqq., etc. etc.

and gradually invaded them all. This we admit, but it is in so small a part that it does not rob the great text of its value. We reserve for the exegesis of the text to specify the places where such corruption has prevailed.

The corruption of one passage, or the attempt to obscure the sense of a passage, would have sufficed to bring upon the Jews the accusations spoken of in the Fathers. Moreover, it is not clear that the Fathers charged them with changing the Hebrew text, but rather with obscuring the sense, so that they rejected the Septuagint. Justin, it is true (l. c.), accuses them of deliberate mutilations, but an examination of the passages does not substantiate his charge. The rejection by the Jews of the deuterocanonical books might also have been taken by the Fathers as a corruption of Scripture.

We believe, therefore, that the way of truth lies in a middle course. We admit that some passages of the Hebrew text are corrupted, but we defend that in the main it is authentic, and of the greatest value for him who would arrive at the deeper sense of the message of the Old Law.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

We have before spoken of the evidence of the Providence of God in bringing about a state of peace in the civilized world, preceding the advent of Christ. It is also attributable to this benign Providence that one universal tongue was the medium of thought in this vast extent of the habitable globe. When, therefore, the Apostles entered upon the execution of the mandate of Christ to teach all nations, they adopted the Greek language which was the great medium of thought among the nations.

After the Macedonians had subjugated the whole of Greece, and extended their dominion into Asia and Africa, the refined and elegant Attic began to decline; and all the dialects being by degrees mixed together, there arose a certain peculiar language, called the *Common*, and also the *Hellenic*; but more especially, since the empire of the Macedonians was the chief cause of its introduction into the general use from the time of Alexander onwards, it was called the (later) *Macedonic*. This dialect was composed from almost all the dialects of Greece, together with very many foreign words borrowed from the Persians, Syrians, Hebrews, and other nations, who became connected with the Macedonian people after the age of

Alexander. Now, of this Macedonian dialect, the dialect of Alexandria (which was the language of *all* the inhabitants of that city, as well of the learned as of the Jews,) was a degenerate progeny far more corrupt than the common Macedonian dialect. This last-mentioned common dialect, being the current Greek spoken throughout Western Asia, was made use of by the writers of the Greek Testament. In consequence of the peculiarities of the Hebrew phraseology being discernible, it has by some philologists been termed *Hebraic-Greek*, and (from the Jews having acquired the Greek language, rather by practice than by grammar, among the Greeks, in whose countries they resided in large communities,) *Hellenistic-Greek*. The propriety of this appellation was severely contested towards the close of the seventeenth and in the early part of the eighteenth century; and numerous publications were written on both sides of the question, with considerable asperity, which, together with the controversy, are now almost forgotten. The dispute, however interesting to the philological antiquarian, is, after all, a mere "strife of words:" and as the appellations of *Hellenistic* or *Hebraic-Greek*, and of *Macedonian-Greek*, are sufficiently correct for the purpose of characterizing the language of the New Testament, one or other of them is now generally adopted.

Of this Hebraic style, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark exhibit strong vestiges." The Epistles of St. James and Jude are somewhat better, but even these are full of Hebraisms, and betray in other respects a certain Hebrew tone. St. Luke has, in several passages, written pure and classic Greek, of which the four first verses of his Gospel may be given as an instance: in the sequel, where he describes the actions of Christ, he has very harsh Hebraisms, yet the style is more agreeable than that of St. Matthew or St. Mark. In the Acts of the Apostles he is not free from Hebraisms, which he seems to have never studiously avoided; but his periods are more classically turned, and sometimes possess beauty devoid of art. St. John has numerous, though not uncouth, Hebraisms both in his Gospel and Epistles; but he has written in a smooth and flowing language, and surpasses all the Jewish writers in the excellence of narrative. St. Paul again is entirely different from them all; his style is indeed neglected and full of Hebraisms, but he has avoided the concise and verse-like construction of the Hebrew language, and has, upon the whole, a considerable share of the roundness of Grecian composition. It is evident that he was as perfectly

acquainted with the Greek manner of expression as with the Hebrew; and he has introduced them alternately, as either the one or the other suggested itself the first, or was the best approved."

This diversity of style and idiom in the sacred writers of the New Testament affords an intrinsic and irresistible evidence for the authenticity of the books which pass under their names. If their style had been uniformly the same, there would be good reason for suspecting that they had all combined together when they wrote; or, else, that having previously concerted what they should teach, one of them had committed to writing their system of doctrine. In ordinary cases, when there is a difference of style in a work professing to be the production of *one* author, we have reason to believe that it was written by several persons. In like manner, and for the very same reason, when books, which pass under the names of *several* authors, are written in different styles, we are authorized to conclude that they were not composed by one person.

Further, if the New Testament had been written with classic purity, if it had presented to us the language of Isocrates, Demosthenes, Xenophon, or Plutarch, there would have been just grounds for suspicion of forgery; and it might with propriety have been objected, that it was impossible for Hebrews, who professed to be men of no learning, to have written in so pure and excellent a style, and, consequently, that the books which were ascribed to them must have been the invention of some impostor. The diversity of style, therefore, which is observable in them, so far from being any objection to the authenticity of the New Testament, is in reality a strong argument for the truth and sincerity of the sacred writers, and of the authenticity of their writings. "Very many of the Greek words found in the New Testament, are not such as were adopted by men of education, and the higher and more polished ranks of life, but such as were in use with the common people. Now this shows that the writers became acquainted with the language, in consequence of an actual intercourse with those who spoke it, rather than from any study of books; and that intercourse must have been very much confined to the middling or even lower classes; since the words and phrases most frequently used by them passed current only among the vulgar. There are undoubtedly many plain intimations given throughout these books, that their writers were of this lower class, and that their associates were frequently of the same description; but the character of the

style is the strongest confirmation possible that their conditions were not higher than what they have ascribed to themselves." In fact, the vulgarisms, foreign idioms, and other disadvantages and defects, which some critics imagine that they have discovered in the Hebraic Greek of the New Testament, "are assigned by the inspired writers as the reasons of God's preference of it, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, nor his ways our ways. Paul argues, that the success of the preachers of the Gospel, in spite of the absence of those accomplishments in language, then so highly valued, was an evidence of the divine power and energy with which their ministry was accompanied. He did not address them, he tells us (I. Cor. I. 17.) *with the wisdom of words*,—with artificial periods and a studied elocution,—*lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect*;—lest to human eloquence that success should be ascribed, which ought to be attributed to the divinity of the doctrine and the agency of the spirit, in the miracles wrought in support of it. There is hardly any sentiment which he is at greater pains to enforce. He *used none of the enticing or persuasive words of man's wisdom*. Wherefore?—'That their faith might not stand *in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God*.' (I. Cor. II. 4, 5.) Should I ask what was the reason why our Lord Jesus Christ chose for the instruments of that most amazing revolution in the religious systems of mankind, men perfectly illiterate and taken out of the lowest class of the people? Your answer to this will serve equally for an answer to that other question, Why did the Holy Spirit choose to deliver such important truths in the barbarous idiom of a few obscure Galilæans, and not in the politer and more harmonious strains of Grecian eloquence? I repeat it, the answer to both questions is the same—That it might appear, beyond contradiction, that the excellency of the power was of God, and not of man."

As a large proportion of the phrases and constructions of the New Testament is pure Greek, that is to say, of the same degree of purity as the Greek which was spoken in Macedonia, and that in which Polybius and Appian wrote their histories; the language of the New Testament will derive considerable illustration from consulting the works of classic writers, and especially from diligently collating the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.

In consequence of the Macedonian Greek being composed of almost all the dialects of Greece (as well as of very many foreign words), the New Testament contains examples of the

various DIALECTS occurring in the Greek language, and especially of the Attic. To these, some have added the poetic dialect, chiefly, it should seem, because there are a few passages cited by St. Paul from the ancient Greek poets, in Acts XVII. 28, I. Cor. XV. 33, and Tit. I. 12. But the sacred writers of the New Testament, being Jews, were consequently acquainted with the Hebrew idioms, and also with the common, as well as with the *appropriated* or *acquired* senses of the words of that language. Hence, when they used a Greek word, as correspondent to a Hebrew one of like signification, they employed it as the Hebrew word was used, either in a common or appropriated sense, as occasion required. The whole arrangement of their periods "is regulated according to the Hebrew verses (not those in Hebrew poetry, but such as are found in the historical books), which are constructed in a manner directly opposite to the roundness of Grecian language, and for want of variety have an endless repetition of the same particles." These particular idioms are termed HEBRAISMS, and their nature and classes have been treated at considerable length by various writers.—(Horne, *op. cit.*)

Concerning the materials used in ancient writing Montfaucon, has ably written in his *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris 1708).

"Stone, wood, tablets covered with wax, the bark of trees, the dressed skins of animals, the reed papyrus, paper made of cotton or linen, are the chief *materials* on which writing has been impressed at different periods and stages of civilization. The most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament now existing are composed of vellum or parchment (*membrana*), the term vellum being strictly applied to the delicate skins of very young calves; and parchment (which seems to be a corruption of *charta pergamena*, a name first given to skins prepared by some improved process for Eumenes, king of Pergamus, about B. C. 150) to the integuments of sheep or goats. In judging of the date of a manuscript written on skins, attention must be paid to the quality of the material, the oldest being almost invariably described on the thinnest and whitest vellum that could be procured; while manuscripts of later ages, being usually composed of parchment, are thick, discoloured, and coarsely grained. Thus the Codex Friderico-Augustanus of the fourth century is made of the finest skins of antelopes, the leaves being so large, that a single animal would furnish only two (Tischendorf, *Prolegomena*, § 1). Its contemporary, the far-famed Codex Vaticanus, challenges universal admiration for the beauty of its vellum; every visitor at the British

Museum can observe the excellence of that of the Codex Alexandrinus of the fifth century; that of the Codex Claromontanus of the sixth century is no less remarkable; the material of those purple-dyed fragments of the Gospels which Tischendorf denominates N, also of the sixth century, is so subtle and delicate that some persons have mistaken the leaves preserved in England (Brit. Mus. Cotton, Titus) for Egyptian papyrus. Paper made of cotton (*charta bombycina*, called also *charta Damascena* from its place of manufacture) may have been fabricated in the ninth or tenth century, and linen paper (*charta* proper) as early as the twelfth; but they were seldom used for Biblical manuscripts earlier than the thirteenth, and had not entirely displaced parchment at the era of the invention of printing, about A. D. 1450. Cotton paper is for the most part easily distinguished from linen by its roughness and coarse fibre, some of the early linen paper, both glazed and unglazed, is of a very fine texture, though perhaps a little too stout and crisp for convenient use. Lost portions of parchment or vellum manuscripts are often supplied in paper by some later hand; and the Codex Leices-trensis of the fourteenth century is unique in this respect, being composed of a mixture of inferior vellum and worse paper, regularly arranged in the proportion of two parchment to three paper leaves, recurring alternately throughout the whole volume."

"Although parchment was in occasional, if not familiar use at the period when the New Testament was written (τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας, II. Tim. IV. 13), yet the the cheaper and more perishable papyrus of Egypt was chiefly employed for ordinary purposes, and was probably what is ment by χάρτης in II. John V. 12. This vegetable production had been long used for literary purposes in the time of Herodotus (B. C. 440), and that not only in Egypt (Herod. Hist. II. 100) but elsewhere, for he expressly states that the Ionians, for lack of byblus, had been compelled to have recourse to the skins of goats and sheep (v. 58). We find a minute, if not a very clear description of the mode of preparing the papyrus for the scribe in the works of the elder Pliny (Hist. Nat. I. XIII. C. 11, 12). Its frail and brittle quality has no doubt caused us the loss of some of the choicest treasures of ancient literature; the papyri which yet survive in the museums of Europe owe their preservation to the accidental circumstance of having been buried in the tombs of Thebes, or beneath the wreck of Herculaneum. As we before intimated, no exist-

ing manuscript of the New Testament is written on papyrus, nor can the earliest we possess on vellum be dated higher than the middle of the fourth century."

"We have some grounds for suspecting that papyrus was not over plentiful even in the best time of the Roman dominion; and it may be readily imagined that vellum (especially that fine sort by praiseworthy custom required for copies of Holy Scripture) could never have been otherwise than scarce and dear. Hence arose at a very early period of the Christian era, the practice and almost the necessity of erasing ancient writing from skins, in order to make room for works in which the living generation felt more interest. This process of destruction, however, was seldom so fully carried out, but that the strokes of the elder hand might still be traced, more or less completely, under the more modern writing. Such manuscripts are called *codices rescripti* or palimpsests (παλίμψηστα), and several of the most precious monuments of sacred learning are of this description. The Codex Ephraemi at Paris contains large fragments both of the Old and the New Testament under the later Greek works of St. Ephraem the Syrian: and the Codex Nitriensis, recently disinterred from a monastery in the Egyptian desert and brought to the British Museum, comprises a portion of St. Luke's Gospel, nearly obliterated, and covered over by a Syriac treatise of Severus of Antioch against Grammaticus, comparatively of no value whatever. It will be easily believed that the collating or transcribing of palimpsests has cost much toil and patience to those whose loving zeal has led them to the attempt: and after all their true readings will be sometimes (not often) rather uncertain, even though chemical mixtures (such as prussiate of potash or the *tinctura Giobertina*) have recently been applied, with much success, to restore the faded lines and letters of these venerable records."

"We need say but little of a practice which St. Jerome and others speak of as prevalent towards the end of the fourth century, that of dyeing the vellum purple, and of stamping rather than writing the letters in silver and gold. The Cotton fragment of the Gospels, is one of the few remaining copies of this kind, and it is not unlikely that the great Dublin palimpsest of St. Matthew owes its present wretched discoloration to some such dye. We care for them only as they serve to indicate the reverence paid to the Scriptures by men of old. The style, however, of the pictures, illustrations, arabesques and initial ornaments that prevail in later copies from the eighth century downwards,

whose colors and gilding are sometimes as fresh and bright as if laid on but yesterday, will not only interest the student by tending to throw light on mediæval art and habits and modes of thought, but will often fix the date of the books which contain them with a precision otherwise quite beyond our reach."

"The ink used in the most ancient manuscripts has unfortunately for the most part turned red or brown, very pale, or peeled off, or eaten through the vellum; so that in many cases (as in the Codex Vaticanus itself) a later hand has ruthlessly retraced the letter, and given a false semblance of coarseness or carelessness to the original writing. In such instances a few passages will usually remain untouched, just as the first scribe left them, and from the study of these a right notion can be formed of the primitive condition of the rest. From the seventh century downwards it is said that the ingredients of ink have but little changed. The base has been soot, or lamp black made of burnt shavings of ivory, mixed with wine-lees or gum, and subsequently sepia or alum. Vitriol and gall-nuts are now added, the mineral serving to fix the vegetable ingredients. In many manuscripts of about the twelfth century (e. g. Gonville and Caius MS., 59 of the Gospels) we observe what seems to be, and very well may be, the Indian ink of commerce, still preserving a beautiful jet black on the inner and smoother side of the parchment, and washed out rather than erased, whenever corrections were desired. The coloured inks (red, green, blue or purple) are often quite brilliant to this day; the four red lines which stand at the head of each column of the first page of the Codex Alexandrinus are far more legible than the portions in black ink below them, yet are undoubtedly written by the same hand."

"While papyrus (*χάρτης*) remained in common use, the chief instrument employed was probably a reed (*κάλamos*, 3 John V. 13), such as are common in the East at present; a few existing manuscripts (e. g. the Codd. Leicestrensis and Lambeth 1350) appear to have thus been written. Yet the firmness and regularity of the strokes, which often remain impressed on the vellum or paper after the ink has utterly gone, prove that in the great majority of cases a metal pen (*stylus*) was preferred. We must add to our list of writing materials, a bodkin or needle (*acus*), by means of which and a ruler, the blank leaf was carefully divided into columns and lines, whose regularity much enhances the beauty of our best copies. The vestiges

of such points and marks may yet be seen deeply indented on the surface of nearly all manuscripts, those on one side of each leaf being usually sufficiently visible to guide the scribe when he came to write on the reverse."

"Little needs be said respecting the *form* of manuscripts, which in this particular much resemble printed books. A few are in large folio; the greater part in small folio or quarto, the prevailing shape being a quarto, whose height but little exceeds its breadth; some are octavo, and an inconsiderable number smaller still. In some copies the sheets have marks in the lower margin of their first or last pages, like the *signatures* of a modern volume, the folio at intervals of four, the quarto at intervals of eight leaves, as in the Codex Augiensis of St. Paul's Epistles (F). Not to speak at present of those manuscripts which have a Latin translation in a column parallel to the Greek, as the Codex Bezae, the Codex Laudianus of the Acts, and the Codices Claromontanus and Augiensis of St. Paul, many copies of every age have two Greek columns on each page; of these the Codex Alexandrinus is the oldest: the Codex Vaticanus has three columns on a page, the Codex Friderico-Augustanus four. The unique arrangement of these last two has been urged as an argument for their higher antiquity, as if they were designed to imitate *rolled* books, whose several skins or leaves were fastened together lengthwise, so that their contents always appeared in parallel columns; they were kept in scrolls which were unrolled at one end for reading, and when read rolled up at the other. This fashion prevails in the papyrus fragments yet remaining, and in the most venerated copies of the Old Testament preserved in Jewish synagogues." (Scrivener, Introduction to the Criticism of New Testament, Chap. II.)

The Scriptures were not formerly as now divided into chapters and verses. The mode of designating particular passages was by specifying the theme. Thus Jesus Christ designates to the sadducees the passage from Exodus treating of the resurrection of the dead, Mark XII. 26: "And as concerning the dead that they rise again, have you not read in the book of Moses, how *in the bush*, God spoke to him saying: 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?'" This method presupposed those to whom the discourse was directed to be much versed in the Scriptures. The first attempt at fixed divisions of Scripture seems to have been made by Ammonius of Alexandria, the contemporary of Origen. The first attempts were rude and imperfect. In the

thirteenth century Cardinal Hugh of S. Caro, the inventor of the Concordances of Scripture, is believed to have been the first to CHAPTER the Bible. Some, however, attribute this work to Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the same century. This mode of division passed from the Vulgate to the primal texts, and later even the Hebrew text was thus divided. The subdivisions of the chapters were in this system marked by the letters of the alphabet. The distinction and enumeration of the verses is due to Robert Etienne, the celebrated printer of Paris, who first thus divided the Holy Scriptures in his edition of the Vulgate in 1548. This system was also soon applied to all the texts of Scripture. The division of the Scriptures into chapters and verses, is the pure work of man, and subject to critical analysis, and may be altered if good data warrant a different division. In fact in many cases it is expedient to change the divisions of Robert Etienne.

The Scriptures were also in the beginning written without any elements of punctuation or accentuation. By this mode of writing the page presented one compact mass of characters and their division and construction into words were left to the reader's judgment. See plate on page 445.

This mode of writing remained in vogue till about the ninth century of the Christian Era. As by different groupings and combinations of characters, different meanings resulted from the text, this was a fertile cause of error, and many of the variantia are traceable to this cause.

A system of accentuation had been invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium in the second century before Christ, which was employed by the Greek grammarians in works of profane argument. Its application to the Sacred Codices was rare. St. Epiphanius testifies that certain ones have thus written copies of the Alexandrine Codex of the Old Testament, but Tischendorf affirms that no Codex anterior to the eighth century is written with accents. It is only after the tenth century that accentuation becomes general. This was also a source of variantia, as the different positions of the accents oft induced a different meaning. In some of the old codices, as for instance the Codex Sinaiticus Ⲛ, the spiritus lenis and gravis are indicated, but this is judged by Tischendorf to be the work of a later hand. More ancient than the use of either accents or signs of punctuation is the use of the lineola, —, to designate the abbreviation of certain words of more frequent occurrence. Thus: Θ̄C for Θεός, Κ̄C for κύριος,

ΠΝΑ for πνεῖμα. The iota subscript is never found in the old Codices of Holy Writ, hence another cause of error. How these different factors effected many divergencies in the Sacred text, may be inferred from the following examples.

The group of letters *αυτη* became *αὔτη* or *αὐτῇ* or *αὐτή*; every one of different import by modifications which can only be based upon the fallible, varying judgment of man. The opening verses of St. John's Gospel form a good specimen of the difference in interpretation which may result from different insertion of the sign of punctuation.

χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῇ ζωὴ ἦν κτλ.

The Vulgate and its dependent versions insert the period after *γέγονεν*. "Without him was made nothing that was made. In him was life, etc." S. Irenaeus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Athanasius and others close the period after *οὐδὲ ἐν*; whence would result: "Without him was made nothing. What was made was life in him." This construction, though in my judgment improbable, has found favor with many Thomists. No doubt the authority of St. Augustine, who held this mode of reading, drew the Thomists to adopt it.

To remove this cause of error Origen in his Hexapla divided the text into *στίχοι*, and this mode of writing was termed *στιχομετρία*. In this stichometric arrangement of the text, every complete phrase occupied a separate line.

St. Jerome wrote in this manner his version of the prophetic books of the Old Testament. In the middle of the 5th century Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, employed this mode of writing in his successive editions of the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles and the Acts, and lastly to the Gospels. As this served well the convenience of the reader it became quite general in those early codices, although but few thus written are extant to-day. Principal among those that remain are the Codex Beza of Cambridge (D) of the Gospels and Acts; the Codex of Clermont (D) of the Pauline Epistles; the Codex of St. Germain (E) of the Pauline Epistles; and the Codex Coislinianus (H) of the Pauline Epistles.

This mode of writing, though very convenient to the reader, required much material upon which to be written, as large portions of the superficies remained blank.

We reproduce on the following page a specimen of Stichometry from the Codex of Beza: Math. XXIV; 51-XXV. 6, with English translation in same form of writing.

ΚΑΙ Ο ΒΡΥΓΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΔΟΝΤΩΝ

ΣΗ : ΤΟΤΕ Ο ΜΟΙΩΘΗΣ ΕΤΑΙ Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΩΝ

ΔΕ ΚΑ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΙΣ· ΑΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΛΑΒΟΥΣΑΙ

ΤΑΣ ΛΑΜΠΑΔΑΣ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ

ΕΞΗΛΘΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΗΣΙΝ ΤΟ ΥΝΥΜΦΙΟΥ

ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΝΥΜΦΗΣ

ΠΕΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΗΣΑΝ ΜΩΡΑΙ

ΚΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΦΡΟΝΙΜΟΙ

ΑΙ Ο ΥΝ ΜΩΡΑΙ ΛΑΒΟΥΣΑΙ· ΤΑΣ ΛΑΜΠΑΔΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ

ΟΥΚ ΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΜΕΘΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΛΑΙΟΝ

ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΓΕΙΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ· ΑΙ ΔΕ ΦΡΟΝΙΜΟΙ

ΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΕΛΕΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΓΕΙΟΙΣ

ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΛΑΜΠΑΔΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ

ΧΡΟΝΙΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΥΝΥΜΦΙΟΥ

ΕΝΥΣΤΑΖΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΙΚΑΔΙΕΚΑΘΕΥΔΟΝ

ΜΕΧΗΣ ΔΕ ΝΥΚΤΟΣ· ΚΡΑΥΓΗ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ

AND GNASHING OF TEETH

THEN SHALL THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN BE LIKENED UNTO

TEN VIRGINS WHICH TOOK

THEIR LAMPS

AND WENT FORTH TO MEET THE BRIDE GROOM

AND BRIDE

AND FIVE OF THEM WERE FOOLISH

AND FIVE WERE WISE

THEY THAT WERE FOOLISH TOOK THEIR LAMPS

AND TOOK NO OIL WITH THEM IN THEIR VESSELS

BUT THE WISE

TOOK OIL IN THEIR VESSELS

WITH THEIR LAMPS

WHILE THE BRIDE GROOM TARRIED

THEY ALL SLUMBERED AND SLEPT

AND AT MIDNIGHT THERE WAS A CRY MADE

Hence, it was modified so that the *στίχοι* were separated by points. From the seventh century the custom began to prevail to indicate the greater or less textual division by different location of the point. The *κόμμα* or briefest division was indicated by locating the (.) punctum at the base of the line; the *κῶλον* (·) or middle division, by interposing it midway between the base and top; while the full period was terminated by the punctum (·) at the top of the line. Although this was the most ordinary mode in those times, sometimes the point at the base designated the full period, and vice versa. Our modern mode of punctuation did not come into use till after the invention of printing in the 15th century.

The autographs of the New Testament perished in the first centuries of the Christian era. There is almost a complete silence in tradition concerning any such original writings. Some adduce a passage from Tertullian to prove that the autographs were preserved in his day.

“Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsae adhuc Cathedrae Apostolorum suis locis praesident, apud quas ipsae Authenticae Literae eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repraesentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proximè est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum. Si non longè es a Macedoniâ, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiae adjaces, habes Romam.” (*De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, c. 36).

Attempts have been made, indeed, and that by very eminent writers, to reduce the term “*Authenticæ Literæ*” to mean nothing more than “genuine, unadulterated Epistles,” or even the authentic Greek as opposed to the Latin translation.

Others defend that he evidently speaks of the autographs. But the weight of evidence is clearly in favor of the former opinion. Tertullian was not ignorant that the sacred writers did not commit their thoughts to writing with their own hands; and, therefore, faithful copies of the original documents, if faithfully executed, would be as authentic as the first documents. And for this cause also, greater care was not bestowed on the autographs, for the faithful copies were held in equal veneration.

The dissemination of the writings of the Apostles began immediately, by means of manuscript copies, and a great number of these was soon spread abroad through the churches. Owing to various causes, errors crept into the copied texts. Hence Origen complains: “Even now, through the inattention of certain transcribers, and the rash temerity

of those who would amend the Scriptures, and the arbitrary additions and suppressions of others, a great diversity has come into our Scriptures." As time went on the evil grew. In fact, those early Christians, attending mainly to the sense, were not deterred by an excessive reverence from slight textual changes, which affected not the sense. By comparative criticism, many of these variants have been brought to light. The English critic Mill estimated that the discovered different readings of the New Testament in his day amounted to thirty thousand; they probably to-day are four times that number. But the great mass of these variants leave intact the substantial correctness of the sacred text, so that the remark of Bently is just :

"‘The real text of the sacred writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any MS. or edition, but is dispersed in them all. ’Tis competently exact indeed in the worst MS. now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them; choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings.’ Or again: ‘Make your 30,000 [variations] as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum: all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity, but that every feature of it will still be the same.’* Thus hath God’s Providence kept from harm the treasure of His written word, so far as is needful for the quiet assurance of His Church and people."

Perhaps the gravest variants in the New Testament are in regard to Mark XVI. 9-16, and John VII. 53, VIII. 11. In our exegesis of these passages we shall defend the authenticity that was accorded these passages by the Council of Trent.

We here adduce several classes of errors from Scrivener (l. c.). The practical application of these heads to the text we reserve for our treatise on Exegesis of the New Testament.

"Sometimes, a shorter passage or mere clause, whether inserted or not in our printed books, may have appeared originally in a form of a marginal note, and from the margin have crept into the text, through the wrong judgment or mere oversight of the scribe."

*"Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free Thinking by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis," Part I. section 32.

"Or a genuine clause is lost by means of what is technically called Homœoteleuton (ὁμοιοτέλευτον), when the clause ends in the same word as closed the preceding sentence, and the transcribers's eye has wandered from the one to the other, to the entire omission of the whole passage lying between them. This source of error is familiar to all who are engaged in copying writing, and is far more serious than might be supposed, prior to experience."

"Numerous variations occur in the order of words, the sense being slightly or not at all affected; on which account this species of various readings was at first much neglected by collators."

"Sometimes the scribe has mistaken one word for another, which differs from it only in one or two letters. This happens chiefly in cases when the *uncial* or capital letters in which the oldest manuscripts are written, resemble each other, except in some fine stroke which may have decayed through age. Hence in Mark V. 14 we find ANHΓΓΕΙΑΑΝ or ΑΠΗΓΓΕΙΑΑΝ; in Luke XVI. 20 ΗΑΚΩΜΕΝΟC or ΕΙΑΚΩΜΕΝΟC; so we read Δαυιδ or Δαβιδ indifferently, as in the later or *cursive* character, β and υ have nearly the same shape. Akin to these errors of the eye are such transpositions as ΕΑΑΒΟΝ for ΕΒΑΑΟΝ or ΕΒΑΑΛΟΝ, Mark XIV. 65: omissions or insertions of the same or similar letters, as ΕΜΑCΩΝΤΟ or ΕΜΑCΩΝΤΟ Apoc. XVI. 10; ΑΓΑΛΛΙΑCΘΗΝΑΙ or ΑΓΑΛΛΙΑΘΗΝΑΙ John V. 35; ΠΡΟΕΛΘΩΝ or ΠΡΟCΕΛΘΩΝ Matth. XXVI. 39; Mark XIV. 35: or the dropping or repetition of the same or a similar syllable, as ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ or ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΤΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ Luke IX. 49; ΟΤΔΕΔΕΔΟΞΑCΤΑΙ or ΟΤΔΕΔΟΞΑCΤΑΙ II. Cor. III. 10; ΑΠΑΞΕΞΕΔΕΧΕΤΟ or ΑΠΕΞΕΔΕΧΕΤΟ I. Peter III. 20. It is easy to see how the ancient practice of writing uncial letters without leaving a space between the words must have increased the risk of such variations as the foregoing."

"Another source of error is described by some critics as proceeding *ex ore dictantis*, in consequence of the scribe writing from dictation, without having a copy before him. I am not, however, very willing to believe that manuscripts of the better class were executed on so slovenly and careless a plan. It seems more simple to account for the *itacisms*, or confusion of certain vowels and diphthongs having nearly the same sound, which exist more or less in manuscripts of every age, by assum-

ing that a vicious pronunciation gradually led to a loose mode of orthography adapted to it. Certain it is that itacisms are much more plentiful in the original subscriptions and marginal notes of the writers of mediæval books, than in the text which they copied from older documents. Itacisms prevailed the most extensively from the eighth to the twelfth century, but not by any means during that period exclusively. In the most ancient manuscripts the principal changes are between ι and $\epsilon\iota$, $\alpha\iota$ and ϵ : in later times η ι and $\epsilon\iota$, η $\omicron\iota$ and υ , even \omicron and ω , η and ϵ are used almost promiscuously. Hence it arises that a very large proportion of the various readings brought together by collators are of this description, and although in the vast majority of instances they serve but to illustrate the character of the manuscripts which exhibit them, or the fashion of the age in which they were written, they sometimes affect the grammatical form."

"A more extensive and perplexing species of various reading arises from bringing into the text of one (chiefly of the three earlier) Evangelist expressions or whole sentences which of right belong not to him, but to one or both the others. This natural tendency to assimilate the several Gospels must have been aggravated by the laudable efforts of Biblical scholars (beginning with Tatian's $\Delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\upsilon$ in the second century) to construct a satisfactory Harmony of them all. Some of these variations also may possibly have been mere marginal notes in the first instance."

"In like manner transcribers sometimes quote passages from the Old Testament more fully than the writers of the New Testament had judged necessary for their purpose."

"Synonymous words are often interchanged, and so from various readings, the sense undergoes some slight and refined modification, or else remains quite unaltered."

"An irregular, obscure, or incomplete construction will be *explained* or *supplied* in the margin by words that are subsequently brought into the text."

"Hence, too, arises the habit of changing ancient dialectic forms into those in vogue in the transcriber's age."

"Trifling variations in spelling, though very proper to be noted by a faithful collator, are obviously of little consequence."

"A large portion of our various readings arises from the omission or insertion of such words as cause little appreciable difference in the sense."

"Manuscripts greatly fluctuate in adding and rejecting the Greek article, and the sense is often seriously influenced by these variations. though they seem so minute."

"Slips of the pen, whereby words are manifestly lost or repeated, mis-spelt or half-finished, though of no service to the critic, must yet be noted by a faithful collator, as they will occasionally throw light on the history of some particular copy in connection with others, and always indicate the degree of care or skill employed by the scribe, and consequently the weight due to his general testimony."

"The copyist may be tempted to foresake his proper function for that of a reviser, or critical collector. He may simply omit what he does not understand (e. g. τὸ μαρτύριον I. Tim. II. 6.), or may attempt to get over a difficulty by inversions and other changes. Thus the *μυστήριον* spoken of by St. Paul I. Cor. XV. 51, which rightly stands in the received text πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα was easily varied into πάντες κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, as if in mere perplexity."

"It is very possible that some scattered readings cannot be reduced to any of the above-named classes, but enough has been said to afford the student some general notion of the nature and extent of the subject."

As early as the third century attempts were made to restore the text to its original purity. It was thought that by critical collation of the best manuscripts, and by selecting the best readings, a correct exemplar might be had as a fount for correct copies. Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, martyred under Diocletian, wrought a recension of the Greek text of both Testaments. The text was adopted in the churches of Egypt, and became the basis of the Alexandrine family of codices. About the same time, Lucian, a priest of Antioch, martyred in the same persecution, executed a recension of the text of both Testaments, which was received in all the Eastern churches, from Constantinople to Antioch. Of the nature of the labors of Hesychius and Lucian we can form no secure judgment. Jerome accuses them of adding to the Scriptures (Ad. Dam. Praef. in Evang.), and Gelasius, in the decree, De Recip. et non recip. Libris, rejects "the Gospels which Hesychius and Lucian falsified."

Hug believes that Origen made a recension of the New Testament, but it is far more probable that he did not.

In the fourth century certain causes conspired to bring about more uniformity in the texts of the New Testament. In the first place, critical thought had been aroused, and transcribers were more careful.

Secondly, "copies of Scripture had been extensively destroyed during the long and terrible period of affliction that preceded the conversion of Constantine. In the very edict which marked the beginning of Diocletian's persecution, it is ordered that the holy writings should be burnt (τὰς γραφὰς ἀφανεῖς πύρρῳ γενέσθαι, Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* VIII. 2); and the cruel decree was so rigidly enforced that a special name of reproach (*traditores*) together with the heaviest censures of the Church, was laid upon those Christians who betrayed the sacred trust. At such a period critical revision or even the ordinary care of devout transcribers must have disappeared before the pressure of the times; fresh copies of the New Testament would have to be made in haste to supply the room of those seized by the enemies of our Faith; and when made, they were to circulate by stealth among persons whose lives were in jeopardy every hour. Hence arose the need, when the tempest was overpast, of transcribing many new manuscripts of the New Testament, the rather as the Church was now receiving vast accessions of converts within her pale. Eusebius of Caesarea, the Ecclesiastical Historian, seems to have taken the lead in this happy labor; his extensive learning, which by the aid of certain other less commendable qualities had placed him high in Constantine's favor, rendered it natural that the Emperor should employ his services for furnishing with fifty copies of Scripture the Churches of his new capital, Constantinople. Eusebius' deep interest in Biblical studies is exhibited in several of his surviving works, as well as in his Canons for harmonising the Gospels; and he would naturally betake himself for the text of his fifty codices to the Library founded at his Episcopal city of Caesarea by the martyr Pamphilus, the dear friend from whom he derived his own familiar appellation *Eusebius Pamphili*. Into this Library Pamphilus had gathered manuscripts of Origen as well as of other theologians, of which Eusebius made an index (τοὺς πίνακας παρεθέμην: *Eccl. Hist.* VI. 32); from this collection Cod. H of St. Paul and others are stated to have been derived, nay even Cod. \aleph in its Old Testament portion, which is expressly declared to have been corrected to the Hexapla of Origen."

"We are thus warranted, as well from direct evidence as from the analogy of the Old Testament, to believe that

Eusebius mainly resorted for his Constantinopolitan Church-books to the codices of Pamphilus, which might once have belonged to Origen. What critical corrections (if any) he ventured to make in the text on his own judgment, is not so clear."

In the last century arose what may properly be called the science of COMPARATIVE CRITICISM, which may be defined as A METHOD OF STUDY WHEREBY WE SEEK TO DETERMINE THE CHARACTER, VALUE, AND MUTUAL RELATION OF THE AUTHORITIES UPON WHICH THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IS BASED. The mode of procedure is to examine first the age of the documents, the circumstances of their origin, the causes that may have produced certain readings, and the accord of one document with another.

Among the first promoters of this new science was John Mill, of Oxford. Mill spent thirty years on a critical edition of the Greek Testament, and died in 1707, a fortnight after its publication.

"A large proportion of his care and pains, as we have seen, was bestowed on the Fathers and ancient writers of every description who have used and cited Scripture. The versions are usually considered his weakest point; although he first accorded to the Vulgate—and its prototype the Old Latin—the importance they deserve. His knowledge of Syriac was rather slight, and for the other Eastern tongues, if he was not more ignorant than his successors, he had not discovered how little Latin translations of the *Æthiopic* &c. can be trusted."

Mill's work was truly monumental. Over thirty thousand different readings were collected in his *Apparatus Criticus*. But his judgment was at times defective, and his opinions inaccurate.

In England, Walton and Fell also contributed to the comparative criticism of the New Testament.

Johann Albert Bengel (1687–1752), the Lutheran Abbot of Alpirspach, gave a new impetus to the science by his system of RECENSIONS.

"An attentive student of the discrepant readings of the N. T., even in the limited extent they had hitherto been collected, could hardly fail to discern that certain manuscripts, versions, and ecclesiastical writers, bear a certain affinity with each other; so that one of them shall seldom be cited in support of a variation (not being a manifest and gross error of the copyist), unless accompanied by several of its kindred. The inference is direct and clear, that documents which thus withdraw themselves from the general mass of authorities, must

have sprung from some common source, distinct from those, which in characteristic readings they but seldom resemble. It occurred, therefore, to Bengel as a hopeful mode of making good progress in the criticism of the N. T., to reduce all extant testimony into "companies, families, tribes, and nations," and thus to simplify the process of settling the sacred text by setting class over against class, and trying to estimate the genius of each, and the relative importance they may severally lay claim to. He wishes to divide all extant documents into two nations: the *Asiatic*, chiefly written in Constantinople and its neighborhood, which he was inclined to disparage; and the *African*, comprising the few of a better type (*Apparatus Criticus*, p. 669, 2nd edition, 1763). Various circumstances hindered Bengel from working out his principle, among which he condescends to set his dread of exposing his task to senseless ridicule; yet no one can doubt that it comprehends the elements of what is both reasonable and true; however difficult it has subsequently proved to adjust the details of any consistent scheme. For the rest, Bengel's critical verdicts, always considered in relation to his age and opportunities, deserve strong commendation. He saw the paramount worth of Cod. A, the only great uncial then much known (*N. T. Apparatus Criticus*, pp. 390-401); and the high character of the Latin version."

"The next step in advance was made by John James Wetstein [1693-1754], a native of Basle, whose edition of the Greek New Testament ("cum lectionibus Variantibus Codicum MSS., Editionum aliarum, Versionum et Patrum, necnon Commentario pleniore ex Scriptoribus veteribus, Hebraeis, Graecis et Latinis, historiam et vim verborum illustrante") appeared in two volumes folio, Amsterdam, 1751-2. The genius, the character, and (it must in justice be added) the worldly fortunes of Wetstein were widely different from those of the Abbott of Alpirspach. His taste for Biblical studies showed itself early. When ordained pastor at the age of twenty, he delivered a disputation, "De variis N. T. Lectionibus," and zeal for this fascinating pursuit became at length with him a passion; the master-passion which consoled and dignified a roving, troubled, unprosperous life. In 1714, his eager search for manuscripts led him to Paris. In 1715-6 and again in 1720, he visited England, and was employed by Bentley in collecting materials for his projected edition, but he seems to have imbibed few of that great man's principles: the interval between them, both in age and station, almost forbade much sym-

pathy. On his return home he gradually became suspected of Socinian tendencies, and it must be feared with too much justice ; so that in the end he was deposed from the pastorate (1730), driven into exile, and after having been compelled to serve in a position the least favorable to the cultivation of learning, that of a military chaplain, he obtained at length (1733) a Professorship among the Remonstrants at Amsterdam (in succession to the celebrated Leclerc), and there continued till his death in 1754, having made his third visit to England in 1746. His *Prolegomena*, first published in 1730, and afterwards, in an altered form, prefixed to his N. T., present a painful image both of the man and his circumstances. His restless energy, his undaunted industry, his violent temper, his love of paradox, his assertion for himself of perfect freedom of thought, his silly prejudice against Jesuits and bigots, his enmities, his wrongs, his ill-requited labours, at once excite our respect and our pity ; while they all help to make his writings a sort of unconscious biography, rather interesting than agreeable. *Non sic itur ad astra*, whether morally or intellectually ; yet Wetstein's services to sacred literature were of no common order. His Philological annotations, wherein the matter and phraseology of the inspired writers are illustrated by copious—too copious—quotations from all kinds of authors, classical, Patristic or Rabbinical, have proved an inexhaustible storehouse from which later writers have drawn liberally and sometimes without due acknowledgement ; but many of the passages are of such a tenor as (to use Tregelles' very gentle language respecting them) “only excite surprise at their being found on the same page as the text of the New Testament.” The critical portion of his work, however, is far more valuable, and in this department Wetstein must be placed in the very first rank, inferior (if to any) but to one or two of the highest names. He first cited the manuscripts under the notation by which they are commonly known.” (Scrivener *op. cit.*).

The next great name which appears in the history of our science is John James Griesbach (1745–1812). He was a native of Hesse-Darmstadt, and a disciple of Semler and Ernesti. His first edition of the New Testament appeared in 1775, and was an embryo of his subsequent great work. His second edition of the Greek Testament, in two volumes, appeared between the years 1796 and 1806.

“At the onset of his labours, indeed, this acute, and candid enquirer was disposed to divide all extant materials into five or six different families ; he afterwards limited them to *three*,

the Alexandrine, the Western, and the Byzantine recensions. The standard of the Alexandrine text he conceived to be Origen; who, although his works were written in Palestine, was assumed to have brought with him into exile copies of Scripture, similar to those used in his native city. To this family would belong a few manuscripts of the earliest date, and confessedly of the highest character, Codd. A, B, C; Cod. L of the Gospels, the Egyptian and some lesser versions. The Western recension would survive in Cod. D of the Gospels and Acts, in the other ancient copies which contained a Latin translation, in the Old Latin and Vulgate versions, and in the Latin Fathers. The vast majority of manuscripts (comprising perhaps nineteen-twentieths of the whole), together with the larger proportion of versions and Patristic writings, were grouped into the Byzantine class, as having prevailed generally in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. To this last class Griesbach hardly professed to accord as much weight as to either of the others, nor if he had done so, would the result have been materially different. The joint testimony of two classes was, *cæteris paribus*, always to prevail; and since the very few documents which comprise the Alexandrine and Western recensions seldom agree with the Byzantine, even when at variance with each other, the numerous codices which make up the third family would thus have about as much share in fixing the text of Scripture, as the poor citizens whose host was included in one of Servius Tullius' lower classes towards counterbalancing the votes of the wealthy few that composed his first or second."

The labors of Matthæi (1744-1811) are of slight importance in fixing the text.

John David Michaelis (1717-1719) rejected all the theories of Griesbach with contempt. He declared that Griesbach had never seen a codex, even of the tenth century, and he loaded with contempt his recensions theory.

According to MICHAELIS, there have existed four principal recensions, viz., 1.—The Alexandrine; 2.—The Occidental; and, 3.—The Byzantine as proposed by Griesbach; in addition to which, as the old Syriac version differs from them, Michaelis has instituted a fourth, which he terms the EDESSAN EDITION: it comprehends the special Asiatic instruments, as they were termed by Griesbach, or those Manuscripts from which that Version was made. Of this edition no manuscripts are extant; a circumstance for which Michaelis accounts, by the early prejudice of the Syrian literati in favor of whatever was

Grecian, and also by the wars that devastated the East for many ages subsequent to the fifth century. But, by some accident, which is difficult to be explained, manuscripts are found in the west of Europe, accompanied even with a Latin translation, such as the Codex Bezaë, which so eminently coincide with the Old Syriac Version, that their affinity is indisputable. Although, according to this theory, the readings of the Occidental, Alexandrine, and Edessan editions sometimes differ, yet they very frequently harmonize with each other. This coincidence, Michaelis ascribes to their high antiquity, as the oldest manuscripts extant belong to one of these editions, and the translations themselves are ancient. A reading confirmed by three of them is supposed to be of the very highest authority; yet the true reading may sometimes be found only in the fourth.—(Horne op. cit.)

“But a system was devised by Professor J. L. Hug of Freyburg in 1808 (*einleitung*), and maintained, though with some modifications, by J. F. Eichorn, which gave him a foremost place in the criticism of the N. T. Hug conceived that the process of corruption had been going on so rapidly and uniformly from the Apostolic age downwards, that by the middle of the third century the state of the text in the general mass of codices had degenerated into the form exhibited in Codd. D. I. 13. 69. 124 of the Gospels, the Old Latin and Thebaic (he would now have added the Curetonian Syriac) versions, and to some extent in the Peshito and in the citations of Clement of Alexandria, and of Origen in his early works. To this uncorrected text he gave the name of *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*.)”

“This ‘common edition’ Hug supposes to have received three separate emendations in the middle of the third century; one by Origen in Palestine, which he thinks Jerome adopted and approved; two others by Hesychius and Lucian (a presbyter of Antioch and Martyr), in Egypt and Syria respectively, both which Jerome condemned, and Pope Gelasius (492–6) declared to be apocryphal. To Origen’s recension he referred such copies as A, K, M, 42. 106. 114. 116. 253 of the Gospels, the Philoxenian Syriac, the quotations of Chrysostom and Theodoret; to Hesychius the Alexandrine codices B, C, L; to Lucian, the Byzantine documents E, F, G, H, S, V, and the mass of later books. The practical effect of this elaborate theory would be to accord to Cod. A a higher place among our authorities than some recent editors have granted it; its correspondence with Origen in many characteristic readings would thus be admitted and accounted for.”

“The next and most important (as it is the most probable), of the various systems of recensions, which have been proposed, is that announced by Dr. J. Martin Augustin Scholz, one of the professors at Bonn upon the Rhine. From the differences, which are sufficiently perceptible in the manuscripts and editions of the Greek text of the New Testament, Dr. Scholz concludes that these instruments naturally divide themselves into two great classes, which are the same throughout the books of the New Testament. To the first of these classes belong all the editions and those numerous manuscripts, which were written within the limits of the patriarchate of Constantinople, that is, in Asia or in the eastern parts of Europe, and which were destined for liturgical use; the second class comprises certain manuscripts written in Egypt, and the western part of Europe. Transcribed, unquestionably, from copies which were valuable on account of their age and beauty, they were intended only to preserve the contents of those copies; but, as they presented a different text from that which was generally received, they could not be employed in divine service: hence they were for the most part negligently written, with an incorrect orthography, and on leaves of vellum of different sizes and qualities. To this class, Professor Scholz gives the appellation of *Alexandrine*, because its text originated at Alexandria; it is followed by several Latin and Coptic versions, by the Ethiopic version, and by the ecclesiastical writers who lived in Egypt and in the west of Europe. The other class he terms the *Constantinopolitan*, because its text was written within the precincts of the patriarchate of Constantinople; to this class Dr. Scholz refers the Syriac versions (Peschito and Philoxenian), the Gothic, Georgian, and Slavonic versions, and the quotations from the New Testament which occur in the works of the ecclesiastical writers, who flourished in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and the eastern part of Europe, especially Greece and Constantinople. There are, moreover, extant other manuscripts, which belong sometimes to one class, and sometimes to the other, and which also exhibit some peculiar varieties; but, after repeated examinations of them, he is of opinion that they do not possess sufficient characters to constitute them distinct classes. The conclusion to which Dr. Scholz has arrived, is, that the Constantinopolitan text is almost always faithful to the text now actually received, while the Alexandrine text varies from it in innumerable instances; and this conclusion he founds, not only upon the actual collation of six hundred and

seventy-four manuscripts, but also upon an induction of historical particulars, of which the following is an abstract.

The separation of the MSS. of the New Testament into two classes, in the manner just stated (Dr. Scholz argues), is so conformable to the real state of the text, that it is secure from every attack: there would, indeed, be very little ground for the objection, in order to combat this classification, that the text of the greatest number of manuscripts is not yet known, and consequently uncertain. This objection can only be repelled *à posteriori*. For this purpose, after having determined the text of a great number of manuscripts by actually collating a few chapters, Dr. Scholz proceeded to collate them nearly at length. When, therefore, eighty manuscripts exhibited, almost constantly, the same additions, the same omissions, and the same various readings, with the exception of a few obvious mistakes of the transcribers and some unimportant modifications;—when, further, after taking here and there fifteen or twenty chapters, he uniformly found in three or four hundred other manuscripts the same various readings as in the first eighty;—he considered himself authorized to conclude, that the remainder of the uncollated manuscripts would present the same results as in these fifteen or twenty chapters; and that like results would be presented by all the manuscripts written in the same place and under the same circumstances as these four hundred manuscripts were written; that is to say, that all the manuscripts which were written within the patriarchate of Constantinople, and were destined to be used in divine service, followed the text of the Constantinopolitan class.

It is by no means surprising that this classification should be thus clearly connected with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The history of the propagation of Christianity shows us with what strictness, especially within the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, missionaries enjoined on their converts the minutest rites of the principal church, and also to what warm disputes the least deviation from them gave rise. These discussions always terminated in reducing them to the most entire conformity with the metropolis.

Further, from the fifth to the middle of the fifteenth century, a greater number of copies of the sacred books was made at Constantinople than in all the rest of the patriarchate. Transcribed and collated in the same convents under the eyes of the superiors, then sent forth by the monks and priests to distant churches, all these copies presented the same text,

as well as the same characters and the same menologies (or calendars of saints for every day in the month throughout the year), in all the provinces which were subject to the influence of the metropolitan church, and of its literature.

When Islamism was diffused from India to the Atlantic Ocean;—when thousands of Christians were imprisoned, driven to apostasy, or sold as slaves;—when the flames had devoured a prodigious number of Greek manuscripts; when the use of the Greek language was interdicted and the capital of Greek literature was overthrown,—then the influence of Constantinople extended, without a rival, over almost everything that remained to the Christians who spoke Greek. The text of the Constantinopolitan church, and the manuscripts which contained it, were generally adopted. The text of the other class, on the contrary, which had till then been used for divine service within the limits of the patriarchate of Alexandria, and the manuscripts belonging to that class, disappeared almost entirely. The copyists ceased to transcribe them: the most ancient and valuable perished; and their text was preserved only in a few libraries, or, by a few lovers of literature, as curiosities, or as venerable relics of ancient and lost documents.

Although the Alexandrine text is sometimes found in liturgical books or in lectionaries, Dr. Scholz cannot believe that the manuscripts, which contained it, were ever destined for divine service; they have, in fact, been written with so much haste and incorrectness, that such could never have been their destination. The manuscripts of both families ordinarily have few corrections and no various readings in the margins: every thing, on the contrary, indicates that they are not exact copies of ancient exemplars.

That so few very ancient manuscripts of the Constantinopolitan text are now extant, is a circumstance which ought not to excite surprise. They must necessarily have been worn out, and have perished, in consequence of the daily use made of them for divine service. In the fourth century the text may be regarded as equally fixed with the Canon of the New Testament; after which time the veneration of believers for the sacred books would not allow the introduction of any change. *Before* that period, therefore, the alterations must have taken place, which gave rise to the division of manuscripts into two classes. *Since* that period manuscripts have been collated and even corrected, but never arbitrarily and always after ancient

documents: besides, the corrections so made were of little importance, and had only a limited influence. Although different manuscripts may be of the same country, it does not necessarily result that their text exhibits an absolute identity, but only a general conformity in the greatest number of cases.

What then, it may be asked, was the origin of the Constantinopolitan text? Dr. Scholz is of opinion that it was the original text, nearly in all its purity, and derived directly from autographs. This he regards as certain as any critical fact can be: history leads us to admit it; external evidence confirms it; and it is completely demonstrated by internal proofs.

The greater part of the writings of the New Testament were destined for the churches in Greece and in Asia Minor, where the idea of forming a collection of them would originate, as is evident from Saint John's approbation of the collection of the three first Gospels. These writings were, from the beginning, read in the religious assemblies of the Christians; and when the originals were worn out or lost by use, or by the calamities which befell many of the churches, apographs or correct transcripts from them were preserved in private libraries as well as in the libraries attached to the churches. These holy writings were further multiplied by numerous copyists for the use of private individuals. In transcribing the text, the Constantinopolitan scribes certainly did not imitate the audacity of the grammarians of Alexandria. This would be in the highest degree improbable, if the question related to profane authors; but it becomes utterly incredible as it regards the New Testament. On the contrary, these writings were cherished with increasing religious veneration. The long series of venerable bishops, who presided over the numerous churches in Asia, the Archipelago, and in Greece, transmitted to the faithful the instructions which they had received from the Apostles. Far from altering in *any* degree that sacred deposit, they labored with pious vigilance to preserve it pure and unmitigated. In this state they left it to their successors and to new churches; and, with the exception of a few errors of the copyists, the text remained without alterations until the reigns of Constantine and of Constans. At that time, however, some Alexandrine MSS. were dispersed at Constantinople, whence alterations were introduced into many Byzantine manuscripts. This circumstance accounts for a tendency in the Constantinopolitan family to approximate nearer to the Alexandrine text than we should otherwise expect.

Among the critics of the present century, a place must be given to Charles Lachmann (†1851). His critical edition of the New Testament, in Greek and Latin, appeared between the years 1842 and 1850.

“Lachmann had published as early as 1831 a small edition containing only the text of the N. T., with a list of the readings, wherein he differs from that of Elzevir, preceded by a notice of his plan not exceeding a few lines in length, itself so obscurely worded that even to those who happened to understand his meaning it must have read like a riddle whose solution they had been told beforehand; and referring us for fuller information to what he strangely considers ‘a more convenient place,’ a German periodical of the preceding year’s date. Authors who take so little pains to explain their fundamental principles of criticism, especially if (as in this case) these are novel and unexpected, can hardly wonder when their drift and purpose are imperfectly apprehended; so that a little volume, which we now learn had cost Lachmann five years of thought and labor, was confounded, even by the learned, with the common, hasty and superficial reprints. Nor was the difficulty much removed on the publication of the first volume of his larger book. It was then seen, indeed, how clean a sweep he had made of the great mass of Greek manuscripts usually cited in critical editions;—in fact he rejected all in a heap excepting Codd. A, B, C, the fragments P, Q, T, Z, (and for some purposes D) of the Gospels; D, E, of the Acts only; D, G, H, of St. Paul;—he treated the scheme of his work as if it were already familiarly known, and spent his time in discursive controversy with his opponents and reviewers, whom he chastised with a heartiness, which, in England, men imputed to downright malice, till Dr. Tregelles was so good as to instruct them, that in Lachmann, it was but ‘a tone of pleasantry,’ the horseplay of coarse German wit (*Account of Printed Text*, p. 112). The supplementary Prolegomena which preface his second volume of 1850 are certainly more explicit; both from what they teach and from the practical examples they contain, they have helped to gain a nearer insight into his whole design.”

“It seems, then, to have been Lachmann’s purpose, disarding the slightest regard for the *textus receptus* as such, to endeavor to bring the sacred text back to the condition in which it existed during the fourth century, and this in the first instance by documentary aid alone, careless for the moment whether the sense produced be probable or improb-

able, good or bad; but solely looking to his authorities, and following them implicitly wheresoever the numerical majority might carry him. For accomplishing this purpose he possessed but one Greek copy written as early as the fourth century, Cod. B; and of that he not only knew less than has since come to light, but he did not avail himself of Bartolucci's papers, to which Scholz had already drawn attention. His other codices were not of the fourth century at all, but varying in date from the fifth (A, C, T,) to the ninth (G); and even of these few (of C more especially) his assistant or colleague Buttmann's representation was loose, careless, and unsatisfactory. Of the Greek Fathers, the scanty Greek remains of Irenaeus, and the works of Origen are all that are employed; but considerable weight is given to the readings of the Latin version. The Vulgate is printed at length as revised, after a fashion, by Lachmann himself, from the codices Fuldensis and Amiatinus; the Old Latin manuscripts *a, b, c*, together with the Latin versions accompanying the Greek copies which he receives, are regarded as primary authorities; of the Western Fathers he quotes Cyprian, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, and in the Apocalypse Primasius also (*h*). The Syriac and Egyptian translations he considers himself excused from attending to, by reason of his ignorance of their respective languages." (Scrivener *op. cit.*)

After this brief notice of the great labors of these eminent scholars, we judge ourselves incompetent to properly estimate the value of their labors. We shall, therefore, adduce the judgment of a man who, by his genius and by his labors, merited to be called the greatest biblical critic of his age, Aenotheus Fridericus Constantinus Tischendorf (†1874).

Passing over his early studies, we find him, in 1841, setting out to travel in the cause of science, so poor "that he could not pay for the cloak that he wore." He thrice visited England, and thrice visited the East, and during one of these latter journeys, his great discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus was made. Besides his critical editions of both Old and New Testaments, Tischendorf stands alone in having given to the world the texts of the great Uncial Codices. His critical edition of Codex **Σ** is the greatest work of this kind ever seen in the history of the text.

Such a man could pass judgment on the labors of his predecessors, and his judgment is that, "instead of deriving a history of the text from documents, they had created a history of the text in their own minds." (Tischendorf *N. T. Graece*, ed. 7.)

He reduces all the codices to four great families. 1.—The Alexandrine, used by the Jewish Christians. 2.—The Latin family, used by the Latin race, who, in those days, used Greek in liturgy. 3.—The Asiatic family, used by the Greeks, both in Asia and their own country. 4.—The Byzantine family, used by the Churches of the Byzantine realm. He stated that there is great affinity between the Alexandrian and Latin on one side, and between the Asiatic and Byzantine on the other. He cautions all not to put too much trust in the systems of recensions.

SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES (†1875) also merits a place among biblical critics for his critical edition of the New Testament.

In our own days, Westcott and Hort have devoted over thirty years of labor to the collating of Manuscripts, and have merited a place of honor among biblical critics. They also have a theory of four families of codices differing from those noticed, but enough has been said to convince the reader that whatever is to be done to restore the text to its pristine purity, must be done without the aid of theories of recension.

According to Scholz's enumeration, the whole number of codices of the New Testament, which had been wholly or partially collated up to his time, amounted to six hundred and seventy-four. The whole number known up to the present day would exceed two thousand. Many have not yet been examined. Only a small number of these contain all the books. Some exist only in scattered fragments; others contain some particular book, or class of books. About one hundred are written in uncial characters, and are older than the tenth century. Of these, only the Codex of Sinai contains the complete New Testament. The others are written in small letters, and are of date more recent than the tenth century. About three hundred of these contain all the books. The uncial codices receive their name either from the place where they are preserved, or from the person to whom they have belonged. In the *Apparatus Criticus* they are designated by capital letters of the Latin and Greek alphabets, while the *codices minusculi* are designated by the Arabic numerals. One uncial codex is designated by the Hebrew **ס**, that of Mt. Sinai. In applying these conventional signs, the New Testament is divided into four parts, viz: the Gospels, the Acts and Catholic Epistles, the Epistles of Paul, and the Apocalypse, so that the same conventional note of designation may signify different codices, as it is applied to different parts of the Testament.

For example, Codex D of Paul's Epistles, is the codex of Clermont, while Codex D of the Gospels, is Beza's codex at Cambridge.

"In using manuscripts of the Greek Testament, we must carefully note whether a reading is *prima manu* or by some subsequent corrector. It will often happen that these last are utterly valueless, having been inserted even from printed copies by a modern owner (like some marginal variations of the Cod. Leicestrensis), and such as these really ought not to have been extracted by collators at all; while others by the second hand are almost as weighty, for age and goodness, as the text itself. All these points are explained by critical editors for each document separately." (Scrivener *op. cit.*)

To indicate these additions a small character, like the exponent of a power in algebra, is placed at the right upper corner of the main sign of the codex, thus Cod. B^c would indicate an addition to the Vatican Codex by a third hand.

To determine the age of the old codices, we must have recourse to the criteria palæographica, principal of which are the material of the manuscript, the form of the letters, the signs of punctuation, the accents, and the abbreviations employed.

These means do not lead to mathematical certitude, but they furnish a high degree of probability of the century to which the manuscript should be referred.

We have no codices older than the fourth century. The destruction wrought by the decree of Diocletian and other causes have deprived us of these. Of the uncial codices, two are referred to the fourth century, ten to the fifth century, twenty-two to the sixth century, nine to the seventh century, eight to the eighth century, thirty-one to the ninth century, and six to the tenth century. In the judgment of Westcott and Hort, many of the codices here placed in the preceding centuries must be brought down to the ninth and tenth centuries.

CHAPTER XIX.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE UNCIAL CODICES.

By uncial codices we mean those manuscripts written in large characters of nearly uniform size, resembling modern capitals, but with greater roundness. The plate of the Codex Claromontanus opposite page 460, furnishes a good example of this mode of writing.

“The Greek manuscripts, which have descended to our time, are written either on vellum or on paper; and their external form and condition vary, like the manuscripts of other ancient authors. The vellum is either purple-colored or of its natural hue, and is either thick or thin. Manuscripts on very thin vellum were always held in the highest esteem. The paper, also, is either made of cotton, or the common sort manufactured from linen, and is either glazed, or *laid* (as it is technically termed), that is, of the ordinary roughness. Not more than six manuscript fragments on purple vellum are known to be extant; they are described in the following sections of this chapter. The Codex Claromontanus, of which a brief notice is also given in a subsequent page, is written on very thin vellum. All manuscripts on paper are of a much later date; those on cotton paper being posterior to the ninth century, and those on linen subsequent to the twelfth century; and if the paper be of very ordinary quality, Wetstein pronounces them to have been written in Italy, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

“The letters are either capital (which in the time of Jerome were called *uncial*, or *cursive*, i. e., small; the capital letters, again, are of two kinds, either unadorned and simple, and made with straight, thin strokes, or thicker, uneven, and angular. Some of them are supported on a sort of a base, while others are decorated, or rather burdened, with various tops. As letters of the first kind are generally seen on ancient Greek monuments, while those of the last resemble the paintings of semi-barbarous times, manuscripts written with the former are generally supposed to be as old as the fifth century, and those written with the latter are supposed to be posterior the ninth century.

“All manuscripts, the most ancient not excepted, have erasures and corrections; which, however, were not always effected so dexterously, but that the original writing may sometimes be seen. Where these alterations have been made by the copyist of the manuscript, (*a prima manu*, as it is termed,) they are preferable to those made by later hands, or *a secunda manu*. These erasures were sometimes made by drawing a line through the word, or what is tenfold worse, by the penknife. But, besides these modes of obliteration, the copyist frequently blotted out the old writing with a *sponge*, and wrote other words in lieu of it; nor was this practice confined to a single letter or word, as may be seen in the Codex Bezae. Authentic instances are on record in which whole

books have been thus obliterated, and other writing has been substituted in the place of the manuscript so blotted out; but where the writing was already faded through age, they preserved their transcriptions without further erasure.

“These manuscripts are termed *Codices Palimpsesti* or *Rescripti*. Before the invention of paper, the great scarcity of parchment in different places induced many persons to obliterate the works of ancient writers, in order to transcribe their own, or those of some other favorite author in their place: hence, doubtless, the works of many eminent writers have perished, and particularly those of the greatest antiquity; for such as were comparatively recent were transcribed to satisfy the immediate demand, while those which were already dim with age were erased. It was for a long time thought that this destructive practice was confined to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and that it chiefly prevailed among the Greeks; but this destructive operation was likewise practised by the Latins, and is also of a more remote date than has usually been supposed.

“In general, a Codex Rescriptus is easily known, as it rarely happens that the former writing is so completely erased, as not to exhibit some traces; in a few instances, *both* writings are legible. Many such manuscripts are preserved in the library of the British Museum. Montfaucon found a manuscript in the Colbert Library, which had been written about the eighth century, and originally contained the works ascribed to St. Dionysius; new matter had been written over it, three or four centuries afterwards, and both continued legible. Muratori saw in the Ambrosian Library a manuscript comprising the works of the venerable Bede, the writing of which was from eight to nine hundred years old, and which had been substituted for another upwards of a thousand years old. Notwithstanding the efforts which had been made to erase the latter, some phrases could be deciphered, which indicated it to be an ancient pontifical. The indefatigable researches of Cardinal Angelo Mai (for some time the principal keeper of the Vatican Library at Rome) have discovered several valuable remains of biblical and classical literature in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.”

Among all the codices of the world, four stand præminent, and of these the CODEX VATICANUS, B (1209), is the greatest.

“CODEX VATICANUS B, 1209, is one of the oldest vellum manuscripts in existence, and is the glory of the great

Vatican Library at Rome. (See plate on opposite page.) This book seems to have been brought into the Vatican Library shortly after its establishment by Pope Nicholas V. who died in 1455, but nothing is known of its previous history.

"The Vatican manuscript is written on parchment or vellum, in uncial or capital letters, in three columns on each page, all of which are of the same size, except at the begining of a book. It is without any divisions of chapters, verses, or words, but with accents and spirits. The shape of the letters, and color of the ink, prove that it was written throughout by one and the same careful copyist. The abbreviations are few, being confined chiefly to those words which are in general abbreviated, such as $\overline{\Theta C}$, $\overline{K C}$, $\overline{I C}$, $\overline{X C}$, for $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, Κυριος , Ιησους , Χριστος , *God, Lord, Jesus, Christ*. Originally this manuscript contained the entire Greek Bible, including both the Old and New Testaments; in which respect it resembles none so much as the Codex Alexandrinus, though no two manuscripts vary more in their readings. The Old Testament wants the first forty-six chapters of Genesis, and thirty-two psalms, viz. from Psal. CV. to CXXXVII. inclusive; and the New Testament wants the latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, viz. all after Chapter IX. verse 14, and also Saint Paul's other epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, and the whole Book of Revelation. It appears, however, that this last book, as well as the latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, has been supplied by a modern hand in the fifteenth century, and, it is said, from some manuscript that had formerly belonged to Cardinal Bessarion. In many places the faded letters have also been retouched by a modern but careful hand; and when the person who made these amendments (whom Michaelis pronounces to have been a man of learning) found various readings in other manuscripts, he has introduced them into the Codex Vaticanus, but has still preserved the original text; and in some few instances he has ventured to erase with a penknife."

All who have inspected the Codex are loud in the praises of the fine thin vellum, the clear and elegant hand of the first penman, the simplicity of the whole style of the work; capital letters, so frequent in the Codex Alexandrinus, were totally wanting in this document for several centuries. In several of these particulars our manuscript resembles the Herculanean rolls, and thus asserts a just claim to high antiquity, which the absence of the usual divisions into *κεφάλαια*, of Ammonian sections and Canons of Eusebius, and the substitution in their room of another scheme of chapters

+ κατὰ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν +

+

+

+

1399



ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ νόλογος καὶ
 ὁ λόγος ἡ πρόστον ἡ
 καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς νόλογος οὗτος
 ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρόστον ἡ
 πάντα διὰ τοῦ ἐγένετο
 καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένε-
 το οὐδὲ ἐκ οὐθέν ἐγεν-
 ῆν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἡ καὶ ἡ
 ζωὴ ἡ τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸ
 φῶς ἐκ τῆς σκοτίας φαί-
 ηται καὶ ἡ σκοτία διὰ τοῦ

τὸ φῶς ἐκ τῆς σκοτίας φαίηται

8. οὐ κατελάβετο ἐγένε-
 το ἀνθρώπου σὰπες τῆς
 μένος παρὰ τοῦ ὄνομα
 αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρίαν οὗτος
 ἡλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν
 ἡ μαρτυρὴς ἡ περὶ τοῦ
 φωτός ἡ ἡ ἀληθεύς
 ἐκ τῆς σκοτίας διὰ τοῦ
 οὐκ ἡ ἐκ τῆς σκοτίας
 ἀλλ' ἡ μαρτυρὴς ἡ πε-
 ρὶ τοῦ φωτός ἡ τὸ φῶς
 τὸ ἀληθὲς ἡ ὁ φῶς
 τίς πάντων ἀνθρώπων
 ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν
 κόσμον ἐκ τῆς σκοτίας
 καὶ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τοῦ
 ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ κόσμος
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐγνώκει
 ταῖς διὰ ἡλθεν καὶ ὁ
 οὐκ αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον
 οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτὸν
 ἐδωκεν αὐτὸν οὐ
 σιαντέκνασθαι
 τοῖς ἐκ τῆς σκοτίας
 τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐ
 κέσας μαρτυρῆς
 βέλγημα τοῦ σὰρκος

of its own, beyond question tend very powerfully to confirm. Each column contains about forty-two lines, each line from sixteen to eighteen letters, of a size somewhat less than in the Codex Alexandrinus, with no intervals between the words, a space of the breadth of half a letter being left at the end of a sentence, and a little more at the conclusion of a paragraph. It has been doubted whether any of the stops are *prima manu*, and (contrary to the judgment of Birch and others) the breathings and accents are now generally allowed to have been added by the second hand. This hand, apparently of about the eighth century, retraced, with as much care as such an operation would permit, the faint lines of the original writing (the ink whereof was perhaps never quite black), the remains of which can even now be seen by a keen-sighted reader by the side of the more modern strokes; anxious at the same time to represent a critical revision of the text, the writer left untouched such words or letters as he wished to reject. In these places, *where no breathings or accents and scarcely any stops have ever been detected*, we have an opportunity of seeing the manuscript in its primitive condition; before it had been tampered with by the later scribe. There are occasional breaks in the continuity of the writing, every descent in the genealogies of our Lord (Matt. I., Luke III.), each of the beatitudes (Matt. V.), and of the parables in Matt. XIII., forming a separate paragraph; but such a case will oftentimes not occur for several consecutive pages. The writer's plan was to proceed steadily with a book until it was finished: then to break off from the column he was writing, and to begin the next book on the very next column. Thus only *one* column perfectly blank is found in the whole volume, that which follows ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ in Mark XVI. 8; and since Cod. B is the only one yet known, except Cod. \aleph , that actually omits the last twelve verses of that Gospel, by leaving such a space the scribe has intimated that he was fully aware of their existence, or even found them in the copy from which he wrote. The capital letters at the beginning of each book are likewise due to the corrector, who sometimes erased, sometimes merely touched slightly, the original initial letter, which (as in the Herculanean rolls) is no larger than any other.

These later capitals in blue or red, three-quarters of an inch high, and the broad green bar, surmounted with three red crosses, which habitually stands at the head of a book, are in paint, and by the same second hand."

“Tischendorf says truly enough that something like a history might be written of the futile attempts to collate Cod. B. The manuscript is first distinctly heard of (for it does not appear to have been used for the Complutensian Polyglott) by Sepulveda, to whose correspondence with Erasmus, attention has been seasonably recalled by Tregelles. Writing in 1534, he says, ‘Est enim Græcum exemplar antiquissimum in Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ, in quo diligentissimè et accuratissimè literis majusculis conscriptum utrumque Testamentum continetur longè diversum a vulgatis exemplaribus:’ and after noticing as a weighty proof of its excellence its agreement with the Latin version (multum convenit cum vetere nostrâ translatione) against the common Greek text (vulgatam Græcorum editionem), he furnishes Erasmus with 365 readings as a convincing argument in support of his statements. It would probably be from this list that in his Annotations to the Acts, published in 1535, Erasmus cites the reading *καὶ* *ὑδα*, Chap. XXVII. 16, from a Greek Codex in the Pontifical Library, since for this reading Cod. B is the only known *Greek* witness. It seems, however, that he had obtained some account of this manuscript from Paul Bombasius as early as 1521 (see Wetstein’s Proleg. N. T. I. p. 23). Lucas Brugensis, who published in his Notationes in S. Biblia in 1580, and his Commentary on the Four Gospels (dedicated to Cardinal Bellarmine) in 1606, made known certain extracts from Cod. B taken by Werner of Nimuegen; that most imperfect collection was the only source from which Mill and even Wetstein had any knowledge of the contents of this first-rate document.” In 1868 Laurence Alexander Zacagni, Librarian of the Vatican, in his Preface to the Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum Eccles., describes Cod. B, and especially its peculiar division into sections, in a passage cited by Mill (Proleg. § 1480.) In 1669 indeed the first real collation of the manuscript had been attempted by Bartolucci, then librarian of the Vatican; from some accident, however, it was never published. In 1810, however, when with the other best treasures of the Vatican, Codex B was at Paris, the celebrated critic J. L. Hug sent forth his treatise ‘de Antiquitate Vaticani Codicis Commentatio,’ and though even he did not perceive the need of a new and full collation of it, he has the merit of first placing it in the paramount rank it still holds, as one of the oldest and most valuable of extant monuments of sacred antiquity. His conclusion respecting its date, not later than the middle of the fourth century, has been acquiesced in with little opposition, though Tischendorf de-

clares rather pithily that he holds this belief 'non propter Hugium sed cum Hugio.' In 1843 Tischendorf, after long and anxious expectation during a visit to Rome that lasted some months, obtained a sight of it for two days of six hours each."

The rapidity with which Tischendorf's collation of the Vatican MS. was made, may be judged from his own words, *Prolegomena*. p. 143. On two successive occasions for six hours each, he was allowed to have the great Codex in his hands. He declares that in that short period he prepared four fac-similes for publication, and also ran through the whole work, "*universum librum attente percurrissem.*" Such rapid collation even by this extraordinary man was too rapid to be of much critical worth.

The authorities of the Vatican rightly esteeming the great worth of this Codex, jealously guarded it from the curiosity of those eager to see it, and in this faithful guard may have sometimes excluded good critics from collating it.

Certain obscure bigots complain of this, as they systematically complain of everything Rome does, but the real student of history will commend such custody, which has preserved for us a literature through the vicissitudes of time.

We are more fortunate than our predecessors, for in our days a splendid edition has been published, under the auspices of Pius IX., by C. Vercellone and J. Cozza. This edition is based almost wholly on the labors of the great critic, Cardinal Mai.

The second in importance of the great Codices is undoubtedly the Codex Sinaiticus Ⲙ of Tischendorf.

The history of this great Codex is related by its discoverer in his preface to his great edition of 1863.

During the four years succeeding the autumn of 1840, by visiting the libraries of Paris, England, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, I had nearly completed a design of promoting a critical study of the Sacred Books, conceived in the preparation of the first edition of the New Testament. I then desired nothing more than to visit the East itself, whence so many monuments of ancient learning have come into the libraries of Europe. Through the particular favor of Frederic Augustus, the excellent King of Saxony, this desire was so gratified that I spent most of the year of 1844 in exploring the countries of the Orient; chiefly those in which the old monasteries exist.

It is well known that this Oriental journey has become famous through some Greek fragments of the Old Testament, which I sent to my native country, dedicated to my royal and noble patron as a pledge of love and fidelity. They were deposited in the library of Leipzig, and shortly afterwards published.

I discovered these fragments of a very old Codex of the Septuagint in the month of May, 1844. While investigating old books in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, I chanced upon a basket, containing remnants of various torn and destroyed codices. Many of these fragments had already found their way to the fire-place. As these fragments were considered worthless and were about to be destroyed, I easily obtained possession of them. I was refused, however, other larger parts of the same Codex, which were rescued from the same neglect, and in which the whole of *Isaias* and the Books of the *Maccabees* were written. I exhorted that these portions should be preserved with greater care, hoping to afterwards agree upon the terms of their surrender to me.

Being disappointed, contrary to my expectation, in such negotiation, I determined, in my second journey to the East in 1853, to accurately transcribe all that remained of the afore-said Codex, for a future edition.

But when I visited Sinai's Mount and St. Catherine's Monastery the second time, I neither saw the treasure which I sought, nor learned whither it had gone. I concluded from this, that it had been carried to Europe, and that there was no hope left of my possessing it. In 1855 when I published the first volume of my *Monumenta Sacra*, I edited therewith the last page of the text of *Isaias* (which I had already transcribed in 1844), and I made known that this Codex *Frederico-Augustanus*, and also the remaining fragments of the same ancient book, wheresoever found, had been saved by me from destruction.

Having maturely thought of the project, toward the close of 1856, with the consent of Paul of Falkenstein, one of the chief ministers of the King of Saxony, I delivered letters to the Russian Legate at Dresden, asking for the authority of the Emperor Alexander II. to set out for the East to investigate and acquire possession of old Codices, both Greek and Oriental, chiefly those of the Sacred Books. The eminent men Abraham de Noroff and E. de Kowalevsky interceded for me, also the Illustrious Theodore de Grimm, the former tutor of Constantine, the Emperor's brother, and actually instructor of

the Crown Prince Nicolas. The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg endorsed my petition, and the Empress Maria, with her characteristic greatness of soul favored me, and thus the most renowned Emperor, a man indeed upright and good, in the middle of September 1858, bade me execute my proposal.

But at this time my seventh edition of the New Testament claimed my attention. This edition was finished at the close of 1858, and in the beginning of 1859, I started on my journey to the East. I made my third visit to the monastery of St. Catherine on the last day of January, and was most kindly welcomed by the brothers.

The venerable bishop expressed a wish that by my studies, I might find new proofs for the divine truths.

I had already sent one of the servants to procure camels, intending to set out for Egypt on the 7th of February, when, on the 4th of the same month, I was walking with the econome of the monastery, and conversing of the Septuagint. I had brought to the monks several copies of my edition of this, and some copies of my New Testament.

On returning from the walk, we entered the econome's room. Thereupon he said he had a copy of the Septuagint and he placed it before me, wrapped in a cloth. I opened the cloth and saw something beyond my hopes. For there before me, I saw very numerous fragments of the Codex, which I had long declared to be the most ancient of the Greek codices, extant in parchment. Among these fragments I perceived, still in preservation, not only many books of the Old Testament (including those taken from the waste basket in 1844), but also, which was by far the most valuable, the whole New Testament in perfect condition, and augmented by the entire Epistle of Barnabas, to which was added the first part of Pastor. I could not disguise the astonishment wrought by such a discovery. With the consent of the steward, I transferred to my room the book, or rather the fragments of the book; for each leaf was rent into many parts and was covered only by the cloth. The steward himself had taken the fragments from the cell of the σκευοφύλαξ, which contained written and printed books, the greater part liturgical with varied *liturgical apparatus*. He had collected all the extant fragments of the Codex shortly after my first eastern journey. I took them all to my room and then I fully realized how great a treasure I held in my hands, and I praised and thanked God, the author of so great a benefit to the Church, to letters, and to myself. I spent the first night in transcribing the Epistle

of Barnabas, for to sleep at such a time seemed unlawful, "quippe dormire nefas videbatur." The day following I arranged with the monks, that if the superiors at Cairo should so order, they would send the Codex thither to me to be transcribed. Setting out on the appointed day with the kind letters of the monk Cyrill, the learned librarian of the monastery, I reached Cairo the thirteenth day of February, where, through the favor of Agathangelus, the venerable prior of the cloister, the enterprise so prospered, that, a thing seemingly incredible, a messenger traversed the deserts of Arabia and Egypt twice, within nine days, and I received from the hands of the Superiors the ancient parchments, on the twenty-fourth day of the same month. As had been agreed upon, the transcription of the whole Codex was undertaken without delay, and with the help of two natives, one a doctor of medicine, the other a pharmacist, it was finished within two months.

Although I revised, letter by letter the work of my associates, and also that which I transcribed with my own hand, I plainly perceived that the method of the *old correctors* was greatly defective, and that the Codex needed a revision, in order that I might confidently undertake an accurate edition of it.

In the meantime, I proposed to the venerable brethren of Sinai that they should send the Codex through me, as a pledge of their special affection to Alexander II., the ornament and defender of the orthodox faith. They heartily approved of my proposition.

But now Constantius, the Archbishop, who had formerly been patriarch, died. The administrator of the college in the interim, an eminent man, had, by unanimous vote, been chosen to succeed the deceased prelate, but had not yet been consecrated. At this juncture a certain one, who arrogated to himself authority, opposed me, but the venerable college conceded what I greatly urged, that I might bring the Codex to St. Petersburg to prepare from it a correct edition. It was only loaned me for a time, till the Archbishop should ratify in the name of the college its perpetual transfer. On this condition the Codex was delivered to me at Cairo, on the 28th of September, 1859.

Recalling the pleasant memory of this affair, I am moved to gratitude towards the venerable brethren for their benevolence, and trust in me, and I commend them for the nobility of mind and liberality with which they promoted the cause of Christian learning."

Tischendorf arrived in St. Petersburg in November, where he was received with great respect by the Emperor. The Codex was exposed to public view in the imperial library for two weeks. By the aid of the Emperor, type was cast by which the great Codex was faithfully reproduced. The labor expended in this edition can scarcely be realized. In 1861 the great work was accomplished, and on the 11th of September of that year the splendid edition was presented to the Emperor. In 1863, Tischendorf published an edition of the New Testament for popular use, in which he has reproduced the exact form of the original Codex in modern Greek characters.

“The Codex Sinaiticus, as we learn from Tischendorf’s *Notitia*, consists of 345½ leaves of beautiful vellum, of which 199 contain portions of the Septuagint version. 147½ leaves contain the whole New Testament, Barnabas’ Epistle, and portions of Hermas’ *Shepherd*. Each page comprises four columns, with 48 lines in each column, of continuous, noble, simple uncials. The poetical books of the Old Testament, however, being written in *στίχοι*, admit of only two columns on a page. The order of the sacred books is remarkable, though not unprecedented. St. Paul’s Epistles precede the Acts, and among them, that to the Hebrews follows II. Thess., standing on the same page with it. Breathings and accents there are none; the apostrophus, and a single point for punctuation, are entirely absent for pages together, yet occasionally are rather thickly studded, not only in places where a later hand has been unusually busy. Even the words very usually abridged (except $\overline{\theta\sigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$, $\overline{\iota\sigma}$, $\overline{\chi\sigma}$, $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ which are constant) are here written in full, as $\overline{\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho}$, $\overline{\delta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\delta}$; the practice varies for $\overline{\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma}$, $\overline{\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma}$, $\overline{\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma}$. We find $\overline{\iota\varsigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda'}$, $\overline{\omega\varsigma\lambda}$ or $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$: $\overline{\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu'}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\mu}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda\mu'}$, or $\overline{\upsilon\lambda\mu}$. Tischendorf considers the two points over *iota* and *upsilon* (which are sometimes wanting) as seldom from the first hand. Words are divided at the end of a line as capriciously as can be imagined: thus K in OΥK is repeatedly separated without need. Small letters, of the most perfect shape, freely occur in all places, especially at the end of lines. Numerals are represented by letters, with a straight line placed over them (e. g. $\overline{\mu}$ Mark. I. 13). Although there are no capitals, the initial letter of a line which begins a sentence generally stands out from the rank of the rest. The annexed plates exhibit Heb. XII. 27.—XIII. in original characters reproduced by Tischendorf, and in cursive characters.

ΤΩΘΩ ΤΟΥΤΕΣΤΙΝ
ΚΑΡΠΟΝ ΧΕΙΛΕΩΝ
ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΝΤΩΝ
ΤΩ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΕΥΠΟΙΙΑΣ
ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ ΜΗ
ΕΠΙΛΑΝΘΑΝΕΣ ΘΕ
ΤΟΙ ΑΥΤΑΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΘΥ
ΑΙΣ ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΙΤΑΙ
ΘΣ
ΠΕΙΘΕΣΘΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΓ
ΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΥΜΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΙΚΕΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ
ΑΥΤΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΓΡΥΠΝΟΥ
ΣΙΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΨΥ
ΧΩΝ ΥΜΩΝ ΩΣ
ΓΟΝ ΑΠΟΔΩΣΟΝ
ΤΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΕΤΑΧΑΡΑ
ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΩΣΙΝ
ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΣΤΕΝΑΖΟ
ΤΕΣ ΑΛΥΣΙΤΕΛΕΣ
ΓΑΡ ΥΜΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ
ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΕ ΠΕ
ΡΙ ΗΜΩΝ ΟΤΙ ΚΑΙ
ΘΑ ΓΑΡ ΟΤΙ ΚΑΛΗΝ
ΣΥΝΙΔΗ ΣΙΝ ΕΧΟ
ΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΚΑ
ΛΩΣ ΘΕΛΟΝΤΕΣ Α
ΝΑΣΤΡΕΦΕΣΘΑΙ
ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΤΕΡΩΣ ΔΕ
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩ ΤΟΥΤΟ
ΠΟΙΗΣΑΙ ΙΝΑ ΤΑ ΧΕΙ
ΟΝ ΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΣΤΑ
ΘΩ ΥΜΙΝ
ΟΔΕ ΘΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ
ΟΑΝ ΑΓΑΓΩΝ ΕΚΝΕ
ΚΡΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΙΜΕ
ΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΩ
Ν ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΕΝΑΙ
ΜΑΤΙ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝ
ΩΝ ΙΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΚΝΗ
ΜΩΝ ΙΝΑ ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙ
ΣΑΙ ΥΜΑΣ ΕΝ ΠΑΝ
ΤΙΑ ΓΑΘΩ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ Π
ΗΣΑΙ ΤΟ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΩ ΠΟΙ
ΩΝ ΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΕΣΤΟΝ ΕΝΩΠΙΟ

ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΙΤΧΥΩΝ
ΔΟΞΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩ
ΝΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ
ΑΜΗΝ
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩ ΔΕ ΥΜΑΣ
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΑΝΕΧΕ
ΣΘΕ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΗΣ
ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ
ΔΙΑΒΡΑΧΕΩΝ ΕΠΕ
ΣΤΙΛΑ ΥΜΙΝ
ΓΕΙΝΩΣΚΕΤΕ ΤΟΝ
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ ΗΜΩΝ
ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΧΕ
ΛΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΜΕΘΟΥ
ΕΑΝΤΑ ΧΙΟΝ ΕΡΧΗΤΑΙ
ΣΘΕ ΟΥΘΟΜΑΙ ΥΜΑΣ
ΑΣΠΑΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΠΑΝ
ΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΕ
ΝΟΥΣ ΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΙΟΥ
Σ ΑΣΠΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΥΜΑΣ
ΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΣ
Η ΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΝ
ΤΩΝ ΥΜΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ

ΠΡΟΣ

ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥΣ

The vellum of the manuscript is very thin and smooth. According to Tischendorf it was made of the skins of antelopes or asses. The fleshy side of the skin, being softer, has not preserved the writing so plainly as the other side. Every skin was folded so as to form eight pages.

Many corrections of later hands appear in the Codex.

Historical data are wanting to determine its age. From internal evidence Tischendorf refers it to the fourth century, and his judgment is acquiesced in by nearly all critics. Tischendorf exalts its value above that of any other Codex in the world, but perhaps the highest tribute compatible with truth would be that it ranks next in excellence to the Vatican Codex.

The Codex contains all the books of the New Testament; and adds Pastor and Barnabas' Epistle. The Old Testament is mutilated so that nearly all the historical books are wanting.

The Codex is preserved in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.

THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS, or Alexandrian manuscript, which is noted by the letter A in Wetstein's, Griesbach's, and Scholz's critical editions of the New Testament, consists of four folio volumes; the three first contain the whole of the Old Testament, together with some apocryphal books, and the fourth comprises the New Testament, the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and the apocryphal Psalms ascribed to Solomon. In the New Testament there is wanting the beginning as far as Matt. XXV. 6. *ο νυμφιος ερχεται*; likewise from John VI. 50. to VIII. 52, and from II. Cor. IV. 13. to XII. 7. The Psalms are preceded by the epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, and followed by a catalogue containing those which are to be used in prayer for each hour, both of the day and of the night; also by fourteen hymns, partly apocryphal, partly biblical, the eleventh of which is the hymn of the Virgin Mary, termed the Magnificat, (Luke I. 47—55.) and here entitled *προσευχη Μαρίας της Θεοτοκου*, or, *the prayer of Mary the mother of God*; the arguments of Eusebius are annexed to the Psalms, and his Canons to the Gospels. This manuscript is now preserved in the British Museum, where it was deposited in 1753. It was sent as a present to King Charles I. from Cyrillus Lucaris, a native of Crete, and patriarch of Constantinople, by Sir Thomas Rowe, ambassador from England to the Grand Seignior, in the year 1628. Cyrillus brought it with him from Alexandria, where, probably, it was written. In a schedule annexed to it, he gives this account; that it was

written, according to tradition, by Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about thirteen hundred years ago, a little after the council of Nice. He adds, that the name of Thecla, at the end of the book, was erased; but that this was the case with other books of the Christians, after Christianity was extinguished in Egypt by the Mohammedans; and that recent tradition records the fact of the laceration and erasure of Thecla's name. The proprietor of this manuscript, before it came into the hands of Cyrillus Lucaris, had written an Arabic subscription, expressing that this book was said to have been written with the pen of Thecla the Martyr.

Various disputes have arisen with regard to the place whence it was brought, and where it was written, to its antiquity, and of course to its real value. Some critics have bestowed upon it the highest commendation, whilst it has been equally depreciated by others. Of its most strenuous adversaries, Wetstein seems to have been the principal. The place from which it was sent to England was, without doubt, Alexandria, and hence it has been called the *Codex Alexandrinus*. As to the place where it was written, there is a considerable difference of opinion. Matthæus Muttis, who was a contemporary friend, and deacon of Cyrillus, and who afterwards instructed in the Greek language John Rudolph Wetstein, uncle of the celebrated editor of the Greek Testament, bears testimony, in a letter written to Martin Bogdan, a physician in Berne, dated January 14, 1664, that it had been brought from one of the twenty-two monasteries in Mount Athos, which the Turks never destroyed, but allowed to continue upon the payment of tribute. Dr. Woide endeavors to weaken the evidence of Muttis, and to render the testimony of the elder Wetstein suspicious; but Spohn shows that the objections of Woide are ungrounded. Allowing their reality, we cannot infer that Cyrillus found this manuscript in Alexandria. Before he went to Alexandria, he spent some time on Mount Athos, the repository and manufactory of manuscripts of the New Testament, whence a great number has been brought into the west of Europe, and a still greater number has been sent to Moscow. It is therefore probable, independently of the evidence of Muttis, that Cyrillus procured it there either by purchase or by present, took it with him to Alexandria, and brought it thence on his return to Constantinople.

The antiquity of this manuscript has also been the subject of controversy. Grabe and Schulze think that it might have

been written before the end of the fourth century, which, says Michaelis, is the very utmost period that can be allowed, because it contains the Epistles of Athanasius. Oudin places it in the tenth century. Wetstein refers it to the fifth, and supposes that it was one of the manuscripts collected at Alexandria in 615, for the Syriac version. Semler refers it to the seventh century. Montfaucon is of opinion that neither the Codex Alexandrinus, nor any Greek manuscript, can be said with great probability to be much prior to the sixth century. Michaelis apprehends that this manuscript was written after Arabic was become the native language of the Egyptians, that is, one, or rather two centuries after Alexandria was taken by the Saracens, which happened in the year 640, because the transcriber frequently confounds M and B, which is often done in the Arabic; and he concludes that it is not more ancient than the eighth century. Woide, after a great display of learning, with which he examines the evidence for the antiquity of the Codex Alexandrinus, concludes that it was written between the middle and the end of the fourth century. It cannot be allowed a greater antiquity, because it has not only the *τιτλοι* or *κεφαλαια* *majora*, but the *κεφαλαια* *minora*, or Ammonian sections, accompanied with the references to the Canons of Eusebius. Woide's arguments have been objected to by Spohn. Some of the principal arguments advanced by those who refer this manuscript to the fourth or fifth centuries, are the following: The Epistles of Saint Paul are not divided into chapters like the Gospels, though this division took place so early as 396, when to each chapter was prefixed a superscription. The Codex Alexandrinus has the Epistles of Clement of Rome; but these were forbidden to be read in the churches by the Council of Laodicea, in 364, and that of Carthage, in 419. Hence Schulze has inferred, that it was written before the year 364; and he produces a new argument for its antiquity, deduced from the last of the fourteen hymns found in it after the psalms, which is superscribed *ὑμνος εὐθινης*, and is called the grand doxology; for this hymn has not the clause *αγιος ο θεος, αγιος ισχυρος, αγιος αθανατος, ελεησον ημας*, which was used between the years 434 and 446; and therefore the manuscript must have been written before this time. Wetstein thinks that it must have been written before the time of Jerome, because the Greek text of this manuscript was altered from the old Italic.

Dietelmaier, who has more recently investigated this question, is of opinion that this manuscript was written towards

the close of the fourth, or early in the fifth century; and this, which is the most probable opinion, is adopted by Baber.

The value of the Alexandrian manuscript has been differently appreciated by different writers. Wetstein is no great admirer of it, nor does Michaelis estimate it highly, either on account of its internal excellence or the value of its readings. It must be conceded that it is far below the rank of Codd. B and \aleph .

The Alexandrian manuscript is written in uncial or capital letters, without any accents or marks of aspiration, but with a few abbreviations.

A fac-simile of the Codex Alexandrinus, containing the New Testament, was published at London in 1786, in folio, by the late Dr. Woide, assistant librarian of the British Museum, with types cast for the purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, precisely as in the original.

CODEX EPHRAEMI, C. No. 9, in the Imperial Library of Paris, is a most valuable palimpsest containing portions of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament on 64 leaves; and fragments of every part of the New on 145 leaves, amounting on the whole to less than two-thirds of the volume.

See plates on following page.

This manuscript seems to have been brought from the East by Andrew John Lascar [\dagger 1535], a learned Greek patronized by Lorenzo de' Medici; it once belonged to Cardinal Nicolas Ridolphi of that family, was brought into France by Queen Catherine de Medici, and so passed into the Royal Library at Paris. The ancient writing is barely legible, having been almost removed about the twelfth century to receive some Greek works of St. Ephraem, the great Syrian Father [299-378]; a chemical preparation applied at the instance of Fleck in 1834, though it revived much that was before illegible, has defaced the vellum with stains of various colors, from green and blue to black and brown. The older writing was first noticed by Peter Allix nearly two centuries ago; various readings extracted from it were communicated by Boivin to Kuster, who published them (under the Notation of Paris 9) in his edition of Mill's N. T. 1711. A complete collation of the New Testament was first made by Wetstein in 1716, then very young, for Bentley's projected edition, for which labor (as he records the fact himself) he paid Wetstein £50. This collation Wetstein of course used for his own Greek Testament of 1751-2, and though several persons subsequently examined the manuscript, and so became aware that more might be gathered from it, it was not until 1843 that Tischendorf

brought out at Leipsic his full and noble edition of the New Testament portion; the Old Testament he published in 1845. Although Tischendorf complains of the typographical errors made in his absence in the former of these two volumes, and has corrected them in the other, they probably comprise by far the most masterly production of this nature up to that date published; it is said too that none but those who have seen Codex C, can appreciate the difficulty of deciphering some parts of it. In shape, Codex C is about the size of Cod. A, but not quite so tall; its vellum is hardly so fine as that of Cod A and a few others, yet it is sufficiently good. In this copy there is but one column in a page which contains from 40 to 46 lines (usually 41), the characters being a little smaller than either A or B, and somewhat more elaborate. The uncial writing is continuous, the punctuation of Cod. C, like that of A and B, consisting only of a single point, mostly but not always put level with the top of the preceding letter. Wherever such a point was employed, a space of one letter broad was usually left vacant. These points are most common in the later books of the N. T. Three correctors at least have been at work on Cod. C, greatly to the perplexity of the critical collator: they are respectively indicated by Tischendorf as C*, C**, C***. The earliest may have been of the sixth century; the second perhaps of the ninth, who revised such portions only as were adapted to ecclesiastical use; he inserted many accents, the *rough* breathing, and some notes. By him, or by the third hand (whose changes are but few), small crosses were interpolated as stops, agreeably to the fashion of their times." (Scrivener op. cit.)

Critics refer Codex C. to the fifth century.

"COD. CLAROMONTANUS, D, No. 107 of the Imperial Library at Paris, is a Greek Latin copy of St. Paul's Epistles, one of the most ancient and important in existence. Like the Cod. Ephraemi in the same Library it has been fortunate in such an editor as Tischendorf, who published it in 1852 with complete Prolegomena, and a *fac-simile* traced by Tregelles. This noble volume is in small quarto, written on 533 leaves of the thinnest and finest vellum. The Greek and Latin are both written continuously, but in a stichometrical form; the Greek as in Cod. Bezae, stands of the left or first page of the opened book, not on the right, as in the Cod. Laudianus. Each page has but one column of about 21 lines, so that in this copy, as in the Codex Bezae, the Greek and Latin are in parallel lines, but on separate pages. The ink has much faded, or gone

off upon the opposite page; otherwise the book is in good condition. We reproduce on opposite page a fac-simile of Romans VII. 4-7, from the Greek of Codex Claromontanus. The leaves 162 and 163 of the Codex are palimpsest, and this plate is taken from that portion. The plate furnishes a good specimen of stichometry and palimpsest documents. It contains all St. Paul's Epistles (the Hebrews after Philemon), except Rom. I. 1-7; 27-30, both Greek and Latin; Rom. I. 24-27 in the Latin is supplied in a later but very old hand, as also is I. Cor. XIV. 13-22 in the Greek. The Latin of I. Cor. XIV. 8-18; Hebr. XIII. 21-23 is lost. The Epistle to the Hebrews has been erroneously imputed by some to a later scribe, although it is not included in the list of the sacred books, and of the number of their *στίχοι* or *versus*, which stands immediately *before* the Hebrews in this Codex; but the same list overlooks the Epistle to the Philippians, which has never been doubted to be St. Paul's: in this manuscript, however, the Epistle to the Colossians precedes that to the Philippians. Our earliest notice of it is derived from the Preface to Beza's 3d edition of the N. T. (20 Feb. 1582); he there describes it as of equal antiquity with his copy of the Gospels (D), and states that it had been found 'in Claromontano apud Bellovacos cœnobia,' at Clermont near Beauvais. Although Beza sometimes, through inadvertence calls his Codex of the Gospels Claromontanus, there seems no reason for disputing with Wetstein the correctness of his account, though it throws no light on the manuscript's early history. From Beza it passed into the possession of Claude du Puy; Councillor of Paris, probably on Beza's death [1605], thence to his sons Jacques and Pierre du Puy. Before the death of Jacques (who was the King's Librarian) in 1656, it had been bought by Louis XIV. for the Royal Library at Paris. Beza made some, but not a considerable use of this document. In Walton's Polyglott were inserted 2245 readings sent by the du Puits to Usher (*Mill, N. T. Proleg.* § 1284). Wetstein collated it twice in early life (1715-6); Tregelles examined it in 1849, and compared his results with the then unpublished transcript of Tischendorf; which proved on its appearance (1852) the most difficult, as well as one of the most important, of his critical works; so hard it had been found at times to determine satisfactorily the original readings of a manuscript, which had been corrected by *nine* different hands, ancient and modern. The date of the codex is doubtless the sixth century, in the middle or towards the end of it. The Latin letters b and d are the latest

ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΣ ΕΘΑΝΑΤΩΘΗΤΕ ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ
 ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΥΛΙΣΜΟΥ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΥΜΑΣ ΕΤΕΡΩΜΑΤΑ
 ΤΩ ΕΚ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΕΓΕΡΘΕΝΤΙ ΧΥΛΙΣΜΩ
 ΙΝΑ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΗΣΩ ΜΕΝΤΩ ΘΩΝΙΖΑΙ
 ΟΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΚΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΥΛΙΣΜΟΥ
 ΤΑ ΠΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ ΠΑΘΟΥΣΑ
 ΤΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΩΝΙΣΜΟΥ
 ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΛΕΣΙΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΟΤΙ ΤΟΙΣ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΗΣΑΙ ΤΩ ΘΑΝΑΤΩ
 ΝΥΝ ΕΙΔΕΚΑΤΗΡΓΗΘΗΜΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΧΥΛΙΣΜΟΥ
 ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ. ΟΤΙ ΕΛΠΙΖ
 ΕΝΩ ΚΑΤΕΙΧΟΜΕΘΑ ΤΩ ΘΩΝΙΣΜΩ
 ΩΣΤΕ ΔΟΥΛΕΥΕΙΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΙΝΟΤΗΤΙ
 ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΠΑΛΙΟΤΗΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΚΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΥΛΙΣΜΟΥ
 ΤΟΥΝ ΕΡΘΟΥΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΧΥΛΙΣΜΩΝ
 Ο ΝΟΜΟΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ Η ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΧΥΛΙΣΜΩΝ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΠΗΝΕΥΣΑΙ
 ΕΙΜΗ ΔΙΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ. ΟΤΙ ΕΛΠΙΖΑΜΕΝ ΟΤΙ
 ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΝ ΟΥΚ ΗΛΕΝ ΝΕΝΕΙ
 ΕΙΜΗ Ο ΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΛΕΠΕΝ ΝΕΝΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΝ

in form, and are much like those in the Cod. Bezae, which in many points Cod. Claromontanus strongly resembles."

CODEx D OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS, called CODEx BEZAE GRAECO-LATINUS, belongs to the University Library at Cambridge. It was presented to the University in 1581 by Theodore Beza, for whom and his master Calvin, the heads of that learned body then cherished a veneration which already boded ill for the peace of the English Church. Between the Gospels and the Acts, the Catholic Epistles once stood, of which only a few verses remain in the Latin version (III. John *v. 11-15*), followed by the words "*epistolæ Johannis III. explicit, incipit actus apostolorum*," as if St. Jude's Epistle were displaced or wanting. There are not a few hiatus, both in the Greek and Latin texts.

Beza related to the University of Cambridge in 1581, that he obtained the volume in 1562 from the monastery of St. Irenæus, at Lyons ("*oriente ibi civili bello*"), where it had long lain buried ("*postquam ibi in pulvere diu jacuisset*"). This great city, it must be remembered, was sacked in that very year by the infamous Des Adrets, whom it suited to espouse for a while the cause of the Huguenots; and we can hardly doubt that someone who had shared in the plunder of the abbey conveyed this portion of it to Beza, whose influence at that juncture was paramount among the French Reformed. Patrick Young, the librarian of Charles I., who first collated Cod. A, and published from it the Epistles of Clement in 1633, had also the honor of being the first to completely examine Cod. D. An unusually full collation was made for Walton's Polyglott by Usher, who devoted to these studies the doleful leisure of his latter years. But a manuscript replete as this is with variations from the sacred text, beyond all other example, could be adequately represented only by being published in full; a design entrusted by the University of Cambridge to Dr. Thomas Kipling, afterwards Dean of Peterborough, whose "*Codex Theodori Bezae Cantabrigiensis*," 1793, 2 vol. fol. (in type imitating the original handwriting much more closely than in Codices A, C, and the rest), is believed to be a faithful transcript of the text.

The Codex Bezae is a quarto volume, 10 inches high by 8 broad; of 414 leaves (whereof 11 are more or less mutilated, and 9 by later hands), with one column on a page, the Greek text and its Latin version being parallel, the Greek on the left, or *verso* of each leaf, and the Latin on the right, opposite to it, on the *recto* of the next. Notwithstanding the

Alexandrine forms that abound in it more than in any other copy, and which have been held to prove the Egyptian origin of Codd. A, B, C, the fact of its having a Latin version sufficiently attests its Western origin. The vellum is not quite equal in fineness to that of a few others. There are thirty-three lines in every page, and these of unequal length, as this manuscript is arranged in *στίχοι*, being the earliest in date that is so. The Latin is placed in the same line, and as nearly as possible in the same order, as the corresponding Greek.

The characters are of the same size as in C, smaller than in A, B, but betray a later age than any of these, although the Latin, as well as the Greek, is written continuously, excepting that in the titles and subscriptions of the several books (as in Codd. D, H, of St. Paul) the words are separated.

The following judgment has been passed upon the Codex by Westcott and Hort: That it is substantially a Western text of the second century, with certain additions of the fourth century: That notwithstanding a vast number of errors, it is valuable in the reconstruction of the original text: And that it gives a more faithful representation of the manner in which the Gospel and Acts were read in the third century, and, probably, in the second, than any other existing Greek Codex.

CODEx BASILIENSIS E contains the four Gospels, excepting Luke III. 4-15; XXIV. 47-53, and was written about the middle of the eighth century. Three leaves, on which are Luke I. 69-II. 4; XII. 58-XIII. 12; XV. 5-20, are in a smaller and late hand, above the obliterated fragments of a homily as old as the main body of the manuscript. This copy is one of the best of the second-rate uncials, and might well have been published at length. It was given to a religious house in Basle by Cardinal John de Ragusio, who was sent on a mission to the Greeks by the Council of Basle (1431), and probably brought it from Constantinople. Erasmus overlooked it for later books, when preparing his Greek Testament at Basle; indeed, it was not brought into the Public Library there before 1559. A collation was sent to Mill by John Battier, Greek professor at Basle. Mill named it B. 1, and truly declared it to be "*probatae fidei et bonae notae.*" Bengel (who obtained a few extracts from it) calls it Basil. *a*, but its first real collator was Wetstein, whose native town it adorns. Since his time, Tischendorf in 1843, Professor Müller of Basle and Tregelles in 1846, have independently collated it throughout.

CODEx BOREELI F, now in the Public Library at Utrecht, once belonged to John Boreel [d. 1629], Dutch ambassador at the court of King James I. Wetstein obtained some readings from it in 1730, as far as Luke XI., but stated that he knew not where it then was. In 1830, Professor Heringa of Utrecht discovered it in private hands at Arnheim, and procured it for his University Library, where, in 1850, Tregelles found it, though with some difficulty, the leaves being torn and all loose in a box. He made a *fac-simile* of it. Tischendorf had looked through it in 1841. In 1843, after Heringa's death, H. E. Vinke published that scholar's *Disputatio de Codice Boreeliano*, which includes a full and exact collation of the text. It contains the Four Gospels, with many defects, some of which have been caused since the collation was made which Wetstein published; hence the Codex must still sometimes be cited on his authority as F^w. In fact, there are but 204 leaves and a few fragments remaining, written with two columns of about 19 lines each on a page, in a tall, oblong, upright form. It is referred by Tischendorf to the ninth, by Tregelles to the tenth century. In St. Luke there are no less than 24 gaps. In Wetstein's collation it began Matth. VII. 6, but now IX. 1. Other hiatus are Matth. XII. 1-44; XIII. 55-XIV. 9; XV. 20-31; XX. 18-XXI. 5; Mark I. 43-II. 8; II. 23-III. 5; XI. 6-26; XIV. 54-XV. 5; XV. 39-XVI. 19; John III. 5-14; IV. 23-38; V. 18-38; VI. 39-63; VII. 28-VIII. 10; X. 32-XI. 3; XI. 40-XII. 3; XII. 14-25; it ends John XIII. 34.

CODEx COISLIN. F^a 1 is that great copy of the Septuagint Octateuch, the glory of the Coislin Library, first made known by Montfaucon (Biblioth. Coislin. 1715), and illustrated by a *fac-simile* in Silvestre's Paléogr. Univ. No. 65. It contains 227 leaves in two columns, 13 inches by 9; the fine, massive uncials of the sixth or seventh century are much like Cod. A's in general appearance. In the margin *prima manu* Wetstein found Acts IX. 24, 25, and so inserted this as Cod. F in his list of MSS. of the Acts. In 1842 Tischendorf observed 19 other passages of the New Testament, which he published in his *Monumenta sacra inedita* (p. 400, &c.) with a *fac-simile*. The texts are Matth. V. 48; XII. 48; XXVII. 25; Luke I. 42; II. 24; XXIII. 21; John V. 35; VI. 53, 55; Acts IV. 33, 34; X. 13, 15; XXII. 22; I. Cor. VII. 39; XI. 29; II. Cor. III. 13; IX. 7; XI. 33; Gal. IV. 21, 22; Col. II. 16, 17; Hebr. X. 26.

COD. HARLEIAN. G, 5684, or WOLFII A, and CODEx H, called COD. WOLFII B. These two copies were brought from

the East by Andrew Erasmus Seidel. They were purchased by La Croze, and by him presented to J. C. Wolff, who published loose extracts from them both in his *Anecdota Græca* (Vol. III. 1723), and actually mutilated them in 1721 in order to send pieces to Bentley, among whose papers, in Trinity College Library (B. XVII. 20), Tregelles found the fragments in 1845 (*Account of the Printed Text*, p. 160). Subsequently Cod. G came with the rest of the Harleian collection into the British Museum; Cod. H, which had long been missing, was brought to light in the Public Library of Hamburg, through Petersen the librarian, in 1838. Codd. G, H, have now been thoroughly collated, both by Tischendorf and Tregelles. Cod. G appears to be of the tenth, Cod. H, of the ninth century. The latter is of higher critical value. Besides the mutilated fragments at Trinity College (Math. V. 29-31; 39-43 of Cod. G; Luke I. 3-6; 13-15 of Cod. H), many parts of both have perished, viz: in Cod. G, 372 verses; Matth. I. 1-VI. 6; VII. 25-VIII. 9; VIII. 23-IX. 2; XXVIII. 18-Mark I. 13; XIV. 19-25; Luke I. 1-13; V. 4-VII. 3; VIII. 46-IX. 5; XII. 27-51; XXIV. 41-53; John XVIII. 5-19; XIX. 4-27 (of which one later hand supplies Matth. XXVIII. 18-Mark I. 8; John XVIII. 5-19; another Luke XII. 27-51); in Cod. H, 679 verses; Matth. I. 1-XV. 30; XXV. 33-XXVI. 3; Mark I. 32-II. 4; XV. 44-XVI. 14; Luke V. 18-32; VI. 8-22; X. 2-19; John IX. 30-X. 25; XVIII. 2-18; XX. 12-25.

COD. I, COD. TISCHENDORF. II. at St. Petersburg, consists of palimpsest fragments found by Tischendorf in 1853 "in the dust of an Eastern library," and published in his new series of *Monumenta sacra*, Vol. I. 1855. On twenty-eight vellum leaves (eight of them on four double leaves), Georgian writing is above the partially obliterated Greek, which is for the most part very hard to read. They compose fragments of no less than seven different manuscripts; the first two, of the fifth century, are as old as Codd. A, C, (the first having scarcely any capital letters, and those very slightly larger than the rest); the third fragment seems of the sixth century, the fourth scarcely less ancient. The fifth fragment, containing portions of the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles (I. Cor. XV. 53; XVI. 9; Tit. I. 1-13; Acts XXVIII. 8-17), is as old as the third, if not as the first. The sixth and seventh fragments are of the seventh century, viz. (*Frag. 5, of two leaves*) Acts II. 6-17; XXVI. 7-18; (*Frag. 7, of one leaf*) Acts XIII. 39-46. In all seven are 255 verses. All except *Frag. 6* are in two columns, of from twenty-nine to eighteen lines each, and unaccentuated.

Frag. 6 has but one column on a page, with some accents. The first five fragments, so far as they extend, must be placed in the first rank as critical authorities. Tischendorf gives us six *fac-similes* of them in the *Monumenta sacra*, a seventh in *Anecdota sacra et profana*, 1855.

COD. CYPRIUS K, or No. 63 of the Imperial Library at Paris, shares only with Codd. M, S, U, the advantage of being a *complete* uncial copy of the Four Gospels. It was brought into the Colbert Library from Cyprus in 1673. Mill inserted its readings from Simon. It was re-examined by Scholz. The independent collations of Tischendorf and Tregelles have now done all that can be needed for this copy. It is an oblong 4to., in compressed uncials, of about the middle of the ninth century, having one column of about twenty-one lines on each page, but the handwriting is irregular, and varies much in size.

COD. REGIUS L, No. 62 in the Imperial Library at Paris, is by far the most remarkable document of its age and class. It contains the Four Gospels, except the following passages: Matth. IV. 22—V. 14; XXVIII. 17—20; Mark X. 16—30; XV. 2—20; John XXI. 15—25. It was written about the eighth century and consists of 257 leaves 4to., of thick vellum, nearly six and a half inches square, with two columns of twenty-five lines each on a page, regularly marked, as we so often see, by the *stylus* and ruler. Wetstein collated Cod. L but loosely; Griesbach, who set a very high value on it, studied it with peculiar care; Tischendorf published it in full in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1836.

COD. CAMPIANUS M, No. 48 in the Imperial Library at Paris, contains the Four Gospels complete in a small 4to. form, written in very elegant and minute uncials of the end of the ninth century, with two columns of twenty-four lines each on a page. It has breathings, accents pretty fairly given, and a musical notation in red, so frequent in Church manuscripts of the age. Its readings are very good.

COD. PURPUREUS N. Only twelve leaves of this beautiful copy remain, and its former possessor must have divided them in order to obtain a better price from three purchasers than from one; four leaves being now in the British Museum (Cotton C. XV.), six in the Vatican (No. 3785), two at Vienna (Lambec. 2). These latter two are found at the end of a fragment of Genesis in a different hand.

The London fragments (Matth. XXVI. 57—65; XXVII. 26—34; John XIV. 2—10; XV. 15—22) were collated by Wetstein on his first visit to England in 1715, and marked in his

Greek Testament by the letter J. Scrivener transcribed them in 1845, and announced that they contained fifty-seven various readings, of which Wetstein had given but five. The Vienna fragment (Luke XXIV. 13-21, 39-49) had long been known by the descriptions of Lambecius; Wetstein had called it N; Treschow, in 1773, and Alter, in 1787, had given imperfect collations of it. Scholz first noticed the Vatican leaves (Matth. XIX. 6-13; XX. 6-22; XX. 29-XXI. 19), denoted them by Γ, and used some readings extracted by Gaetano Marini. It was reserved for Tischendorf (*Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846) to publish them all in full, and to determine by actual inspection that they were portions of the same manuscript, of the date of about the end of the sixth century. This book is written on the thinnest vellum, dyed purple, and the silver letters (which have turned quite black) were impressed in some way on it, but are too varied in shape and in size, to admit the supposition of moveable type being used, as some have thought to be the case in the *Codex Argenteus* of the Gothic Gospels. The abridgements ΘC, XC, &c., are in gold, and some changes have been made by an ancient second hand.

CODEX P. GUELPHERBYTANUS A and	} These are two palimpsests, discovered by F. A. Knittel, Archdeacon of Wolfenbüttel, in the Ducal Library of that city, which (together with some fragments Ulphilas' Gothic version) lie under the more modern writings of Isidore of Seville. He published the whole in 1762, so far, at least, as he could read them, though Tregelles believed more might be deciphered, and Tischendorf, with his unconquerable energy, re-edited the Greek portion in Vol. III. of his <i>Monumenta sacra inedita</i> (1860). Codex P contains, on 43 leaves, 31 fragments of 486 verses, taken from all the four Evangelists; Codex Q, on 13 leaves, 12 fragments of 235 verses from Luke and John; but all can be traced only with great difficulty. A few portions, once written in vermillion, have quite departed, but Tischendorf has made material additions to Knittel's labors, both in extent and accuracy. He assigns P to the sixth, Q to the fifth century.
CODEX Q. B.	

CODEX VATICANUS S., 354, contains the four Gospels entire, and is the earliest dated manuscript of the Greek Testament. This is a folio of 234 leaves, written in large oblong or compressed uncials. Its subscription affirms that it was written in 949.

CODEX BORGIANUS T. I, now in the Propaganda at Rome, contains 13 or more 4to leaves of Luke and John, with a

Thebaic or Sahidic version at their side, but on the opposite and left page. Each page consists of two columns; a single point indicates a break in the sense, but there are no other divisions. The fragment contains Luke XXII. 20—XXIII. 20; John VI. 28—67; VII. 6—VIII. 32. Giorgi refers it to the fourth century; Tischendorf, to the fifth.

CODEx NANIANUS U. 1, so called from a former possessor, is now in the Library of St. Mark, Venice. It contains the four Gospels entire, carefully and luxuriously written in two columns of 21 lines each on the 4to page. Its date is not before the tenth century, although the "letters are in general an imitation of those used before the introduction of compressed uncials; but they do not belong to the age when full and round writing was customary or natural, so that the stiffness and want of ease is manifest." Tischendorf in 1843 and Tregelles in 1846 collated Cod. U, thoroughly and independently, and compared their work at Leipsic for the purpose of mutual correction.

CODEx MOSQUENSIS V, of the Holy Synod, is known almost exclusively from Matthæi's Greek Testament: he states, no doubt most truly, that he collated it "*bis diligentissimè*" and gives a *facsimile* of it, assigning it to the eighth century. Judging from Matthæi's plate, it is hard to say why others have dated it in the ninth.

CODEx MONACENSIS X in the University Library at Munich is a valuable folio manuscript of the end of the ninth or early in the tenth century, containing the Four Gospels with serious defects, and a commentary (chiefly from Chrysostom) surrounding and interspersed with the text of all but St. Mark, in early cursive letters, not unlike (in Tischendorf's judgment) the celebrated Oxford Plato dated 895. The very elegant uncials of Cod. X "are small and upright; though some of them are compressed, they seem as if they were *partial* imitations of those used in very early copies."

CODEx BARBERINI Y, 225 at Rome (in the Library founded by Cardinal Barberini in the 17th century) contains on six large leaves the 137 verses John XVI. 3—XIX. 41, of about the eighth century. Tischendorf obtained access to it in 1843 for a few hours, after some difficulty with the Prince Barberini, and published it in his first instalment of *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846.

CODEx DUBLINENSIS RESCRIPTUS, Z, one of the chief palimpsests extant, contains 290 verses of St. Matthew's Gospel in 22 fragments. It was discovered in 1787 by Dr.

John Barrett, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, under some cursive writing of the 10th century or later, consisting of Chrysostom de Sacerdotio, extracts from Epiphanius, &c. In the same volume are portions of Isaiah and of Gregory Nazianzen, in erased uncial letters, but not so ancient as the fragment of St. Matthew. All the 32 leaves of this Gospel that remain were engraved in copper-plate *fac-simile* at the expense of Trinity College and published by Barrett in 1801, furnished with Prolegomena, and the contents of each *fac-simile* plate in modern Greek characters, on the opposite page.

CODEX Γ, TISCHENDORFIAN IV. was brought by Tischendorf from an "eastern monastery" (he usually describes the locality of his manuscripts in general terms), and was bought for the Bodleian Library in 1855. It consists of 158 leaves in large quarto, with one column (of 24 not very straight or regular lines) on a page, in uncials of the ninth century, leaning *slightly* back, but otherwise much resembling Cod. K. in style. St. Luke's Gospel is complete; the last ten leaves are hurt by damp, though still legible. In St. Mark, only 105 verses are wanting (III. 35—VI. 20); about 531 verses of the other Gospels survive. Tischendorf, and Tregelles by his leave, have independently collated this copy, of which Tischendorf gives a *facsimile* in his *Anecdota sacra et profana*, 1855.

CODEX SANGALLENSIS Δ. was first inspected by Gerbert (1773), named by Scholz (N. T. 1830), and made fully known to us by the admirable edition in *lithographed facsimile of every page*, by H. Ch. M. Rettig, published at Zurich, 1836, with copious and satisfactory Prolegomena. It is preserved and was probably transcribed a thousand years since in the great monastery of St. Gall in the North-east of Switzerland. It is rudely written on 197 leaves of coarse vellum 4to, 10 inches by $8\frac{3}{4}$ in size, with from 20 to 26 (usually 21) lines on each page, in a very peculiar hand, with an *interlinear* Latin version. It contains the four Gospels complete except John XIX. 17—25. Rettig thinks he has traced several different scribes and inks employed on it, which might happen easily enough in the Scriptorium of a monastery; but, if so, their style of writing is very nearly the same, and they, doubtless, copied from the same archetype, about the same time. He has produced more convincing arguments to show that Cod. Δ is part of the same book as the Codex Boernerianus, G of St. Paul's Epistles. Not only do they exactly resemble each other

in their whole arrangement and appearance, but marginal notes by the first hand are found in each, of precisely the same character.

CODEx Θ TISCHENDORF I. was brought from the East by Tischendorf in 1845, published by him in his *Monumenta sacra inedit.* 1846, and deposited in the University Library at Leipsic. It consists of but four leaves (all imperfect) 4to, of very thin vellum, almost too brittle to be touched, so that each leaf is kept separately in glass. It contains about 40 verses; viz., Matth. XIII. 46—55 (in mere shreds); and XIV. 4—14.

CODEx ZACYNTHIUS Ξ is a palimpsest in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, which, under an Evangelistarium written on coarse vellum in or about the 13th century, contains large portions of St. Luke, down to Chap. XI. 33, in full well-formed uncials, but surrounded by, and often interwoven with large extracts from the Fathers, in a hand so cramped and, as regards the round letters, so oblong, that it cannot be earlier than the eighth century. This volume, which once belonged to "Il Principe Comuto, Zante," was presented to the Bible Society in 1821 by General Macaulay, who brought it from Zante.

CODEx LAUDIANUS E, 35 is one of the most precious treasures preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford. It is a Latin-Greek copy, with two columns on a page, the Latin version holding the post of honor on the *left*. It is written in very short *στίχοι*, consisting of from one to three words each, the Latin words always standing opposite to the corresponding Greek. This peculiar arrangement points decisively to the West of Europe as its country, notwithstanding the abundance of Alexandrian forms has led some to refer it to Egypt. The very large, bold, thick, rude uncials, without break in the words or accents, lead us up to the end of the sixth century as its date. The Latin is not of Jerome's or the Vulgate version; but is made to correspond closely with the Greek, even in its interpolations and rarest various readings. This manuscript contains only the Acts of the Apostles, and exhibits a remarkable modification of the text. That the book was once in Sardinia, appears from an edict of Flavius Pancratius, *συν θεω απο επαρχων δουξ σαρδινιας*, appended (as also is the Apostles' Creed in Latin, and some other matter) in a later hand. This manuscript, with many others, was presented to the University of Oxford in the year 1636, by its Chancellor, Laud. Thomas Hearne, the celebrated antiquary, published a full edition of it in 1715, which is now very scarce, and is known to be far from accurate.

CODEx MUTINENSIS H, 196, of the Acts, in the Grand Ducal Library at Modena, is an uncial copy of about the ninth century, defective in Act. I. 1—V. 28; IX. 39—X. 19; XIII. 36—XIV. 3 (all supplied by a recent hand of the fifteenth century); and in XXVII. 4—XXVIII. 31 (supplied in uncials of about the eleventh century). The Epistles are in cursive letters of the twelfth century, indicated in the Catholic Epistles by h, in the Pauline by 179. Scholz first collated it; then Tischendorf in 1843, and Tregelles in 1846. They afterwards compared their collations for mutual correction.

CODEx SANGERMANENSIS E, is another Greek-Latin manuscript, and takes its name from the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés near Paris. Towards the end of the last century the Abbey (which at the Revolution had been turned into a saltpetre manufactory) was burnt down, and many of its books lost. In 1895 Matthæi found this copy, as might have been anticipated, at St. Petersburg, where it is now deposited. The volume is a large 4to, the Latin and Greek in parallel columns on the same page, the Greek standing to the left. Its uncials are coarse, large and thick, not unlike those in Codex E of the Acts, but of later shape, with breathings and accents *primâ manu*, of about the tenth century. Mill obtained some extracts from it, and noted its obvious connection with Codex Claromontanus. Wetstein thoroughly collated it; and not only he but Sabatier and Griesbach perceived that it was, at least in the Greek, nothing better than a mere transcript of Codex Claromontanus, made by some ignorant person about the 10th century.

CODEx AUGIENSIS F, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (B, 17. 1), is another Greek-Latin manuscript on 136 leaves of good vellum 4to (the *signatures* proving that seven more are lost), 9 inches by 7¼, with the two languages in parallel columns of 28 lines on each page, the Greek being always inside, the Latin next the edge of the book. It is called from the monastery of Augia Dives or Major (Reichenau, or *rich meadow*), on a fertile island in the lower part of Lake Constance, to which it long appertained, and where it may even have been written, a thousand years since.

CODEx BOERNERIANUS G, so called from a former possessor, now in the Royal Library at Dresden. In the 16th century it belonged to Paul Junius of Leyden: it was bought at the book-sale of Peter Francius, Professor at Amsterdam, in 1705, by C. F. Boerner, a Professor at Leipsic, who lent it to Kuster to enrich his edition of Mill (1711), and subsequently

to Bentley. The latter so earnestly wished to purchase it as a companion to Cod. F, that though he received it in 1719, it could not be recovered from him for five years, during which period he was constantly offering high sums for it. A copy, but not in Bentley's hand, had been already made (Trin.Coll. B. 17. 2).

Cod. G was published in full by Matthaei in 1791, in common type, with two *facsimile* pages; his edition is believed to be very accurate; Anger, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Böttiger and others who have examined it have only expressly indicated two errors. Rettig has abundantly proved that, as it is exactly of the same size, so it once formed part of the same volume with Cod. Δ: they must date towards the end of the ninth century, and may very possibly have been written in the monastery of St. Gall (where Δ still remains) by some of the Irish monks who flocked to those parts. That Cod. G has been in such hands appears from some very curious Irish lines at the foot of one of Matthaei's plates, which after having long perplexed learned men, have recently been translated by Reeves.

CODEx COISLIN. H., 202 is a very precious fragment of 14 leaves, 12 of which are in the Imperial Library at Paris, two having found their way to St. Petersburg after the hasty removal of the manuscripts from the Abbey of St. Germain de Pres, when Cod. E disappeared. The leaves at Paris contain I. Cor. X. 22—29; XI. 9—16; I. Tim. III. 7—13; Tit. I. 1—3; I. 15—II. 5; III. 13—15; Hebr. II. 11—16; III. 13—18; IV. 12—15; those at St. Petersburg, Gal. I. 4—10; II. 9—14; in all 56 verses. They are in 4to, with large square uncials of about 16 lines on a page, and date from the 6th century. Breathings and accents are added by a later hand, which retouched this copy. These leaves, which comprise one of our best authorities for stichometrical writing, were used in 1218 to bind another book on Mount Athos, and thence came into the library of Coislin, Bishop of Metz.

CODEx RUBER M is peculiar for the beautifully bright red color of the ink, the elegance of the small uncial characters, and the excellency and critical value of the text. Two folio leaves containing Hebr. I. 1—IV. 3; XII. 20—XIII. 25, once belonged to Uffenbach, then to J. C. Wolff, who bequeathed them to the Public Library (Johanneum) of Hamburg. To the same manuscript belong fragments of two leaves used in binding Cod. Harleian. 5613 in the British Museum, and seen at once by Griesbach, who first collated them, to be portions of the Hamburg fragment. Each page in both contains two

columns. There are forty-five lines on each page in the Hamburg fragment ; thirty-eight in the London leaves. The latter comprise I. Cor. XV. 52—II. Cor. I. 15 ; II. Cor. X. 13—XII. 5 ; reckoning both fragments, there are 196 verses in all. Hlenke, in 1800, edited the Hamburg portion ; Tregelles collated it twice, and Tischendorf, in 1855, published the text of both in full in his *Anecdota Sacra et Profana*.

CODEx VATICANUS B, 2066, OF THE APOCALYPSE, is an uncial copy of about the beginning of the eighth century, and the volume also contains, in the same hand, homilies of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, &c. It was first known from a notice and *fac-simile* in Blanchini's *Evangeliarium Quadruplex* (1748), Vol. II. p. 525.

This Codex contains the whole of the Apocalypse, and is of considerable importance, and it much confirms the readings of the older Codices A and C.

We have only noticed the principal uncial Codices ; we have not space to review the vast number of the minuscule Greek Codices, which are designated by critics with Arabic numerals. They date from the tenth century, and though inferior in critical value to the uncials, yet deserve study in textual criticism.

In the fifteenth century the art of printing was invented, and the first book printed was a Latin Bible printed in Germany about the year 1452. In 1477 appeared a printed edition of Psalms in Hebrew, with Kimchi's Commentary. The most ancient edition of the entire Hebrew Scriptures was printed at Soncino in 1488.

The first printed edition of the New Testament in Greek is that contained in

THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOTT (6 Vol. folio) is the magnificent design of Francis Ximenes de Cisneros [1437—1517], Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and Regent of Castile (1506—17). This truly eminent person, entered the Franciscan order in 1482. He carried the ascetic habit of his profession to the throne of Toledo and the palace of his sovereign. Becoming in 1492 Confessor to Queen Isabella the Catholic, and Primate three years later, he devoted to pure charity or to public purposes the revenues of his See. He founded the University at Alcala de Henares in New Castile, where he had gone to school, and defrayed the cost of an expedition which as Regent he led to Oran against the Moors. In 1502 he conceived the plan of the first Polyglott Bible, to celebrate the birth of him who afterwards became the Emperor Charles V.

He gathered in his University of Alcala (*Complutum*) as many manuscripts as he could procure, with men he deemed equal to the task, of whom James Lopez de Stunica (subsequently known for his controversy with Erasmus) was the principal; others being Æ. Antonio of Lebrixa, Demetrius Ducas of Crete, and Ferdinand of Valladolid ("*Pintianus*"). The whole outlay of Cardinal Ximenes on the Polyglott is stated to have exceeded 50,000 ducats or about £23,000, a vast sum in those days. The first volume printed, Tom. V., contained the New Testament in two parallel columns, Greek and Latin, the latter that modification of the Vulgate then current: the colophon on the last page of the Apocalypse states that it was completed January 10, 1514, the printer being Arnald William de Brocario. Tom VI., comprising a Lexicon, indices, &c. bears date March 17, 1515; Tom. I.—IV. of the Old Testament complete, bear the date November 8, 1517, in which year the Cardinal died, full of honors and good deeds. This event must have retarded the publication of the whole, since Pope Leo's license was not granted until March 22, 1520, and Erasmus did not see the book before 1522. As but six hundred copies were printed, this Polyglott must from the first have been scarce and dear, and is not always met with in Public Libraries.

The deuterocanonical books, like the New Testament, are of course given only in two languages; in the Old Testament the Latin Vulgate holds the chief place in the middle, between the Hebrew and the Septuagint Greek. The Greek type in the other volumes is of the common character, with the usual breathings and accents; in the fifth, or New Testament volume, it is quite different, being modelled after the fashion of manuscripts of about the thirteenth century, very bold and elegant, without breathings, and accentuated according to a system defended and explained in a bilingual preface *πρὸς τοὺς ἐντευξομένους*, but never heard of before or since: monosyllables have no accent, in other words the *tone* syllable receives the acute, the grave and circumflex being discarded.

It has long been debated among critics what manuscripts were used by the Complutensian editors, especially in the N. T. Ximenes is reported to have spent 4,000 ducats in the purchase of manuscripts. In the Preface to the N. T. we are assured that "non quaevis exemplaria impressioni huic archetypa fuisse: sed antiquissima emendatissimaque: ac tantae preterea vetustatis, ut fidem eis abrogare nefas videatur: quae sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster Leo decimus pontifex max-

imus, huic instituto favere cupiens, ex apostolica bibliotheca educta misit." * * * Yet these last expressions can hardly refer to the N. T., inasmuch as Leo X. was not elected Pope till March 11, 1513, and the N. T. was *completed* Jan. 10 of the very next year. Add to this that Vercellone has recently brought to light the fact that only two manuscripts are known to have been sent to the Cardinal from the Vatican in the first year of Leo, and neither of them (Vat. 330, 346) contained any part of the N. T. The only one of the Complutensian codices specified by Stunica, the Cod. Rhodiensis (Act. 52, *see* p. 190), has entirely disappeared, and from a catalogue of the thirty volumes of Biblical manuscripts once in the library at Alcalá, but now at Madrid, communicated in 1846 by Don José Gutierrez, the librarian, we find that they consist exclusively of Latin and Hebrew books, with the exception of two, which contain portions of the Septuagint in Greek.

That it was corrupted from the parallel Latin version was contended by Wetstein and others on very insufficient grounds. The charge originated in that religious bigotry which refuses to see aught of good in anything that is done under Catholic auspices. The edition reflects credit on the Catholic Church.

ERASMUS' NEW TESTAMENT was by six years the earlier published, though it was printed two years later than the Complutensian. Its editor, both in character and fortunes, presents a striking contrast with Ximenes; yet what he lacked of the Castilian's firmness, he more than atoned for by his true love of learning, and the cheerfulness of spirit that struggled patiently, if not boldly, with adversity.

Desiderius Erasmus (ἐράσμιος, i. e. Gerald) was born at Rotterdam in 1465, or, perhaps, a year or two later. He entered the priesthood in 1492. Thenceforward, his was the hard life of a solitary and wandering man of letters, earning a precarious subsistence from booksellers or pupils, now learning Greek at Oxford (but *αὐτοδίδακτος*), now teaching it at Cambridge (1510); losing by his reckless wit the friends his vast erudition had won; restless and unfrugal, perhaps, yet always laboring faithfully and with diligence. He was in England when John Froben, a celebrated publisher at Basle, moved by the report of the forthcoming Spanish Bible, and eager to forestall it, made application to Erasmus, through a common friend, to undertake immediately an edition of the N. T. "*Se daturum pollicetur, quantum alius quisquam*," is the argument employed. This proposal was sent on April 17, 1515, before

which time Erasmus had no doubt prepared numerous annotations to illustrate a revised Latin version he had long projected. On September 11 it was still unsettled whether this improved version should stand by the Greek in a parallel column (the plan actually adopted), or be printed separately; yet the colophon at the end of Erasmus' first edition, a large folio of 675 pages, is dated February, 1516; the end of the Annotations, March 1, 1516. Erasmus dedicated his work to Leo X.

Well might Erasmus, who had other literary engagements to occupy his time, declare subsequently that the volume "*præcipitatum fuit verius quam editum*;" yet both on the title-page, and in his dedication to the Pope, he allows himself to employ widely different language. When we read the assurance he addressed to Leo, "*Novum ut vocant Testamentum universum ad Graecae originis fidem recognovimus, idque non temere neque levi opera, sed adhibitis in consilium compluribus utriusque linguae codicibus, nec iis sane quibuslibet, sed vetustissimis simul et emendatissimis*," it is almost painful to be obliged to remember that a portion of ten months at the utmost could have been devoted by Erasmus to the text, the Latin version and the notes; while the only manuscripts he can be imagined to have used are Codd. Evan. 2, Act. Paul. 2, with occasional reference to Evan. Act. Paul. 1 and Act. Paul. 4, all still at Basle. He used Apoc. 1 (now lost) alone for the Apocalypse. All these, excepting Evan. Act. Paul. 1, were neither ancient nor particularly valuable, and of Cod. 1 he made but small account. As Apoc. 1 was mutilated in the last six verses, Erasmus turned these into Greek from the Latin; and some portions of his version, which are found (however some editors may speak vaguely), *in no Greek manuscript whatever*, still cleave to the received text.

When Ximenes, in the last year of his life, was shown Erasmus' edition, which had got the start of his own, and his editor, Stunica, sought to depreciate it, the noble old man replied, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets! produce better, if thou canst; condemn not the industry of another. His generous confidence in his own work was not misplaced. He had many advantages over the poor scholar and the enterprising printer of Basle, and he had not let them pass unimproved.

The text of the Complutensian Polyglott is incomparably more excellent than the hasty and uncritical text of Erasmus,

and yet the received Greek text, which formerly protestants so fondly worshipped, was taken from the text of Erasmus.*

Erasmus died at Basle in 1536, having lived to publish four editions besides that of 1816.

In 1518 appeared the *Graeca Biblia* at Venice, from the celebrated press of Aldus, which professes to be grounded on a collation of most ancient copies. However this may be in the Old Testament, it follows Erasmus so closely in the New as to reproduce his very errors of the press (Mill, *N. T. Proleg.* § 1122), though it is stated to differ from him in about 200 places, for the better or worse. If this edition was really revised by means of manuscripts rather than by mere conjecture, we know not what they were, or how far intelligently employed.

The editions of Robert Etienne, mainly by reason of their exquisite beauty, have exercised more influence than those of Erasmus, and Etienne's third or folio edition of 1550 is by many regarded as the received or standard text. This celebrated man [1503—59] early commenced his career as a printer at Paris. The editions of 1546, 1549 are small 12mo. in size, most elegantly printed with type cast at the expense of Francis I. The opening words of the Preface common to both, "*O mirificam Regis nostri optimi et praestantissimi principis liberalitatem*" . . . have given them the name *Mirificae* by which they are known among connoisseurs. Erasmus and his services to sacred learning, Etienne does not so much as name. He speaks of "*codices ipsa vetustatis specie pene adorandos*" which he had met with in the King's Library, by which, he boldly adds "*ita hunc nostrum recensuimus, ut nullam omnino literam secus esse pateremur quam plures, iique meliores libri, tanquam testes, comprobarent.*" The Complutensian, as he admits, assisted him greatly, and he notes its close connection with the readings of his manuscripts. Mill assures us (*Proleg.* § 1220) that Etienne's first and second editions differ but in 67 places. In the folio or third edition of 1550 the various readings of the Codices, obscurely referred to in the Preface to that of 1546, are entered in the margin. This fine volume derives much importance from its being the earliest ever published with critical apparatus.

*"*Optandum omnino esset, inquit Millius (N. T. Oxonii 1707, Proleg. p. 111), ut editio haec magnifica (Complutensis), sicut omnium prima erat, ita sola quidem fuisset, cuius textus demto uno et altero vitio supra memorato * * * integer et illibatus in editiones quasque posteriores transisset.*" Atque *Delitzsch* Handschr. Funde I. p. 5: "*Es wäre in der Glück gewesen, wenn nicht der erasmische Text, sondern der complutensische die Grundlage des spätern textus receptus geworden wäre.*" De textu recepto cfr. *Gregory* l. c. p. 216 sqq. (Apud Cornely op. cit.)

Robert Etienne in these editions first divided the New Testament into verses.

The brothers Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir set up a printing press at Leyden which maintained its reputation for elegance and correctness throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century. One of their minute editions, so much prized by bibliomanists, was a Greek Testament, 24mo., 1642 alleging on the title-page (there is no Preface whatever) to be *ex Regiis aliisque optimis editionibus cum curâ expressum*. By *Regiis*, we presume, Etienne's editions are meant, and especially that of 1550. The supposed accuracy (for which its good name is not quite deserved) and great neatness of the little book procured for it much popularity. When this edition was exhausted, a second appeared in 1633, having the verses broken up into separate sentences, instead of their numbers being indicated in the margin, as in 1624.

Etienne's edition of 1550, and that of the Elzevirs, have been taken as the Standard or *Received* text, the former chiefly in England; the latter, on the continent.

The labors of the great critics which we have mentioned in collating authorities for different readings have brought into being what is called the APPARATUS CRITICUS, being a fund of data showing the different readings and their authorities.

It is evident from what has been written, that the Greek text has not been preserved to us in all its pristine integrity, as it came from the inspired writers' hands. But neither has corruption so invaded it that it should be considered an unreliable fount of Scripture. The Hebrew, Greek, and Vulgate Latin, remain three authentic founts. At times, one is more correct, than another, and the collation of all three is useful to the understanding of any one. But it must always be considered that in far greater part the fulness and richness of the sense can only be received from a perusal of the original of the text.

CHAPTER XX.

THE SEPTUAGINT AND ITS VERSIONS.

The Septuagint is the first authentic Greek version of the Old Testament. It is called the Septuagint from the fact, that it was supposed to be the work of seventy or seventy-two interpreters. Of its origin we have many accounts all of them more or less legendary in nature. Aristæus, gives us the first account of its origin. According to him, Ptolemy Philadelphus in the third century B. C., wishing to found a

great library in Alexandria, and hearing much of the Jewish Law, sent messengers to Eleazar, the high priest, desiring a copy of the Books of the Jewish Law for his library. The high priest, Eleazar, choosing six interpreters from every tribe, sent the seventy-two interpreters to translate the books into Greek. These, after being kindly received by the King, betook themselves to the Isle of Pharos, to a great hall, where for nine hours each day they labored for seventy or seventy-two days, conferring with one another in difficult passages. The work was transcribed with care by men employed by Ptolemy, and was pronounced authentic, and an anathema was pronounced against all who should question its authority. This in brief is the story of Aristaeus as related by Flavius Josephus, *Antiq. Bk. XII. II. passim*. Philo, the Alexandrine Jew, has an account much similar, giving to the interpreters divine inspiration. He does not, however, mention Aristaeus, who according to his own story, had a great part in the translation. Nor does he mention Demetrius Phalereus who, according to Aristaeus, was the Librarian of Ptolemy. St. Justin the martyr (†163 or 167 A. D.), has a different version of the origin of the work. According to him, the interpreters were sent to the Isle of Pharos in separate cells, so all mutual communication was cut off. There they executed every one a translation of the Hebrew text, which versions were afterwards found to agree in the most minute details, even to the number of letters. The King, overcome by this miracle, caused the Jews to be treated with great honors, and sent them back loaded with gifts to their own country.

St. Justin avows that he saw with his own eyes the cells of these interpreters. Mention of the seventy cells occurs also in the works of Irenaeus, Cyrill of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, and Augustine. St. Epiphanius, who lived in the 4th century A. D., varies the legend somewhat. According to him, there were but 36 cells, and two interpreters in every cell. All communication between the cells was intercepted, and amanuenses were at hand to transmit to writing the words of the interpreters. Thus thirty-six versions were made, all independent of one another. On a fixed day, the work being completed, the King sat upon his throne; the thirty-six versions were produced, and a certain one of the Jews held the Hebrew Codex in his hands; all the versions were found to agree in everything, and nothing was changed from the Hebrew except what was evidently useless. Hence the interpreters were believed to be inspired, and a version was ornamented and

placed in the King's library, which all should venerate. The Talmud of Jerusalem and Babylon, has an account of the seventy cells, adding that the King, only after enclosing the Jews in these cells, communicated his design. The marvelous agreement is related as in the other accounts.

Many of the Fathers of the Church considered this version inspired. Thus St. Augustine says, that when the seventy departed from the Hebrew text they did so at the instigation of the Holy Ghost. St. Jerome rejecting the fable of the seventy cells believed that only the Pentateuch was made under Ptolemy. Hence, the origin of the Septuagint is shrouded in obscurity.

Without doubt the interpreters from Judea under Ptolemy translated at least the Pentateuch, and other unknown authors at unknown dates added the others at subsequent periods. The legend of the seventy cells is critically absurd and the testimony of Aristaeus of no worth. The varied style of the books of the Septuagint proves that they are not the work of one translator. However legendary be these accounts, we must recognize in the origin of the Septuagint the special providence of God, ordaining that a version of the Holy Scriptures, a complete version of all the books, should exist at the advent of Christ, that the universal kingdom of Christ might be the more easily far and wide diffused through the assistance of the Holy Writ existing in the Greek tongue, which at that time had become the universal medium of communication of thought in the civilized world. The Septuagint has the highest approbation, that of the writers of the New Testament, who quoted the Old Testament chiefly not from the Hebrew, but according to the Greek version of the Septuagint.

The legendary origin of the Septuagint caused many of the old Fathers to believe in the inspiration of the seventy interpreters. St. Jerome inveighs forcibly against this absurdity. When the earlier Fathers in their controversy with the Jews alleged passages from the Septuagint against them, the Jews responded that these were not in the Hebrew Canon of Scripture. Hence, the Fathers, to defend their position invoked the inspiration of the Septuagint. From the Septuagint was made the first Latin translation called the *Vetus Itala*, and to defend this, St. Augustine asserted the inspiration of the Septuagint.

"For the same Spirit who was in the Prophets when they spoke these things was also in the seventy men when they translated them, so that assuredly they could also say something else, just as if the Prophet himself had said both, because

it would be the same Spirit who said both ; and they could say the same thing differently, so that, although the words were not the same, yet the same meaning should shine forth to those of good understanding ; and could omit or add something, so that even by this it might be shown that there was in that work not human bondage, which the translator owed to the words, but rather divine power, which filled and ruled the mind of the translator." (S. Aug. De Civit. Dei, XVIII. 43). And indeed a strong motive which induced the Fathers to defend the inspiration of the Septuagint was the need of some explanation of the "variantia" in the Texts. St. Augustine's explanation, admitting the inspiration, filled that need. Many Catholic writers hold with St. Jerome that only the Pentateuch was translated by the seventy interpreters, and the other books added at a later date. So Vigouroux and Montfaucon, quoted by Vigouroux in *Manuel Biblique*.

S. Hilary appeals for the authority of the Septuagint to its great antiquity, and to the fact that its translators had the oral tradition of the synagogue. This is the only reasonable motive for its great value.

S. John Chrysostom speaks of the great authority of the Septuagint, but never hints at its inspiration. Hence, we conclude that the Church has never recognized the inspiration of the Septuagint, and the Fathers who defended it, were deceived by the legend of Aristaeus, while the most illustrious among them do not insist on the inspiration of the Septuagint for its great authority, but on its great antiquity, and the character of the men who made the version.

The different books of the Septuagint differ greatly in excellence. The Pentateuch is preëminent in accuracy and grace of diction. The version of Proverbs is also excellent. The version of Ezechiel is the best of the prophetical works. Job is very imperfectly rendered ; many things are omitted, and other things plainly do not reproduce the sense of the original. The Psalms and Ecclesiastes are very defective, and so poor was the version of Daniel, that the Church discarded it and substituted the version of Theodotion.

The Jews of Palestine at first held in high esteem the Septuagint, but as the Christians, in the rise of Christianity, used it effectively against them, they conceived a great hatred against it. In detestation of it, they compared the day on which it was completed to the day on which the golden calf was set up in the desert, and decreed a fast to take place yearly on that day. (Talmud Tr. Sopher, Meg. Thaanith.) As this

hatred was shared by the hellenist Jews, who were ignorant of Hebrew, they desired other Greek versions; hence arose other Greek versions of the Old Testament.

Of the post-Christian versions, that of Aquila is the first in order of time, and it is in the closest agreement with the letter of the Hebrew text. The traditions relating to Ἀκύλας, in Christian and Jewish writings, are so far in agreement that they may be assumed to refer to one and the same person. By Epiphanius he is described (*De Mens. et Pond.*, §§ 13-15) as of Sinope in Pontus, and as πενθερίδης of the Emperor Hadrian, in whose twelfth year, and 430 years after the LXX., he flourished, and by whom he was commissioned to superintend the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Seeing the faith and miracles of the disciples of the Apostles, he is led to embrace Christianity, but still clings to his faith in the vain ἀστρονομία, and is, in consequence, excommunicated. Filled with resentment, he becomes a pervert to Judaism, and is thenceforth known as Aquila the *Proselyte*. He devotes himself to the Jewish learning, and renders the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek.

Aquila, as a translator, aimed at an extreme literal exactness, for which he is, on the whole, fairly praised as ὁ κυριώτατα ἐρμηνεύειν φιλοτιμούμενος Ἀκύλας (Origen, *Comment. on Genesis*, I. 16), and, on the other hand, in places censured, as δουλεύων τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ λέξει (Origen *ad Africanum*, § 2). His method is, at times, the *reductio ad absurdum* of a literal rendering; and yet where he is most useless as an exegete, he may be an important witness on questions as to the form of the Hebrew text which lay before him.

Jerome, in his Epistle to Pammachius (§ 11, Vol. I. 316), comparing Aquila with the LXX, writes as follows: "Aquila autem proselytus et contentiosus interpres, qui non solum verba sed ETYMOLOGIAS quoque verborum transferre conatus est, jure projicitur a nobis. Quis enim pro frumento et vino et olco possit vel legere vel intelligere χεῦμα, ὀπωρισμὸν, στιλπνότητα, quod nos possumus dicere, *fusionem, pomationemque*, et *splendentiam*? Aut quia Hebraei non solum habent ἄρθρα sed et πρόαρθρα ille κακοζήλως et SYLLABAS interpretatur et litteras, dicitque σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν, quod Graeca et Latina lingua non recipit." But elsewhere he compares him favorably with the LXX, describing him as a translator who "non contentiosus, ut quidam putant, sed studiosius verbum interpretatur ad verbum" (*Ep. ad Damasum*, § 12, Vol. I. 167). The former passage aptly indicates the two leading principles

of Aquila, which were to give a Greek or quasi-Greek equivalent for every fragment of the original, and to maintain a rigid consistency by rendering each root with its real or apparent derivatives by one and the same root in Greek; new forms being freely coined as the occasion demanded, and the Greek idiom being sacrificed to the Hebrew. The peculiar etymological rendering of קַרְנֵי, in Ex. XXXIV. 29, which, through the Vulgate, gave rise to the popular representation of Moses with horns on his forehead, is found to have originated with Aquila: "Unde et in Exodo juxta Hebraicum et Aquilae editionem legimus, *Et Moyses nesciebat quia CORNUTA ERAT species vultus ejus*, qui vere dicere poterat, *In te inimicos meos cornu ventilo.*"

Aquila has been accused by Epiphanius of changing the Messianic testimonies. Not enough of his work remains to examine if this charge be true. Jerome declares in an Epistle to Marcella, that he had examined his work with especial attention to this charge, and had found instead many things most favorable to Christian faith. I am disposed to believe, however, that at times he drew some passages to the Jewish position.

The second Greek version which deserves special mention is that of Symmachus.

Eusebius relates that Symmachus was an Ebionite, and that in certain of his writings which were still extant, he alleged arguments from St. Matthew's Gospel in support of his heresy. Jerome likewise, in his commentary on Habacuc (III. 13, Vol. VI. 656), describes Symmachus and Theodotion as Ebonites: "Theodotio autem, vere quasi pauper et Ebionita, sed et Symmachus ejusdem dogmatis, pauperem sensum secuti Judaice transtulerunt;" and in his preface to Job he speaks of them as "judaizantes haeretici, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt, et tamen in Ἑξαπλοῖς habentur apud ecclesias et explanantur ab ecclesiasticis viris" (Vol. IX. Col. 1142). "Epiphanius," writes Montfaucon, "conspecto Hexaplorum ordine, ubi Symmachus ante Theodotionem positus secundum locum in Graecis editionibus occupabat, putavit Symmachum prius Theodotione editionem suam concinnasse." He assigns the version of Symmachus, perhaps rightly, to the reign of Severus (A. D. 193-211)—the *Chronicon Paschale* specifies the ninth year of this reign—but his account of the author is at variance with the statements of Eusebius and Jerome. Symmachus (he tells us) was a Samaritan, who, from

disappointed ambition, became a proselyte to Judaism, and set to work to compose his Greek version of the Scriptures with a specific anti-Samaritan bias.

The version of Symmachus was distinguished by the purity of its Greek and its freedom from Hebraisms. Jerome (following Eusebius) several times remarks: "Symmachus more suo *apertius*," or "*manifestius*"; and he praises him as an interpreter, "qui non solet verborum *κακοζηλίαν* sed intelligentiae ordinem sequi" (*Comment. on Amos*, III. 11, Vol. VI. 258). In his preface to Lib. II. of the *Chronic. Euseb.* (Vol. VIII. 223-4), he writes: "*Quamobrem Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio incitati diversum paene opus in eodem opere prodiderunt; alio nitente verbum de verbo exprimere, alio sensum potius sequi, tertio non multum a veteribus discrepare.*" Jerome not only commends Symmachus as above, but frequently adopts his renderings, as may be shown by a comparison of their versions.

Symmachus shows his command over the Greek language by his use of compounds, where the Hebrew can only represent the same ideas by a combination of separate words; and no less by his free use of particles to bring out subtle distinctions of relation which the Hebrew cannot adequately express. In like manner, his rendering of the name of Eve by *Ζωογόνος* preserves the word-play in Gen. III. 20; but other names are less happily rendered.

Another marked characteristic of Symmachus is his tendency to adopt more or less paraphrastic and inaccurate renderings under the influence of dogmatic prepossession.

This is especially discernible where he endeavors to avoid anthropomorphisms.

The last column of Origen's Hexapla contained the version of Theodotion. St. Epiphanius states that Theodotion was of Pontus, of the sect of the Marcionites, which he abandoned to embrace Judaism. St. Irenaeus affirms that he was an Ephesian, who became a proselyte to Judaism. His epoch is very probably the second half of the second century.

Jerome writes of Theodotion: "*Qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit, licet eum quidam dicant Ebionitam, qui altero genere Judaeus est*"; but elsewhere he seems to adopt the tradition of his Ebionism. Montfaucon argues from his rendering of Dan. IX. 26 that he was a Jew. His aim as a translator being (again in the words of Jerome) "*non multum a veteribus discrepare*," not so much to make a new translation as to revise the old, correcting its errors and supplying its

defects, it not unnaturally came to pass that Origen made free use of his version in constructing the Hexaplar recension of the LXX; and that, in the case of the Book of Daniel, even the recension of Origen was popularly discarded in favor of Theodotion's version in its entirety. His style does not present such marked peculiarities as those of Aquila and Symmachus. Suffice it to notice that he is more addicted to *transliteration* than they or the LXX; and that, on account of the number of the words which he thus leaves untranslated, he has been regarded as an *ignorant* interpreter. The charge, however, cannot be sustained.

Besides the aforesaid versions, three others were in existence of which but little is known. They are designated as Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, from the position which they occupied in Origen's Hexapla. It is probable that they did not contain all the books. The old writers so differ in describing where they were found that nothing definite can be known of them. Of the seventh no trace remains, and we only know of its existence from the fact that Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. VI. 16) declares, that Origen added it to the other in the edition of the Psalms, thereby making the edition *Enneapla*.

The great use which had been made of the Septuagint by the Jews previously to their rejection of it, and the constant use of it by the Christians, naturally caused a multiplication of copies, in which numerous errors became introduced, in the course of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of transcribers, and from glosses or marginal notes, which had been added for the explanation of difficult words, being suffered to creep into the text. In order to remedy this growing evil, Origen, in the early part of the third century, undertook the laborious task of collating the Greek text, then in use, with the original Hebrew, and with other Greek translations then extant, and from the whole to produce a new *recension* or revisal. Twenty-eight years were devoted to the preparation of this arduous work, in the course of which he collected manuscripts from every possible quarter, aided (it is said) by the pecuniary liberality of Ambrose, an opulent man, whom he had converted from the Valentinian heresy, and with the assistance of seven copyists and several persons skilled in calligraphy, or the art of beautiful writing. Origen commenced his labor at Cæsarea, A. D. 231, and, it appears, finished his Polyglott at Tyre, but in what year is not precisely known.

This noble critical work is designated by various names among ancient writers, as *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, *Octapla*, and *Enneapla*.

The *Tetrapla* contained the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, disposed in four columns; to these he added two columns more, containing the Hebrew text in its original characters, and also in Greek letters. These six columns, according to Epiphanius, formed the *Hexapla*. Having subsequently discovered two other Greek versions of *some parts* of the Scriptures, usually called the fifth and sixth, he added them to the preceding, inserting them in their respective places, and thus composed the *Octapla*; and a separate translation of the Psalms, usually called the seventh version, being afterwards added, the entire work has by some been termed the *Enneapla*. This appellation, however, was never generally adopted. But, as the two editions generally made by Origen generally bore the name of the Tetrapla, and Hexapla, Bauer, after Montfaucon, is of opinion that Origen edited only the Tetrapla and Hexapla; and this appears to be the real fact.

The accompanying plates will give some concept of Origen's great work.

Aquila's version is placed next to the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew text; that of Symmachus occupies the fourth column; the Septuagint, the fifth; and Theodotion's, the sixth. The other three anonymous translations, not containing the entire books of the Old Testament, were placed in the three last columns of the *Enneapla*. Where the same words occurred in all the other Greek versions, without being particularly specified, Origen designated them by Λ or ΛO , $\Lambda o\iota\tau o\iota$, the rest;— $O\iota$ Γ , or the three, denoted Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion;— $O\iota$ Δ , or the four, signified Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; and Π , $\Pi a\nu\tau e\varsigma$, all the interpreters.

Where any passages appeared in the Septuagint, that were not found in the Hebrew, he designated them by an *obelus* ÷ with two bold points (:) also annexed. This mark was also used to denote words not extant in the Hebrew, but added by the Septuagint translators, either for the sake of elegance, or for the purpose of illustrating the sense.

To passages wanting in the copies of the Septuagint, and supplied by himself from the other Greek versions, he prefixed an asterisk $\cdot\acute{x}\cdot$ with two bold points (:) also annexed, in order that his additions might be immediately perceived. These supplementary passages, we are informed by Jerome, were for the most part taken from Theodotion's translation; not unfrequently from that of Aquila; sometimes, though rarely, from

SPECIMINA TETRAPLORUM, HEXAPLORUM,

I. TETRAPLA,

'ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.

καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο
ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἡλειμμένος
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ.

ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.

καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο
ἐκκοπήσεται χριστὸς
καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξει αὐτῷ.

II. HEXAPLA,

ΤΟ 'ΕΒΡΑΪΚΟΝ.

חַת שְׁנֵי תַעֲשׂוּ
כְסוּת דְּמִעָה אֶת־מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה
בְּכִי וְאִנְקָה
מֵאֵין עוֹד פְּנוֹת אֶל־הַמִּנְחָה
וְלִקְחַת רִצּוֹן מִיָּדְכֶם

ΤΟ 'ΕΒΡΑΪΚΟΝ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙ.

ουζωθ σηνιθ θεσου
χεσσουθ δεμα εθμασβηη ΠΙΠΙ
βεχι ουανακα
μηην ωδ φεννωθ ελ αμμανα
ουλακεθ ρασων μειδηχεμ.

'Α.

καὶ τοῦτο δεύτερον ἐποιεῖτε
ἐκαλύπτετε δακρύῳ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (ΠΙΠΙ)
κλαυθμῷ καὶ οἰμωγῇ
ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἔτι νεῦσαι πρὸς τὸ δῶρον
καὶ λαβεῖν εὐδοκίαν ἀπὸ χειρὸς ὑμῶν.

III. HEPTAPLA,

ΤΟ 'ΕΒΡ.

בְּשִׁדְמוֹת קִדְרוֹן

ΤΟ 'ΕΒΡ. 'ΕΛΛΗΝ. ΓΡ.

βεσαδημωθ κεδρων.

'Α.

ἐν ἀρούραις Κέδρων.

Σ.

ἐν τῇ φάραγγι Κέδρων.

IV. OCTAPLA,

ΤΟ 'ΕΒΡ.

מִרְחֵם מִשְׁחָר
לֶךְ מִל יִלְדֶּתְךָ

ΤΟ 'ΕΒΡ. 'ΕΛΛΗΝ. ΓΡ.

μηρεμ μεσσααρ
λακταλ ιελεδεθεχ.

'Α.

ἀπὸ μήτρας ἐξωρθρισμένης
σοι δρόσος παιδιότητός σου.

Σ.

ὡς κατ' ὄρθρον
σοι δρόσος ἡ νεότης σου.

HEPTAPLORUM ET OCTAPLORUM.

DAN. ix. 26.

ΟΙ Ο'.

καὶ μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα δύο
ἀποσταθήσεται χρῖσμα
καὶ οὐκ ἔσται.

ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.

καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἑξήκοντα δύο,
ἐξολοθρευθήσεται χρῖσμα
καὶ κρίμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ.

MAL. ii. 13.

Σ.

καὶ ταῦτα δεύτερον ἐποιεῖτε
λύοντες ἐν δάκρυσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον (ΠΙΠΙ)
κλαίοντες καὶ οἰμώσσοντες
ὅτι τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἔτι νεύοντα πρὸς τὸ δῶρον
αἰεῖσθαι τὸ εὐδοκημένον ἀπὸ χειρὸς ὑμῶν.

Ο'.

καὶ ταῦτα ἃ ἐμίσουν ἐποιεῖτε
ἐκαλύπτετε δάκρυσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου
καὶ κλανθμῷ καὶ στεναγμῷ
ἐκ κόπων· ἔτι ἄξιον ἐπιβλέψαι εἰς θυσίαν
ἢ λαβεῖν δεκτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν.

Θ.

καὶ τοῦτο δεύτερον ἐποιήσατε
ἐκαλύπτετε δάκρυσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον (ΠΙΠΙ)
κλαίοντες καὶ στένοντες
ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἔτι προσεγγίζοντα τὸ δλοκαύτωμα
καὶ λαβεῖν τέλειον ἐκ χειρῶν ὑμῶν.

REG. xxiii. 4.

Ο'.

ἐν σαδημῶθ Κέδρων.

Θ.

ἐν τῇ φάραγγι Κέδρων.

Ε'.

ἐν τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ τοῦ χεϊμάρρου.

SAL. cix. 3.

Ο'.

ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου
ἐγείνησά σε.

Θ.

ἐκ μήτρας ἀπὸ πρῶτῃ
(σοι δρόσος) νεότητός σου.

Ε'.

ἐκ μήτρας ἀπὸ ὀρθρου
σοι δρόσος ἢ νεότης σου.

Σ'.

ἐκ γαστρὸς ζητήσουσί
σε, δρόσος νεανικότητος σου.

the version of Symmachus; and sometimes from two or three together. But, in every case, the initial letter of each translator's name was placed immediately after the asterisk, to indicate the source whence such supplementary passage was taken. And in lieu of the very erroneous Septuagint version of Daniel, Theodotion's translation of that book was inserted entire.

Further, not only the passages wanting in the Septuagint were supplied by Origen with the asterisks, as above noticed, but also where that version does not appear accurately to express the Hebrew original, having noted the former reading with an obelus, ÷, he added the correct rendering from one of the other translators, with an asterisk subjoined. Concerning the shape and uses of the *lemniscus* and *hypolemniscus*, two other marks used by Origen, there is so great a difference of opinion among learned men, that it is difficult to determine what they were.

In the Pentateuch, Origen compared the Samaritan text with the Hebrew as received by the Jews, and noted their differences. To each of the translations inserted in his Hexapla was prefixed an account of the author; each had its separate prolegomena; and the ample margins were filled with notes. A few fragments of these prolegomena and marginal annotations have been preserved; but nothing remains of his history of the Greek versions.

Since Origen's time, biblical critics have distinguished two editions or exemplars of the Septuagint—the *Koinē* or common text, with all its errors and imperfections, as it existed previously to his collation; and the Hexaplar text, or that corrected by Origen himself. For nearly fifty years was this great man's stupendous work buried in a corner of the city of Tyre, probably on account of the very great expense of transcribing forty or fifty volumes, which far exceeded the means of private individuals; and here, perhaps, it might have perished in oblivion, if Eusebius and Pamphilus had not discovered it, and deposited it in the library of Pamphilus the martyr, at Cæsarea, where Jerome saw it about the middle of the fourth century. As we have no account whatever of Origen's autograph, after this time, it is most probable that it perished in the year 653, on the capture of that city by the Arabs; and a few imperfect fragments, collected from manuscripts of the Septuagint and the Catenæ of the Greek fathers, are all that now remain of a work, which in the present improved state of sacred literature, would most eminently have assisted in the interpretation and criticism of the Old Testament.

As the Septuagint version had been read in the Church from the commencement of Christianity, so it continued to be used in most of the *Greek* churches; and the text, as corrected by Origen, was transcribed for their use, together with his critical marks. Hence, in the progress of time, from the negligence or inaccuracy of copyists, numerous errors were introduced into this version, which rendered a new revisal necessary; and, as *all* the Greek churches did not receive Origen's biblical labors with equal deference, three principal recensions were undertaken nearly at the same time, of which we are now to offer a brief notice.

The first was the edition, undertaken by Eusebius and Pamphilus about the year 300, from the Hexaplar text, with the whole of Origen's critical marks; it was not only adopted by the churches of Palestine, but was also deposited in almost every library. By frequent transcriptions, however, Origen's marks or notes became, in the course of a few years, so much changed, as to be of little use, and were finally omitted; this omission only augmented the evil, since even in the time of Jerome it was no longer possible to know what belonged to the translators, or what were Origen's own corrections; and now it may almost be considered as a hopeless task to distinguish between them. Contemporary with the edition of Eusebius and Pamphilus, was the recension of the *Koum*, or Vulgate text of the Septuagint, conducted by Lucian, a presbyter of the Church at Antioch, who suffered martyrdom A. D. 311. He took the Hebrew text for the basis of his edition, which was received in all the Eastern churches from Constantinople to Antioch. While Lucian was prosecuting his biblical labors, Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, undertook a similar work, which was generally received in the churches of Egypt. He is supposed to have introduced fewer alterations than Lucian; and his edition is cited by Jerome as the *Exemplar Alexandrinum*. All the manuscripts of the Septuagint now extant, as well as the printed editions, are derived from the three recensions above mentioned, although biblical critics are by no means agreed what particular recension each manuscript has followed.

There are four principal printed editions of the Septuagint. The first in time and excellence was that of Cardinal Ximenes, printed in his Polyglott, in 1517.

The printing of this splendid and celebrated work, usually called the *Complutensian Polyglott*, was commenced in 1502. Though completed in 1517, it was not published until 1522, and it cost

the munificent cardinal Ximenes 50,000 ducats. This Polyglott is usually divided into six volumes. The first four comprise the Old Testament, with the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in three distinct columns, the Chaldee paraphrase being at the bottom of a page with a Latin interpretation; and the margin is filled with Hebrew and Chaldee radicals. The fifth volume contains the Greek Testament, with the Vulgate Latin version in a parallel column; in the margin there is a kind of concordance, referring to similar passages in the Old and New Testaments.

The second principal edition is called the ALDINE EDITION, published in Venice in 1518. It was called Aldine from the printer Aldus Manutius, though it did not appear till two years after his death, and was executed under the care of Andreas Asulanus, the father-in-law of Aldus Manutius. This edition was much copied by the protestants, who, therefore, endeavor to exalt it above the Complutensian text, but foundation is lacking for such excellence.

The third principal edition in order of time, though first in excellence is that called the sixtine edition. It was undertaken at the suggestion of Cardinal Montaltus, during the reign of Gregory XIII., and when, at the death of Gregory, Montaltus ascended the papal throne under the name of Sixtus V., he brought the work to completion and hence it bears his name. Its full title is 'Η Παλαια Διαθηκη, κατα τους Έβδομηκοντα δι' αυθεντίας Ξυστου Ε. Ακρου Αρχιερεως εκδοθεισα.—Vetus Testamentum Græcum, juxta LXX Interpretes, studio Antonii Cardinalis CARAFÆ, ope virorum doctorum adjuti, cum prefatione et scholiis Petri Morini. Romæ ex Typographia Francisci Zannetti, 1586, folio.

It is a beautiful edition, of great rarity and value. It contains 783 pages of text, preceded by four leaves of preliminary matter, which are followed by another (subsequently added), entitled *Corrigenda in notationibus Psalterii*. This last mentioned leaf is *not* found in the copies bearing the date of 1586, which also want the privilege of Pope Sixtus V. dated May 9th, 1587, at whose request and under whose auspices it was undertaken by Cardinal Antonio Carafa, aided by Antonio Agelli, Peter Morinus, Fulvio Ursino, Robert Bellarmin, Cardinal Sirleti, and others. The celebrated Codex Vaticanus 1209 was the basis of the Roman or Sixtine edition, as it is usually termed. The first forty-six chapters of Genesis, together with some of the Psalms, and the book of Maccabees, being obliterated from the Vatican manuscript through extreme age, the

editors are said to have supplied this deficiency, by compiling those parts of the Septuagint from a manuscript out of Cardinal Bessarion's library, and from another which was brought to them from Calabria. So great was the agreement between the latter and the Codex Vaticanus, that they were supposed to have been transcribed, either the one from the other, or both from the same copy. Various readings are given to each chapter. This edition contains the Greek text only. In 1588, Flaminio Nobili printed at Rome in folio, *Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX. Latine redditum*. This Latin version was not composed by him, but compiled out of the fragments of the ancient Latin translations, especially the Old Italian. It is a splendid volume, and of considerable rarity. The Roman edition was re-printed at Paris, in 1628, in three folio volumes; the New Testament in Greek and Latin, forms the third volume. This reprint is in great request, not only for the neatness and correctness of its execution, but also for the learned notes which accompany it.

The fourth of these principal editions is that published by Grabe, at Oxford. This edition exhibits the text of the celebrated Codex Alexandrinus, now deposited in the British Museum. Though Grabe prepared the whole for the press, yet he only lived to publish the Octateuch, forming the first volume of the folio edition, in 1707, and the fourth volume containing the metrical books, in 1709. The second volume, comprising the historical books, was edited by Francis Lee, M. D., in 1719; and the third volume, including the prophetic books, by W. Wigan, in 1720. This edition gives a representation of the Alexandrian Manuscript where it was perfect; but where it was defective and incorrect, the passages supplied and the corrected readings are given, partly from the Codex Vaticanus, and partly from the Complutensian edition, in a smaller character than that employed in the text.

Tischendorf judged unfavorably of the work since the author gave excessive credit to Codex A, and imitated the Hexapla of Origen. The work has failed to obtain a lasting place as a great work of Scripture.

CHAPTER XXI.

VERSIONS DERIVED FROM THE SEPTUAGINT.

While the Covenant of God was restricted to the Jewish race, the Hebrew and Septuagint texts sufficed for the world. But when the Message of Christ spread abroad through the nations, there arose a need for other versions of Scripture.

Among these old versions, the first in order of time and excellence, is the old Latin version commonly called the *Vetus Italia*.

The origin of this version is involved in obscurity, and like many questions of its kind, furnishes a theme for many different learned conjectures. We shall be content to briefly set forth the most probable data.

The language in which the message of Christ was first presented to the Roman world, was Greek. Sufficient evidence warrants the conclusion that the liturgical language of Italy for the first two centuries was Greek. De Rossi believes that it was not till toward the close of the third century that Greek was superseded by Latin in the Western Church.* But in Pro-consular Africa, though the language of the masses was Punic, the liturgical language must have been Latin from the earliest times. This has led many to assign Africa as the place of origin of the *Italia*. Wiseman, Hug, Maier, Hagen, Lehir, Himpel and Cornely support such opinion. Reithmayr, Gams and Kaulen place the origin of the version in Italy. The supporters of the first opinion allege that the version would originate where it was needed, and it would be assigning too late a date to the version, to place it in the epoch of the decline of the Greek language in the West. They say, moreover, that the diction of the *Vetus Italia*, is like to that of Tertullian. Against this it may be urged that Greek never was the language of the masses in Italy, and that the low, humble diction of the *Vetus Italia* shows that it was not the work of savants; and it bears evidence that it was especially intended for the humbler classes, and was most probably made by men of limited literary ability. Its Latinity is exceedingly barbarous, so that Arnobius felt called upon to defend it against the ridicule of the pagans. This very fact proves that it was not made by the principal men in the Church, but by private individuals for private use, while Greek held the post of the authentic Scripture of the Church. Moreover, the barbarisms of the *Vetus Italia*, are by no means simply *Africanisms*, but are found in all the low Latin of the first centuries. I believe that if the edition were made in Africa, where Latin was the liturgical language, as they contend, it

**G. B. de Rossi* (Roma Sotteranea, Roma 1867, II. p. 236 sq.): "L'uso costante della lingua greca in quegli epitaffi (dei romani pontefici) è prova manifesta, che greco fu il linguaggio ecclesiastico della chiesa romana nel secolo terzo. * * * Circa la fine del secolo terzo, o volgendo il quarto, la greca lingua ecclesiastica cedette in Roma il luogo alla latina."

would be made by the chief men of the Church, who certainly could write better Latin than the text of the Vetus Itala. I believe, therefore, that in this question, which does not admit of a certain answer, the greater weight of probability stands for Italy as the place of origin of the first Latin translation. Regarding the mode of its origin, it seems quite certain that it was the work of many private individuals. St. Augustine, a most competent judge in this matter, declares the manner in which the early translations were made :

“For the translations of the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be counted, but the Latin translators are out of all number. For in the early days of the faith, every man who happened to get his hands upon a Greek manuscript, and who thought he had any knowledge, were it ever so little, of the two languages, ventured upon the work of translation.” (Enchirid. of Christ. Doct. Bk. II. XI.)

It is evident that the numerous translators did not translate the whole Bible, but certain books, so that there were many different translations of the several books made by different authors. Jerome complains bitterly of these numerous translators: “With the Latins there are as many different versions as there are codices, and every one arbitrarily adds or takes away what he pleases.” (Hier. Praef. in Josue.)

In this multiplicity of versions of the different books it soon resulted that the whole Bible existed in Latin, with considerable diversity in the different codices. It must have been also that some of the books were more faithfully translated than others. The next step seems to have been that the churches collected these various translations of the individual books into complete catalogues of Scripture. Here, also, diversity resulted, for the different churches collected different versions, and the works of the *librarii dormitantes* and the *imperiti emendatores*, was continued. Such was the condition of the Latin text when Jerome took it up and revised it according to the Greek. Now, among the various complete versions thus brought together, Augustine designates one as the Italian version: “Now among the translations themselves the Italian is to be preferred to the others, for it keeps closer to the words, without prejudice to clearness of expression.” (op. cit. 15.) It is certain, therefore, that in Augustine’s time, out of the various translations of the individual books, there had resulted several complete versions, among which, in his judgment, the Vetus Itala was preëminent. It is probable that a beginning was made to translate the Scriptures into

Latin even in the Apostolic age. As in that age intense activity was manifested in all things that pertained to religion, without doubt several translations of the different books were soon in existence. It is quite probable that one of these complete versions, at a very early age, obtained a place of eminence in the churches of Italy; perhaps it was in a certain sense authorized by the authorities in those churches. Thus it came to be termed the "Itala," and as Jerome called it the *old*, in contradistinction to his version, it thus became known as the Old Italian Version.

Its language was ruder than the ordinary Latin of the period. It coined many new words, adopted many Greek words and idioms, and confounded genders, declinations, and conjugations.

The condition of the Latin text in the beginning of the fourth century was deplorable. Innumerable codices existed widely differing from each other. Translators, correctors, and transcribers had rendered the text in a great measure uncertain.

To remedy this evil Pope Damasus (†384), commissioned St. Jerome to revise the Latin text. Jerome began his labors at Rome in 383, and first revised the Psalter "juxta septuaginta interpretes, licet cursim, magna tamen ex parte." This emendation is called the Roman Psalter. It was immediately adopted in liturgical use at Rome, and remained in use in the churches of Italy, till the time of St. Pius V. (†1572). The same year he also corrected the Gospels, "Evangelia ad Graecam fidem revocavit." The norm of Jerome in this emendation was to depart as little as possible from the usual reading, therefore, "ita calamo temperavit ut, his tantum quae sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateretur ut fuerant." (Hier. Praef. in Evang.) We find no prefaces of Jerome, relating to the other books of the New Testament, for which cause, some have doubted whether he extended this emendation beyond the Gospels. As he speaks in several places in his writings of his *emendation of the New Testament*, and declares that he restored the New Testament to the purity of the Greek, it is highly probable that he revised the whole New Testament.

When Damasus died in 384, Jerome returned to the East, and, happening upon the Hexaplar Text of Origen, at Caesarea, he made from that text a second emendation of the Psalter, retaining Origen's diacritic signs. This emendation was immediately received into liturgical use in the churches of Gaul;

hence, it came to be called the Gallican Psalter. It gradually came into use in other churches, and St. Pius V. authorized it for the text of the Roman Breviary. An exception was made in the case of the Psalm called the Invitatorium, XCIV. of the Vulgate, which was retained from the Roman Psalter. The Vatican Basilica, the Duomo of Milan, and the Chapel of the Doges of Venice, by special privilege, retained in their liturgy the Roman Psalter.

The Roman Psalter is also retained in the Roman Missal. The *Psalterium Gallicanum* is placed in the Vulgate. St. Jerome next revised Job by the Hexaplar text, which revision was received with much favor by St. Augustine. We are certain from Jerome's prefaces, that he emended in the same manner Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, and Chronicles.

It is probable that Jerome also corrected, at this time and in this manner, the remaining books of the Old Testament, though explicit data are wanting to prove it.

Jerome soon after entered upon the greatest work of his life, the translation of the protocanonical books of the Old Testament, from the original Hebrew.

Of this great version we shall treat in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here, that forth from the sixth century, the great translation of Jerome displaced the *Vetus Itala*, so that the greater part of this old version perished. Certain portions of it are preserved in the Vulgate, and in the writings of the Fathers. The New Testament of the *Vetus Itala* as emended by Jerome, the second emendation of the Psalter, the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, I. and II. Maccabees, and the deuterocanonical parts of Esther and Daniel, are retained from the *Vetus Itala* in the Vulgate.

Various collections have been made of the other fragments of the *Vetus Itala* from codices and works of Fathers. Flaminio Nobilius and Agellius were the first to collect and publish these fragments in 1588. Since that time, fragments have been collected and published by Martianay, Thomas Hearne, Sabatier, Blanchini; and in more recent times by Vercellone, Ranke, Haupt, and Muenther.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TARGUMS.

The Chaldee word **תרגום** *Targum* signifies, in general, any version or explanation; but this appellation is more particularly restricted to the versions or paraphrases of the Old

Testament, executed in the East Aramæan or Chaldee dialect, as it is usually called. These Targums are termed paraphrases or expositions, because they are rather comments and explications, than literal translations of the text. They are written in the Chaldee tongue, which became familiar to the Jews after the time of their captivity in Babylon, and was more known to them than the Hebrew itself; so that, when the law was "read in the Synagogue every Sabbath day," in pure biblical Hebrew, an explanation was subjoined to it in Chaldee, in order to render it intelligible to the people, who had but an imperfect knowledge of the Hebrew language. This practice, as already observed, originated about the epoch of the Maccabees. As there are no traces of any written Targums prior to those of Onkelos and Jonathan, who are *supposed* to have lived about the time of our Saviour, it is highly probable that these paraphrases were at first merely oral; that subsequently, the ordinary glosses on the more difficult passages were committed to writing; and that, as the Jews were bound by an ordinance of their elders to possess a copy of the law, these glosses were either afterwards collected together and deficiencies in them supplied, or, new and connected paraphrases were formed.

There are at present extant ten paraphrases on different parts of the Old Testament, three of which comprise the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses: 1.—The Targum of Onkelos; 2.—That falsely ascribed to Jonathan, and usually cited as the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan; and, 3.—The Jerusalem Targum; 4.—The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel (i. e., the son of Uzziel) on the Prophets; 5.—The Targum of Rabbi Joseph the blind, or one-eyed, on the Hagiographa; 6.—An anonymous Targum on the five Megilloth, or books of Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; 7, 8, 9.—Three Targums on the Book of Esther; and, 10.—A Targum or paraphrase on the two Books of Chronicles. These Targums, taken together, form a continued paraphrase on the Old Testament, with the exception of the Books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (anciently reputed to be part of Ezra); which, being for the most part written in Chaldee, it has been conjectured that no paraphrases were written on them, as being unnecessary; though Prideaux is of opinion that Targums were composed on these books also, which have perished in the lapse of ages.

The language in which these paraphrases are composed varies in purity, according to the time when they were re-

spectively written. Thus, the Targums of Onkelos and the Pseudo-Jonathan are much purer than the others, approximating very nearly to the Aramæan dialect, in which some parts of Daniel and Ezra are written, except, indeed, that the orthography does not always correspond; while the language of the later Targums, whence the rabbinical dialect derives its source, is far more impure, and is intermixed with barbarous and foreign words. Originally, all the Chaldee paraphrases were written without vowel-points, like all other Oriental manuscripts; but at length some persons ventured to add points to them, though very erroneously, and this irregular punctuation was retained in the Venetian and other early editions of the Hebrew Bible. Some further imperfect attempts towards regular pointing were made both in the Complutensian and in the Antwerp Polyglotts, until at length the elder Buxtorf, in his edition of the Hebrew Bible, published at Basil, undertook the thankless task of improving the punctuation of the Targums, according to such rules as he had formed from the pointing, which he had found in the Chaldee parts of the Books of Daniel and Ezra; and his method of punctuation is followed in Walton's Polyglott.

THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS.—It is not known, with certainty, at what time Onkelos flourished, nor of what nation he was. Eichorn conjectures that he was a native of Babylon, *first*, because he is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud; *secondly*, because his dialect is not the Chaldee spoken in Palestine, but much purer, and more closely resembling the style of Daniel and Ezra; and *lastly*, because he has not interwoven any of those fabulous narratives, to which the Jews of Palestine were so much attached, and from which they could with difficulty refrain. Bauer and Jahn place him in the second century. The Targum of Onkelos comprises the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, and is justly preferred to all the others, both by Jews and Christians, on account of the purity of its style, and its general freedom from idle legends. It is rather a version than a paraphrase, and renders the Hebrew text word for word, with so much accuracy and exactness that, being set to the same musical notes with the original Hebrew, it could be read or cantillated in the same tone as the latter in the public assemblies of the Jews. And this, we find, was the practice of the Jews up to the time of Rabbi Elias Levita, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and who expressly states that the Jews read the law in their synagogues, first in Hebrew and then in the Targum of Onkelos. This

Targum has been translated into Latin by Alfonso de Zamora, Paulus Fagius, Bernardinus Baldus, and Andrea de Leon of Zamora.

The second Targum, which is a more liberal paraphrase of the Pentateuch than the preceding, is usually called the TARGUM OF THE PSEUDO-JONATHAN, being ascribed by many to Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who wrote the much-esteemed paraphrase on the Prophets. But the difference in the style and diction of this Targum, which is very impure, as well as in the method of paraphrasing adopted in it, clearly proves that it could not have been written by Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who, indeed, sometimes indulges in allegories, and has introduced a few barbarisms; but this Targum on the law abounds with the most idle Jewish legends that can well be conceived; which, together with the barbarous and foreign words it contains, render it of very little utility. From its mentioning the six parts of the *Talmud* (on Exod. XXVI. 9), which compilation was not written till two centuries after the birth of Christ;—*Constantinople* (on Numb. XXIV. 19), which city was always called Byzantium until it received its name from Constantine the Great, in the beginning of the fourth century; the *Lombards* (on Numb. XXIV. 24), whose first irruption into Italy did not take place until the year 570; and the *Turks* (on Gen. X. 2), who did not become conspicuous till the middle of the sixth century,—learned men are unanimously of opinion that this Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan could not have been written before the seventh, or even the eighth century. It was probably compiled from older interpretations. This Chaldee paraphrase was translated into Latin by Anthony Ralph de Chevalier, in the sixteenth century.

The JERUSALEM TARGUM, which also paraphrases the five Books of Moses, derives its name from the dialect in which it is composed. It is by no means a connected paraphrase, sometimes omitting whole verses, or even chapters; at other times explaining only a single word of a verse, of which it sometimes gives a twofold interpretation; and at other times Hebrew words are inserted without any explanation whatever. In many respects, it corresponds with the paraphrase of the Pseudo-Jonathan, whose legendary tales are here frequently repeated, abridged, or expanded. From the impurity of its style, and the number of Greek, Latin, and Persian words which it contains, Walton, Carpzov, Wolfius, and many other eminent philologers, are of opinion that it is a compilation by several authors, and consists of extracts and collections. From these

internal evidences, the commencement of the seventh century has been assigned as its probable date; but it is more likely not to have been written before the eighth, or perhaps the ninth century. This Targum was also translated into Latin by Chevalier and by Francis Taylor.

THE TARGUM OF JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL.—According to the Talmudical traditions, the author of this paraphrase was chief of the eighty distinguished scholars of Rabbi Hillel, the elder, and a fellow disciple of Simeon the Just, who bore the infant Messiah in his arms; consequently he would be nearly contemporary with Onkelos. Wolfius, however, adopts the opinion of Prideaux, that he flourished a short time before the birth of Christ, and compiled the work which bears his name from more ancient Targums, that had been preserved to his time by oral tradition. From the silence of Origen and Jerome concerning this Targum, of which they could not but have availed themselves if it had really existed in their time, and also from its being cited in the Talmud, both Bauer and Jahn date it much later than is generally admitted; the former, indeed, is of opinion that its true date cannot be ascertained; and the latter, from the inequalities of style and method observable in it, considers it as a compilation from the interpretations of several learned men, made about the close of the third or fourth century. This paraphrase treats of the Prophets, that is (according to the Jewish classification of the sacred writings), of the Books of Joshua, Judges, I. and II. Samuel, I. and II. Kings, who are termed the *former* prophets; and of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, who are designated as the *latter* prophets. Though the style of this Targum is not so pure and elegant as that of Onkelos, yet it is not disfigured by those legendary tales and numerous foreign and barbarous words which abound in the latter Targums. Both the language and method of interpretation, however, are irregular. In the exposition of the former prophets, the text is more closely rendered than in that on the latter, which is less accurate, as well as more paraphractical, and interspersed with some traditions and fabulous legends. In order to attach the greater authority to the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Jews, not satisfied with making him contemporary with the prophets Malachi, Zachariah, and Haggai, and asserting that he received it from their lips, have related that while Jonathan was composing his paraphrase, there was an earthquake for forty leagues around him; and that if any bird happened to pass over him, or a fly alighted

on his paper while writing, they were immediately consumed by fire from heaven, without any injury being sustained either by his person or his paper. The whole of this Targum was translated into Latin by Alfonso de Zamora, Andrea de Leon, and Conrad Pellican; and the paraphrase on the twelve minor prophets, by Immanuel Tremellius.

The TARGUM ON THE CETUBIM, HAGIOGRAPHIA, or Holy Writings, is ascribed by some Jewish writers to *Rab Jose*, or Rabbi Joseph, surnamed the one-eyed, or blind, who is said to have been at the head of the academy at Sora, in the third century; though others affirm that its author is unknown. The style is barbarous, impure, and very unequal, interspersed with numerous digressions and legendary narratives; on which account the younger Buxtorf, and after him Bauer and Jahn, are of opinion that the whole is a compilation of later times; and this sentiment appears to be the most correct. Prideaux characterizes its language as the most corrupt Chaldee of the Jerusalem dialect. The translators of the preceding Targum, together with Arias Montanus, have given a Latin version of this Targum.

The TARGUM ON THE MEGILLOTH, or five Books of Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ruth, and Esther, is evidently a compilation by several persons; the barbarism of its style, numerous digressions, and idle legends which are inserted, all concur to prove it to be of late date, and certainly not earlier than the sixth century. The paraphrase on the Book of Ruth and the Lamentations of Jeremiah is the best executed portion. Ecclesiastes is more freely paraphrased, but the text of the Song of Solomon is absolutely lost amidst the diffuse *circumscription* of its author, and his dull glosses and fabulous additions.

The THREE TARGUMS ON THE BOOK OF ESTHER.—This book has always been held in the highest estimation by the Jews, which circumstance induced them to translate it repeatedly into the Chaldee dialect. Three paraphrases on it have been printed: one in the Antwerp Polyglott, which is much shorter and contains fewer digressions than the others; another in Walton's Polyglott, which is more diffuse, and comprises more numerous Jewish fables and traditions; and a third, of which a Latin version was published by Francis Taylor, and which, according to Carpzov, is more stupid and diffuse than any of the preceding. They are all three of very late date.

A TARGUM ON THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES, which for a long time was unknown both to Jews and Christians, was discovered in the library at Erfurt, belonging to the ministers of the Augsburg confession, by Matthias Frederick Beck, who published it in 1680-3-4, in two quarto volumes. Another edition was published at Amsterdam by David Wilkins (1715, 4to.), from a manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge. It is more complete than Beck's edition, and supplies many of its deficiencies. This Targum, however, is of very little value; like all the other Chaldee paraphrases, it blends legendary tales with the narrative.

Of all the Chaldee paraphrases above noticed, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel are most highly valued by the Jews, who implicitly receive their expositions of doubtful passages. Shickhard, Mayer, Helvicus, Leusden, Hottinger, and Prideaux, have conjectured that some Chaldee Targum was in use in the Synagogue where our Lord read Isaiah LXI. 1, 2 (Luke IV. 17-19); and that he quoted Psal. XXII. 1, when on the cross (Matth. XXVII. 46), not out of the Hebrew text, but out of a Chaldee paraphrase. But there does not appear to be sufficient ground for this hypothesis; for as the Chaldee or East Aramæan dialect was spoken at Jerusalem, it is at least as probable that Jesus Christ interpreted the Hebrew into the vernacular dialect in the first instance, as that he should have read from a Targum; and, when on the cross, it was perfectly natural that he should speak in the same language, rather than in the Biblical Hebrew, which, we have already seen, was cultivated and studied by the priests and Levites, as a learned language. The Targum of Rabbi Joseph the Blind, in which the words cited by our Lord are to be found, is so long *posterior* to the time of his crucifixion, that it cannot be received as evidence. So numerous, indeed, are the variations, and so arbitrary are the alterations occurring in the manuscripts of the Chaldee paraphrases, that Kennicott has sought to prove them to have been designedly altered in compliment to the previously corrupted copies of the Hebrew text; or, in other words, that "alterations have been made wilfully in the Chaldee paraphrase to render that paraphrase, in some places, more conformable to the words of the Hebrew text, where those Hebrew words are supposed to be right, but had themselves been corrupted." But notwithstanding all their deficiencies and interpolations, the Targums, especially those of Onkelos and Jonathan, are of considerable importance in the interpretation of the Scriptures, not only as they supply the

meanings of words or phrases occurring but once in the Old Testament, but also because they reflect considerable light on the Jewish rites, ceremonies, laws, customs, usages, etc., mentioned or alluded to in both Testaments. But it is in establishing the genuine meaning of particular prophecies relative to the Messiah, in opposition to the false explications of the Jews and Anti-trinitarians, that these Targums are preëminently useful.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SYRIAC VERSIONS.

Syria being visited at a very early period by the preachers of the Christian faith, several translations of the sacred volume were made into the language of that country.

The most celebrated of these, is the PESCHITO or *Literal* (VERSIO SIMPLEX), as it is usually called, on account of its very close adherence to the Hebrew and Greek texts, from which it was immediately made. The most extravagant assertions have been advanced concerning its antiquity; some referring the translation of the Old Testament to the time of Solomon and Hiram, while others ascribe it to Asa, priest of the Samaritans; and a third class, to the apostle Thaddeus. This last tradition is received by the Syrian churches; but a more recent date is ascribed to it by modern biblical philologists. Walton, Carpzov, Leusden, Lowth, and Kennicott, fix its date to the first century; Bauer and some other German critics, to the second or third century; Jahn fixes it, at the latest, to the second century; De Rossi pronounces it to be very ancient, but does not specify any precise date. The most probable opinion is that of Michaelis, who ascribes the Syriac version of *both* Testaments to the close of the first, or to the earlier part of the second century, at which time the Syrian churches flourished most, and the Christians at Edessa had a temple for divine worship erected after the model of that at Jerusalem; and it is not to be supposed that they would be without a version of the Old Testament, the reading of which had been introduced by the Apostles.

The OLD TESTAMENT was evidently translated from the original Hebrew, to which it most closely and literally adheres, with the exception of a few passages which appear to bear some affinity to the Septuagint; Jahn accounts for this by supposing, either that this version was consulted by the Syriac translator or translators, or that the Syrians *afterwards* corrected

their translation by the Septuagint. Credner, who has particularly investigated the minor prophets, according to this version, is of opinion that the translator of the Old Testament for the most part followed the Hebrew text, but at the same time consulted the Chaldee Paraphrase and Septuagint Version. Leusden conjectures, that the translator did not make use of the most correct Hebrew manuscripts, and has given some examples which appear to support his opinion. Dathe, however, speaks most positively in favor of its antiquity and fidelity, and refers to the Syriac version, as a certain standard by which we may judge of the state of the Hebrew text, in the second century; and both Dr. Kennicott and Professor De Rossi have derived many valuable readings from this version. De Rossi, indeed, prefers it to all the other ancient versions, and says, that it closely follows the order of the sacred text, rendering word for word, and is more pure than any other. As it is therefore probable, that the Syriac version was made about the end of the first century, it might be made from Hebrew MSS. almost as old as those which were before transcribed into Greek, and from MSS. which might be in some places true where the others were corrupted. And it will be no wonder at all, if a version so very ancient should have preserved a great variety of true readings, where the Hebrew manuscripts were corrupted afterwards. Boothroyd considers this version to be as ancient, and in many respects as valuable, as the Chaldee Paraphrase; and in the notes to his edition of the Hebrew Bible he has shown that this version has retained numerous and important various readings. To its general fidelity almost every critic of note bears unqualified approbation, although it is not everywhere equal; and it is remarkably clear and strong in those passages which attribute characters of Deity to the Messiah. Michaelis and Jahn have observed, that a different method of interpretation is adopted in the Pentateuch, from that which is to be found in the Book of Chronicles; and Jahn has remarked that there are some Chaldee words in the first chapter of Genesis, and also in the Book of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon; whence they infer that this version was the work not of one, but of several authors. Further, Michaelis has discovered traces of the religion of the translator, which indicate a Christian, and no Jew. A Jew by religion would have used the Chaldee Targums more copiously than is observed in most books of the Syriac Old Testament. This a Jew by birth would have done, if even he had been converted to Christianity, and, as most of the books of the

Syriac Bible thus evince that the interpreter had no acquaintance with the Targums, Michaelis (whose opinion is adopted by Gesenius) is of the opinion that the translator was a Christian; and their judgment is corroborated by the fact that the arguments prefixed to the Psalms were manifestly written by a Christian author.

The Syriac version of the NEW TESTAMENT comprises only the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to Saint Paul (including the Epistle to the Hebrews), the First Epistle to Saint John, Saint Peter's First Epistle, and the Epistle of Saint James. The celebrated passage in I. John, V. 7. and the history of the woman taken in adultery (John VIII. 2—11), are both wanting. All the Christian sects in Syria and the East make use of this version exclusively, which they hold in the highest estimation. It agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. Michaelis pronounces it to be the very best translation of the Greek Testament which he ever read, for the general ease, elegance, and fidelity with which it has been executed. It retains, however, many Greek words, which might have been easily and correctly expressed in Syriac; in Matth. XXVII. alone there are not fewer than eleven words. In like manner, some Latin words have been retained which the authors of the New Testament had borrowed from the Roman manners and customs. This version also presents some mistakes, which can only be explained by the words of the Greek text, from which it was immediately made.

The first edition of the Syriac version of the Old Testament appeared in the Paris Polyglott; but, being taken from an imperfect MS., its deficiencies were supplied by Gabriel Sionita, who translated the passages wanting from the Latin Vulgate, and has been unjustly charged with having translated the whole from the Vulgate. This text was reprinted in Walton's Polyglott, with the addition of some apocryphal books.

The Peschito Syriac version of the New Testament was first made known in Europe by Moses of Mardin, who had been sent by Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronite Christians, in 1552, to Pope Julius III., to acknowledge the papal supremacy in the name of the Syrian church, and was at the same time commissioned to procure a printed text of the Syriac New Testament. This was accomplished at Vienna in 1555, under the editorial care of Moses and Albert Widmanstad, with the assistance of William Postell, and at the expense of the Emperor Ferdinand I. This *Editio Princeps* is in quarto. The Syriac New Testament has since been printed several times.

There is also extant a Syriac version of the Second Epistle of Saint Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, which are wanting in the Peschito: these are by some writers ascribed to Mar Abba, primate of the East between the years 535 and 552. The translation of these books is made from the original Greek; but the author, whoever he was, possessed but an indifferent knowledge of the two languages.

The PHILOXENIAN or SYRO-PHILOXENIAN Version, derives its name from Philoxenus, or Xenayas, Bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, A. D. 488—518, who employed his rural bishop (*Chorepiscopus*) Polycarp, to translate the Greek New Testament into Syriac. This version was finished in the year 508, and was afterwards revised by Thomas of Harkel, or Heraclea, A. D. 616. Michaelis is of opinion, that there was a third edition; and a fourth is attributed to Dionysius Barsalibæus, who was bishop of Amida from 1166 to 1177. It appears, however, that there were only two editions—the original one by Polycarp, and that revised by Thomas of Harkel; the single copy of the Four Gospels, with the alterations of Barsalibæus, in the twelfth century, being hardly entitled to the name of a new edition. This version agrees with the Constantinopolitan recension. It was not known in Europe until the middle of the eighteenth century; when Ridley published a Dissertation on the Syriac Versions of the New Testament (in 1761), three manuscripts of which he had received thirty years before from Amida in Mesopotamia.

The Philoxenian version, though made immediately from the Greek, is greatly inferior to the Peschito, both in the accuracy with which it is executed, and also in its style. It is, however, not devoid of value, “and is of real importance to a critic, whose object is to select a variety of readings, with a view of restoring the genuine text of the Greek original: for he may be fully assured, that every phrase and expression is a precise copy of the Greek text as it stood in the manuscript from which the version was made. But, as it is not prior to the sixth century, and the Peschito was written either at the end of the first, or at the beginning of the second century, it is of less importance to know the readings of the Greek manuscript that was used in the former, than those of the original employed in the latter.” (Michaelis’s *Introd. to the New Test.* vol. II. part I. p. 68.)

The KARKAPHENSIAN Version, as it is commonly termed, is a recension of the Peschito, or old Syriac version of the Old

and New Testaments, executed towards the close of the tenth century, by David, a Jacobite monk, residing in the monastery of St. Aaron, on *mount* Sigara in Mesopotamia, whence is derived the appellation *Karkaphensian*, (*Karkupho* signifying the "head," and also the "summit of a mountain.") We are informed by the learned Card. Wiseman, who has most minutely investigated the history and literary character of this recension, that the basis of its text is the Peschito or Versio Simplex, with the printed copies of which it bears a close affinity; except that proper names and Græco-Syriac words are accommodated to the Greek orthography, or to that adopted by Thomas of Harkel, in his revision of the Philoxenian version. Some eminent critics have thought that the Karkaphensian version was made for the use of the Nestorians; Card. Wiseman, however, is decidedly of opinion, that it is of Monophysite or Jacobite origin.*

The SYRO-ESTRANGELO version, also called the SYRIAC HEXAPLAR, is a translation of Origen's Hexaplar edition of the Greek Septuagint; it was executed in the former part of the seventh century, and its author is unknown. The late Professor De Rossi, who published the first specimen of it at Parma, in 1778, does not decide whether it is to be attributed to Mar-Abba, James of Edessa, Paul Bishop of Tela, or to Thomas of Heraclea. Assemani ascribes it to Thomas, though other learned men affirm that he did no more than collate the books of Scripture. This version, however, corresponds exactly with the text of the Septuagint, especially in those passages in which the latter differs from the Hebrew. A MS. of this version is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, comprising the Books of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Hosea, Amos, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Isaiah; it also contains the obelus and other marks of Origen's Hexapla; and a subscription at the end states it to have been taken from the exemplar of Eusebius and Pamphilus, after the copy of that exemplar which they corrected from the Hexapla of Origen, which was deposited in the library of Cæsarea.

The CURETONIAN SYRIAC is so named from its editor William Cureton.

In 1842, Tattam brought from the an Eastern monastery several manuscripts. Out of these MSS. Cureton picked out eighty-two leaves and a half of a Syriac MS. containing por-

*Card. Wiseman's *Horæ Syriacæ*, tom. I. pp. 236-240, compared with pp. 162, 163.

tions of the Gospels. "They are in quarto, with two columns on a page, in a bold hand, and Estrangelo or old Syriac character, on vellum originally very white, the single points for stops, some titles, &c. being in red ink; and there are no marks of Church-lessons by the first hand, which Cureton assigns to the middle of the fifth century. The fragments contain Matth. I. 1—VIII. 22; X. 32—XXIII. 25; Mark XVI. 17—20; John I. 1—42; III. 6—VII. 37; XIV, 10—12; 16—18; 19—23; 26—29; Luke II, 48—III. 16; VII. 33—XV. 21; XVII. 24—XXIV. 44, or 1786 verses, so arranged that St. Mark's Gospel is immediately followed by St. John's. The Syriac text was printed in fine Estrangelo type in 1848, and freely imparted to such scholars as might need its help; it was not till 1858 that the work was published, with a very literal translation into rather bald English, a beautiful and exact *fac-simile* by Mrs. Cureton, and a Preface, full of interesting or startling matter, which has been criticised in no friendly tone. Indeed, the difficult but unavoidable investigation into the relation his new version bears to the Peschito, has been further complicated by Cureton's persuasion that he had discovered in these Syriac fragments a text of St. Matthew's Gospel that 'to a great extent, has retained the identical terms and expressions which the Apostle himself employed; and that we have here, in our Lord's discourses, to a great extent the very same words as the Divine Author of our holy religion himself uttered, in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation in the Hebrew dialect * * *'; that here in fact we have to *a great extent* the original of that Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew of which the canonical Greek Gospel is but a translation. It is beside our present purpose to examine in detail the arguments of Dr. Cureton on this head, and it would be the less necessary in any case, since they seem to have convinced no one save himself." (Scrivener, *op. cit.*)

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE EGYPTIAN OR COPTIC VERSIONS.

The Coptic language is derived from the old Egyptian tongue with numerous Greek words intermingled. This language did not cease to be spoken in Egypt, until towards the middle of the XVII. century. The study of the Coptic literature is at present in a very imperfect state. Learned men have been studying the language for over two centuries, but much of that study was given to the Hieroglyphs, and the impor-

tance of studying the Coptic Bible, has only recently been realized. The great decadence of learning among the Copts, the neglect into which their sacred books had fallen, rendered the study difficult, and its results uncertain, and unsatisfactory. The Coptic MSS. are in a very bad condition, and we can not hope to give a full treatise on this subject in the present condition of the science. We are indebted for much of the present data to M. Hyvernat, of Washington University.

The Coptic language existed in several important dialects, of which the first is the BOHAIRIC. This name is derived from Bohairah, the Arabic name for Lower Egypt. It was spoken principally in the Delta of the Nile, and at Alexandria, and, for a time, was the only Egyptian language known to Europeans, who called it simply the Coptic tongue. Later, it was called the Memphitic, in contradistinction to the Thebaic dialect. The term Memphitic applied to this language, is incorrect; for it was only in later times, when the Coptic patriarchs transferred their seat from Alexandria to Cairo, that it spread at Memphis. The usage of the best scholars is to call it Bohairic.

THE SAHIDIC DIALECT is derived from Es-Sahid, the Arabic designation of Upper Egypt. It was at one time spoken through all Upper Egypt. It has been called Thebaic from Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, but it is uncertain, whether the tongue originated at Thebes, and it is more scientific to call it Sahidic, until new discoveries may bring forth a more correct appellation.

Much uncertainty prevails regarding the third dialect, which current usage calls the FAYOUMIAN. It was discovered by Giorgi (Frag. Evang. Joh. Græco-Copto-Thebaicum, Rome, 1789). He termed it Ammonian, believing that it had been spoken in the Oasis of Ammon. According to Quatremère, it was spoken in the greater and minor Oasis. Zoega calls it the Bashmuric, while Stern denies the identity between the Fayoumian and the Bashmuric.

There was a dialect spoken in middle Egypt in the province of Memphis, when this city had a certain importance, to which the name of Memphitic would rightly belong, were it not for fear of confounding it with the Bohairic. It was first made known by the publication in 1878 in Paris, by M. Revillout of some documents on Papyrus coming from the old monastery of St. Jeremias, near Serapeum.

The fifth dialect is made known from some fragments found in the excavations of the cemetery of Akhmim,

the ancient Chemmis or Panopolis; M. Bouriant who first published these fragments has termed this dialect the Bashmurić.

By strong proper characteristics we can divide these dialects into Northern and Southern. The Northern dialect is represented by the Bohairic, the other four dialects are grouped in the Southern family, of which the Sahidic bears the greatest divergency from the Bohairic.

Concerning the antiquity of these dialects the data is very uncertain.

Athanasius, Bishop of Kos, in the XI. century testifies, that the Bohairic and Sahidic alone possessed literary importance in his age. In that epoch, the monophysite patriarchs moved their seat from Alexandria to Cairo, through which cause their tongue, the Bohairic dialect, began to prevail over the Sahidic, which latter receded further southward. The Sahidic had at that date absorbed the other Southern dialects, but was itself in a state of decadence owing to the ascendancy of the Arabic in all Egypt. Thus the Bohairic became the sole sacred tongue of all Egypt. The Arabic has now almost entirely supplanted it as the spoken language of the people.

M. Hyvernât declares that he knows of no existing complete Bohairic version of Scripture.

Quatremère (*Recherches*, pp. 118) testifies that Marcel possessed a copy of such Version made at Cairo, by the Patriarch of the See from old Coptic MSS. After the death of Marcel, this copy was bought by J. Lee Hartwell. This copy was seen in Hartwell's Library in 1847 by Bardelli, professor of Sanskrit and Coptic, in the University of Pisa. It was then incomplete, containing only Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, the Psalms, the twelve Minor Prophets, the four Gospels, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, the Epistle of St. James, and the first Epistle of St. Peter; in all, forty-one volumes in 4to. The missing volumes perished in the burning of Marcel's house at Cairo. The books bear an Arabic translation opposite the Coptic text. These books are somewhere in England, though, thus far, they have not all been located.

The ruin of the Sahidic literature is greater. Only fragments remain of the several books which have been dug out of the ruins of convents, and sold by the Arabs to explorers and tourists. These are scattered through the libraries of Europe.

Before speaking of the date and nature of the Coptic Scriptures, we shall first briefly notice some of the principal publications of this version in Europe.

In 1731 Wilkin published at London the Bohairic Pentateuch. In 1837, de Lagarde published a complete edition of the Pentateuch, but in neither of these editions was use made of the Vatican MS. 1, the most ancient and best of all known Coptic MSS.

Of the other historical books we have only fragments gathered from Coptic liturgical books. De Lagarde collected these and published them in 1879. In 1846 Tattam published the Book of Job. The Bohairic Psalter was published in 1744, by Tuki from MS. 5 of the Vatican. Other editions of the Psalter have been given by Ideler, Schwartz, de Lagarde, and F. Rossi.

The fragment of Proverbs I. 1—XIV. 26, were published in 1875, in Latin characters. The same chapters were published again by Bouriant in 1882. The last named savant, has also published fragments of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

In 1836, Tattam published as Oxford, the Bohairic text of the Minor Prophets.

Baruch was published in 1870 at Rome from a MS. of Cairo by Mgr. Bsciai.

In 1849, Bardelli published the Bohairic text of Daniel, which contains all the deuterocanonical fragments. In 1852 Tattam published a second edition of the same text, with a Latin translation.

In 1852, the Coptic text of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and Ezechiel was published by Tattam at Oxford.

This is the only edition yet published of these three Prophets.

In 1716, David Wilkins published the entire Bohairic New Testament. He made use of excellent MSS., and his work is the *editio princeps* of the Bohairic version of Scripture. In the judgment of M. Hyvernât, Wilkins has made poor use of his excellent materials. In 1829, the British and Foreign Bible Society published an edition of the Bohairic New Testament with an Arab translation. The text is that of Wilkins, with slight modifications.

In 1846, appeared the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in Coptic, by Schwartz; and in 1847, the Gospels of Luke and John, by the same editor. He had a better knowledge of Coptic than Wilkins, though his edition does not show it. Schwartz was prevented by death from finishing the edition of the complete New Testament. P. Boetticher, better known as Paul de Lagarde, completed it in 1852, on a more critical plan. About the same time a magnificent edition of

the New Testament in Coptic was published for the Society for promoting Christian knowledge, by Henry Tattam.

M. Hyvernat declares that all the editions of Tattam have no critical value.

The first specimens of the Sahidic version published in Europe, were by R. Tuki, in his *Rudimenta Linguae Coptae*, in 1778. In 1785, Mingarelli published fragments from SS. Matthew and John from MSS. furnished him by Cav. Nani. Mingarelli, left the third part of the MSS. unpublished at his death. In 1789, A. Giorgi published a fragment of St. John with a Greek translation. About the same time, Münster, the Dane, published several fragments at Copenhagen. In 1778, Woide was commissioned by the University of Oxford to publish the Sahidic New Testament. Materials accumulated, and he died in 1790, without finishing the work. Henry Ford brought it to completion in 1799. It is enriched by excellent notes. In 1801 or 1802, Zoega was employed by Card. Borgia to edit the Coptic Scripture from MSS. then in the Cardinal's possession. In 1804, the Cardinal died, and left his library to the Propaganda. Zoega continued his work from the Propaganda's deposit. The work went to press in 1805. Litigation with Card. Borgia's heirs delayed it so, that the edition did not appear till 1810, nearly a year after Zoega's death. It is the best collection of Coptic literature ever published. In the collection there are several Sahidic fragments.

Nothing more was done in Coptic publications, till in 1875 Peyron published the Sahidic Psalter. Since that time, important Coptic publications have been published by de Lagarde, Agapios Bsciai, Ciasca, Hermann, Bouriant, Amelineau, and Maspero.

Passing over some isolated and feeble testimonies of certain ones who would make the Coptic a version derived directly from the Hebrew, we look for the proofs of its real date in the rapid spread of Christianity in Egypt. The first Christians of Egypt were probably Hellenist Jews, who made use of Greek Scriptures, but from the advent of St. Mark the religion of Christ spread rapidly among the native people, so that at his death in 62, or at the latest, in 68, Egypt had many bishops.

During half a century after his death, peace reigned, and the faith of Christ was allowed to fix its roots deeply in Egypt. At the end of the third century, Egypt was solidly and universally Christian; it had bishops in every place, and monasticism, inaugurated by St. Anthony, was a strong and

growing institution. The first evangelists of Egypt, doubtless, made use of the Greek tongue. In fact, for centuries, Greek remained the official liturgical and Scriptural tongue. This is clearly proven by several Graeco-Coptic MSS. which have been preserved for us. But it is probable that, at the same time, Coptic translations of Scripture were made in the second century. At that epoch, the native population formed the body of Christian laity and clergy. Now the common people knew no Greek. What is a probability in the second century, is a certainty in the third century.

Many passages in the life of St. Anthony (251-256) (*Patr. Graeca*, Tom. XXVI. Col. 841, 944 et seqq.) prove that the saintly hermit knew no tongue but the native Egyptian; and yet he was moved to leave the world by hearing the reading of the passage concerning the rich young man (*Matth. XIX.* 16). St. Athanasius informs us that Anthony was well versed in Scripture, and, therefore, it must have been in the Coptic Scriptures. In fact, in the writings that have come down to us of St. Anthony, frequent quotations of both Testaments appear.

History bears record of a great number of bishops and monks of that epoch who were well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and yet they knew no Greek. The tongue of the monasteries was Coptic. St. Pacomius (292-348) did not learn Greek till at an advanced age (*Rosweyde*); and in the rules of his monastery (*Patr. Lat. Migne*, 23, Col. 70) it was established that the study of the Scriptures was one of the chief employments of the monks. Postulants were required to memorize the Psalter. Epiphanius informs us that Hierax, the heretic, being well versed in Greek and Coptic and in the Scriptures, seduced certain monks of Egypt by arguments drawn from the Scriptures. Hence we place the date of the Coptic Scriptures about the close of the second century.

Wetstein and Stern denied the antiquity of the Coptic version, but the former was ably refuted by Woide, and the latter by Headlam.

It is evident from these data that the Coptic version was made from the Septuagint, except in the Book of Daniel, where the text of Theodotion is taken for the basic text. The Bohairic and Sahidic versions are independent from each other, and seem to have been made from different recensions of the Greek text. As the Coptic language is devoid of particles, the Greek particles *ἀλλά*, *δέ*, *γάρ*, *οὖν*, *μέν*, *οὐδέ*, etc., are translated into Coptic.

The Coptic has no passive voice, nor no verb corresponding to the ἔχω of the Greek, but yet, being furnished with definite and indefinite articles, it is judged to be superior to the Latin or Syriac, in rendering the Greek.

The Coptic versions are of great worth in textual criticism. They exhibit a reproduction of the Greek text before it had suffered the numerous modifications that came into it, after the issue of the Hexapla of Origen. The learned Catholic, A. Schulte, has given us a critical edition of the Prophets. The celebrated reference of Matthew XXVII. 9-10, is found in both the Bohairic and Sahidic texts of Jeremiah.*

The Bohairic New Testament is purer than the Sahidic, which gives indication of its remoter date.

Mgr. Ciasca has made a critical study of the Sahidic version. He finds that it has felt the influence of the hexaplar text, and it is probable that the version as we have it, is a later recension, made to accord with some recension of the Greek text.

The Sahidic New Testament, has been studied by Muenther. It is inferior to the Bohairic version.

The fragments of the Akmimian version, commonly called the Bashmuric fragments, were published by Bouriant. Krall has also given us a specimen of a fragment of the Minor Prophets. But it has not been studied sufficiently to judge of its critical value. The Fayoumian version and the version of Middle Egypt, which once were identified with the Sahidic version, must be considered as separate groups, but our knowledge of them is very imperfect.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ETHIOPIC VERSION OF SCRIPTURE.

Concerning the evangelization of Ethiopia, Rufinus gives us the following data. Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre, set out on a voyage, having in mind to visit that region which in those days was called India. He brought with him two youths, Edesius and Frumentius, for whose education he was providing. Having concluded their observations, they set sail for their own country, and while passing the coast of Abyssinia,

*Iterum dixit Jeremias Pashori: Eritis aliquando cum patribus vestris repugnantes veritati, et filii vestri venturi post vos, isti facient iniquitatem magis abominandam quam vos. Nam ipsi dabunt pretium pro eo, cui nullum est pretium. Et nocebunt ei qui sanat morbos, et in remissionem peccatorum. Et accipient triginta argenteos in pretium ejus quem tradent filii Israelis. Et ad dandum id, pro agro figuli, sicut mandavit Dominus. Et ita dicent: Veniet super eos judicium perditionis in æternum et super filios eorum quia condemnauerunt sanguinem innocentem.

they touched at a certain port for water and other necessary articles. The natives were at that time incensed against Rome, and they set upon Meropius and his crew and slew them. They spared the two youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom they brought to the King. Edesius was appointed his cup-bearer; and Frumentius, his secretary. Forthwith the King held them in high honor, and love. At his death, he left the kingdom to his Queen and infant son. He gave Edesius and Frumentius their liberty. The Queen besought them, that they would remain and administer the kingdom till her son should come to that estate, in which he could sustain the burden of the office. She especially required the help of Frumentius, whose prudence all recognized. They remained, and Frumentius became regent of the realm. As they were both Christians, Frumentius began to make use of his great power by favoring the Christian merchants, who came to the kingdom to trade; and by his exhortation and active help, many churches were constructed, and many natives converted to Christianity. When the Prince came to his majority, Edesius and Frumentius set out for their own country. Edesius came to Tyre, and was made Bishop of that See. Frumentius went to Alexandria and laid before St. Athanasius, the Patriarch, the condition of the land, which he had left, and its need of a bishop and priests.

Athanasius, in a council of priests, elected Frumentius himself to be bishop of the strange country. He soon after received ordination and consecration from St. Athanasius, and returned to the scene of his first labors. The richest fruits rewarded his apostolic labors, and an immense number of the natives received the faith of Christ. Rufinus declares that he received these data from Edesius himself. (P. L. Migne, 21, 478.)

This would bring the evangelization of Abyssinia in the beginning of the fourth century. In that time Abyssinia formed the old kingdom of Auxuma.

When Constantius succeeded Constantine, he endeavored to move the King of Auxuma to expel Frumentius, and receive Arianism. This attempt failed, but in the sixth century, through the influence of the Monophysite Patriarchs of Alexandria, they fell into the Monophysite heresy, and there is little of orthodox Catholicity left in the country now.

The Ethiopians call Frumentius, Abba Salama. It is evident that he could make little progress in evangelizing the

country by means of Greek Scriptures, of which the people knew nothing. The data seem to warrant that Frumentius chose the Ghez dialect, which was spoken at the court and among the upper classes, and translated into this the Holy Scriptures. We believe, therefore, that the Ethiopic liturgy and version of Scripture go back to the fourth century. The Ghez dialect no longer prevails in Abyssinia. In 1300 the Amharic dialect began to supplant the old Ghez, and now the Amharic is spoken throughout the country. In the years between 1810 and 1820, Asselin de Cherville, the French consul at Cairo, translated, by the aid of Abou-Roumi, the Scriptures into Amharic. His version was purchased by the British Bible Society. J. P. Platt revised it, and published the Gospels in 1824. He published the whole New Testament in 1829, and the whole Bible in 1842. In 1875 the society published a new edition, under the supervision of Krapf and several Abyssinians.

An inspection of the Ethiopic text, clearly reveals that it was made from the Greek. Many difficult Greek words are left untranslated. Certain errors also are explained from a misapprehension of the Greek text. Evidences are found that more than one interpreter labored in the translation. The original interpreters followed the Greek text closely, and the edition would be of much critical worth in restoring the Greek text of that age, if it had come down to us incorrupt; but great freedom was used by later hands in interpolating many passages, so that a critical edition is necessary before the book shall be of any critical worth. Many believe that there were two editions of the New Testament. In the Old Testament, they recognize, 1.—The original version; 2.—A recension made from later Greek codices, which became the Ethiopic *Vulgate*; and 3.—A still later recension, made from the Hebrew text. Some, however, deny these later recensions, and believe that there existed only one version which has suffered interpolations and glosses.

No complete edition of the ancient text has ever been published. In 1513 John Potken published the Psalter and some canticles from the New Testament. In 1518 he published the Canticle of Canticles. In 1548 the New Testament was published at Rome. Some other unimportant and modern editions have been wrought, but the codices anterior to the fifteenth century have not been examined, and the outlook for the old text seems dark.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GOTHIC VERSION.

The Goths were a Germanic gens who, in the second century, spread from the Vistula to the Danube. Some of them were converted in the third century to Christianity. Theophilus, the Gothic bishop, sat in the Council of Nice, and signed the decree of the Consubstantiality of the Son of God. In the fourth century, they were expelled from their lands by the Huns. They receded eastward, and took up their abode within the realm of the Byzantine Empire. As Arianism was in the ascendancy at the court of the Emperor, Valens, and in the realm, they soon lapsed into that heresy. Their bishop at that time was Ulphilas, of whose life we have only very uncertain details. Some believe that he first professed the orthodox Catholic faith and afterwards lapsed into Arianism to gain the favor of Valens. It is certain that he was a zealous promoter of Arianism among the Goths, and that it was he who gave them their version of Scriptures. This places the date of the Gothic version about the middle of the fourth century. It is asserted by Cornely that this version was employed also by some of the Catholic Goths. (op. cit.)

The Goths in that age had no alphabet. Ulphilas adopted the old Runic characters with some additions from the Greek.

Philostorgius testifies: "that Ulphilas translated into his mother tongue, all the books of Holy Scripture except the books of Kings, for the reason that these contain the account of wars, and the Goths naturally delight in warfare, and have more need to be held back from battles than to be spurred on to warlike deeds." (Hist. Eccles. XI. 5.) This seems improbable, and is disproven by the discovery by Mai, in 1817, in the Ambrosian Library, of a Palimpsest fragment of the Gothic text of Kings.

The version of Ulphilas was in universal use among the Goths, while they retained their individuality as a race, but later their language, and their version passed into oblivion.

In 1669, the Chancellor of Queen Christina of Sweden, Gabriel de la Gardie, presented to the University of Upsal several MSS., among which was one which is since known as the Codex Argenteus. Investigation proved it to be a Codex of the Gothic Gospels. It is called *Argenteus*, either because its binding is of massive silver, or because its letters are of silver.

Some have maintained that the victorious Gustave Adolph sent the Codex to Sweden with other booty, that he took from the libraries of the Jesuites at Riga, Brunsberg and Oppenheim.

Battifol denies this. Junius, who first published the MS. in 1665, testifies, that it was in the possession of Isaac Vossius, the celebrated librarian of Queen Christina. Toward the close of the fifteenth century, the Codex was in the library of the monastery of Werden, near Düsseldorf, where Morillon saw it, and copied from it the Gothic text of the Lord's Prayer, which Becanus published in 1569. We next find it at Prague in 1601, whence it was taken by the Swedes in the war of 1648. Marshal Königsmark gave it to Queen Christina. It originally contained the four Gospels in the order of Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, but it has suffered serious mutilations. It is written in uncial characters.

The Codex Argenteus, is the most important portion of Gothic Scripture preserved to us.

Some fragments of the Gothic version of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans were discovered by M. Knittel, in the year 1756, in a Codex Rescriptus belonging to the library of the duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel: they were published by him in 1762, and reprinted in 1763, in 4to., at Upsal, with notes by Ihre. The Brunswick manuscript, which is on vellum, and is supposed to be of the sixth century, contains only the following passages, viz. Rom. XI. 33-36; XII. 1-5, 17-21; XIV. 9-20; XV. 3-13. The version of Ulphilas is in one column, and a Latin translation in the other. It is on Vellum, and is supposed to be of the sixth century. In the eighth or ninth century, the *Origines Isidori Hispalensis* were written over the translation of Ulphilas; and the ink had become so exceedingly pale, as not to admit of deciphering the original manuscript without great difficulty.

In the year 1817, a most important discovery was made among the Codices Rescripti, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, by signor Angelo Mai. While this indefatigable explorer of ancient literature was examining two Codices Rescripti in the Ambrosian library, he was surprised with the discovery of some Gothic writing in one of them; which on further investigation proved to be fragments of the books of Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The discovery thus auspiciously made stimulated him to further inquiries, which were rewarded with the discovery of *four* other Codices Rescripti containing portions of the Gothic version. He now associated in his researches

signor Carolo Ottavio Castillionei; and to their joint labors we are indebted for a specimen and account of these manuscripts, from which the following particulars are abridged.

The *first* of these five Gothic MSS. (which is noted S. 36.) consists of 204 quarto pages on vellum; the later writing contains the homilies of Gregory the Great on the Prophecies of Ezekiel, which from their characters must have been executed before the eighth century. Beneath this, in a more ancient Gothic hand, are contained the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, I. and II. Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I. and II. of Timothy, Titus, Philemon, together with a fragment of the Gothic Calendar. The Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, and to Timothy, are very nearly entire, and form the chief part of this manuscript: of the other Epistles considerable fragments only remain. The titles of the Epistles may be traced at the heads of the pages where they commence.

The *second* MS. also in quarto, and noted S. 45., contains 156 pages of thinner vellum, the Latin writing on which is of the eighth or ninth century, and comprises Jerome's exposition of Isaiah. Under this has been discovered (though with some difficulty, on account of the thickness of the Latin characters and the blackness of the ink,) the Gothic version of Saint Paul's two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and to Titus. What is deficient in the preceding manuscript is found in this, which has some various readings peculiar to itself, and therefore is an independent codex.

In the *third* manuscript, noted G. 82., a quarto Latin volume, containing the plays of Plautus, and part of Seneca's Tragedies of Medea and Œdipus, signor Mai discovered fragments of the Books of Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah. This discovery is peculiarly valuable, as not the smallest portion of the Gothic version of the Old Testament was known to be in existence.

The *fourth* specimen (noted I. 61.) consists of a single sheet in small quarto, containing four pages of part of Saint John's Gospel in Latin, under which are found the very fragments of the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh chapters of Matthew's Gospel, which are wanting in the celebrated manuscript of the Gothic Gospels preserved at Upsal, and usually known by the appellation of the *Codex Argenteus*.

The *fifth* and last manuscript, (noted G. 147.) which has preserved some remains of Gothic literature, is a volume of the

proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon ; under the later writing have been discovered some fragments of ancient authors, whose names signor Mai has not specified ; and also a fragment of a Gothic Homily, rich in biblical quotations, and the style of which he thinks shows that it was translated from some one of the fathers of the Greek Church. The characters of this manuscript bear a close resemblance to those of the Codex Argenteus, at Upsal, which was executed in the sixth century.

The manuscripts above described are written in broad and thick characters, without any division of words or of chapters, but with contractions of proper names, similar to those found in ancient Greek MSS. Some sections, however, have been discovered, which are indicated by numeral marks or larger spaces, and sometimes by large letters. The Gothic writing is referred to the sixth century.

The portions of the Gothic version of the Old and New Testament, printed by signors Mai and Castillionei, are I. Nehemiah, Chap. V. verses 13—18; Chap. VI. 14—19, and VIII. 1—3. II. A Fragment of Saint Matthew's Gospel, containing Chap. XXV. 38—46; XXVI. 1—3; 65—75, and XXVII. 1. III. Part of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, Chap. II. 22—30, and III. 1—16. IV. Saint Paul's Epistle to Titus, Chap. I. 1—16; II. 1.; and V. verses 11—23 of his Epistle to Philemon. The Gothic text is exhibited on the left-hand page, and on the right-hand page the editors have given a literal Latin translation of it, together with the Greek original. These are succeeded by fragments of a Gothic Homily and Calendar, with Latin translations, Gothic alphabet, and a glossary of new Gothic words, which they have discovered in the passages which they have printed. In 1829 signor Castillionei published the fragments of Ulphilas's version of the second Epistle to the Corinthians.

The Gothic version was made from the Greek, which it faithfully follows. One evidence of the translator's Arianism appears in Paul's Epistle to Philippians II. 6, where Ulphilas translates the *ἰσος* not by *ibna* or *samaleiks*, but by *galeiks*, which signifies *ὅμοιος*.

It is to be regretted that we have no critical edition of the Gothic Scriptures.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF SCRIPTURE.

The evangelization of Armenia was wrought by Gregory the Illuminator, in the first years of the fourth century.

Sozomen informs us that Tiridates was first converted, and then by public edict bade Armenia receive the faith of Christ. (Hist. Eccles. II. 8.)

For more than a century the Armenians had no proper version of Scripture nor liturgy. They made use of the Syriac text. At that time they had no alphabet.

When Isaac became patriarch (390-440), St. Mesrob, his colaborer, gave himself to invent an alphabet. He traveled much and consulted many learned men, and finally, in 406, he perfected an alphabet of thirty-six letters, by which all the sounds of the Armenian language are expressed.

When Mesrob had arranged the Armenian Alphabet (406 A. D.) he undertook, under the direction of the Patriarch Isaac, and with the aid of his principal disciples, John Egueghiatz and Joseph Baghin, a translation of "the twenty-two canonical books of the Old Testament and a translation of the New Testament." This work was finished in 411. Cf. Gorioun *Biography of Mesrob*, in Langlois' *Collection of Ancient and Modern Histories of Armenia*, 2 vols. in 4 mo., Paris, 1839, t. II. p. 10; T. Nève, *Christian Armenia and its Literature*, in 8mo., Paris, 1886, p. 13, 22. Cf. Moses of Khorene, III. 53. This first version was made by Saint Isaac from the Syriac, says Moses, the historian, III. 54, because no one possessed the Greek text, and the more, because the Syriac tongue had been, for different reasons, the liturgical language in certain countries of Armenia, up to the time of the invention of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrob. Gorioun, *Biography of Mesrob*, p. 11; Lazare de Pharbe, *Histoire X.* in Langlois' *Collection*, t. II. p. 226. Cf. Saint Martin, *Historical and Geographical Memoirs of Armenia*, 2 in 8mo., Paris, 1819, t. I. p. 11; Tchamitchian, *History of Armenia Translated by Avdall*, 2 in 8mo., Calcutta, 1827, t. I. p. 239; R. Simon, *Critical History of the Versions of the New Testament*, in 4mo., Rotterdam, 1690, p. 196. This first work, made in haste, from indifferent exemplars doubtless was defective in many things. Some years later, Isaac and Mesrob sent John Baghin with Eznik, another of their disciples, to Edessa, that they might translate the Holy Scriptures from the Syriac into the Armenian. Gorioun, *Biography of Mesrob*, p. 11-12. These two young men repaired from Edessa to Byzantium, where they were rejoined by other disciples of Mesrob, among whom was Gorioun, the author of the *Biography of Mesrob*. They passed several years at Byzantium, and were still there at the time of the Council of Ephesus (431). Their labors ended, they re-

turned to Armenia, carrying among their literary effects the Acts of the Council, and authentic copies of the Holy Scriptures in Greek. Gorioun, *ibid.* Isaac and Mesrob immediately sought to turn these latter to good account, and retouch the old version made from the Syriac, by exactly comparing it with the authentic copies which had been brought to them. But the translators who worked under their orders did not have a sufficient knowledge of the Greek language, and their labor was judged very imperfect. They, therefore, sent other young men to study Greek at Alexandria. Moses of Khorene was among this number. (Moses of Khorene, III. 61). They doubtless brought back from Egypt, other Greek exemplars of the Bible, which they used to perfect the work of their predecessors in faithfully translating the text of the Septuagint, from the Hexapla of Origen; because the same signs and asterisks are found in the old Armenian manuscripts of the Bible. Cf. P. Zohrab, *Armenian Bible*, 4 in 8mo., Venice, 1805, Introd. p. 6, 7. See Gorioun, *Biography of Mesrob*, p. 11, 12. Moses of Khorene, III. 61; Tchmitichian, *History of Armenia*, I. 1, p. 239. Langlois, (*Collection*, t. II. p. 168, note), says that this version was officially adopted by the Fathers of the Council of Aschdischad, in 434. If the fact and the date are correct, the approbation of the Fathers can refer only to the first version made from the Greek. Vide P. Donat Vernier, *Histoire du Patriarcat Arménien Catholique*, in 8mo., Paris, 1891, p. 128–129.

Some authors, relying on a passage of Bar-Hebraeus, have advanced the opinion that the Armenian version had been retouched from the Peschito. But the opinion of Bar-Hebraeus is a pure conjecture, confirmed by no Armenian or Syriac document. For the words of Bar-Hebraeus see Walton, *Prologomena*, XIII. 16; Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 142; Cf. Rhode, *Gregorii Bar-Hebræi scholia in Ps. V. et XVIII.*, p. 74; Bredenkamp, *Ueber die Armenische Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments*, in Eichorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek*, Tom. IV., p. 634, etc. Some have also maintained, that the Armenian version was corrected from the Vulgate by King Haito II. at the end of the thirteenth century. La Croze, *Thesaurus Epistolicus* III. 3; Michaelis' *Introduction to the New Testament*, edit. Marsh; The Political History (Tchamitchian) of Armenia, t. II. p. 263, and the History of its literature (Somal, *Quadro della Storia Litteraria di Armenia*, in 8mo., Venice, 1829, p. 126), make no mention of this retouching of the Armenian version. Both are content with saying that Haito made the

Bible his favorite companion; that he labored to make a very good copy for himself, and that, having abdicated the royalty, he retired to a convent, where, in a spirit of humility, he took the Franciscan habit. This has been a sufficient basis for certain minds to accuse him of having corrupted the Armenian version. Among the numerous manuscripts known to us, none justify that accusation.

The Armenian version follows very closely the received Greek text for the Old Testament as well as for the New. The Greek text which it follows can not be reduced to any known recension, which is explained, perhaps, by the fact mentioned above, that some of the Greek manuscripts which the translators used, came from Constantinople, or Ephesus, while others came from Alexandria. Bertholdt, *Einleitung*, t. II. p. 560, believes that the former belong to the recension of Lucian, and the latter to that of Hesychius.

The Armenian version is very little known. The majority of scholars who have occupied themselves with the criticism of the Greek text of the Bible, did not know the Armenian language.

In collating the Armenian text, they worked upon an insufficient number of variants that they received from those who had a smattering of Armenian. To make matters worse, these different readings were, for the most part, taken from the very uncritical edition of Usan. Tregelles was more fortunate.

Mr. Charles Rieu, chief of the department of oriental manuscripts in the British museum, collated for him the text of the New Testament of Usan's and Zohrab's editions, and translated also all the different readings which the learned Mekhitarist had collected. The work of Mr. Rieu has been published in the *Greek New Testament* of Tregelles. See Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 3d edit., Cambridge, 1883, p. 408. Kaulen has given in his *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, a certain number of passages of the Armenian version (Old and New Testaments), which show, 1.—That the Armenian version follows the Greek faithfully, although not servilely, *ibid* § 176, p. 144; 2.—That the version agrees with the received texts, not only as regards dogma, but also, substantially at least, as regards criticism.

In 1563, Sepher Abgar was sent to Rome by the Patriarch Michel, as ambassador to Paul IV. While at Rome he caused Armenian type to be cast, and with these he printed the Psalter at Venice in 1565. This is the *Editio Princeps* of the Armenian Literature.

In 1662, the Armenian Patriarch James IV. sent Bishop Uscan to Europe to manage the publication of an Armenian Bible. He came to Rome, and sojourned five months.

As the Propaganda was not certain of his orthodoxy, he was unable to realize his project at Rome; whereupon, he withdrew to Amsterdam, where he published a complete Old Testament in 1666, and the New Testament complete in 1668. The edition of Uscan was not approved by Rome. It is very imperfect. In many things he brought it in accord with the Vulgate. M. Hyvernat, from whom we have taken most of these data, believes that the passage relating to the three heavenly witnesses, I. John V. 7, was inserted from the Vulgate, and that the Fourth book of Ezra, Ecclesiasticus, and the Apocalypse were translated from the Vulgate. The edition has been much praised by Richard Simon. Certainly the man was to be commended for having come to the authentic Latin text for the books that were lost in Armenian, and although such fact diminishes the texts' critical value, it is not an evidence of ignorance in Uscan.

The work of Uscan was perfected by the Armenian religious, called the Mekhitarists at Venice.

In 1805 appeared the complete edition of the Scriptures by Zohrab, one of the Mekhitarists. At first, the book of Ecclesiasticus was placed in the appendix with certain apocryphal books. They discovered later a Codex of Ecclesiasticus of the V. century, and in a later edition in 1859, restored Ecclesiasticus to its proper place. The verse of I. John V. 7, is omitted in this edition.

Many editions have been published since that time of which there is no need to speak.

The people living about Iberia and the region about Mt. Caucasus, who are termed Georgians, or Grusians, are said to have been converted in the IV. century by Armenians. In the life of St. Mesrob, it is stated that he also gave an alphabet to this people. They received their Scriptures from the Armenians, and it is uncertain whether the translation into their proper tongue was made in the sixth or eighth century. It is also uncertain whether it was made from the Greek or Armenian text. The Georgian tongue is but little known, and no scholar has given us the resources of the afore-said version of Scripture.

There was printed at Moscow, in 1743, an edition of Georgian Scripture, based upon the Russian text, whence it is evident that it is of no critical worth.

The other Eastern versions are late and unimportant. In the ninth century, SS. Methodius and Cyrill gave to the Slavs a Slavonic translation of Scripture, most probably made from the Greek text.

The Arabic translations, some of which appear in Walton's Polyglott, were made in the tenth and twelfth centuries, and are of no critical worth.

The Persian text of the Gospels which appears in Walton's Polyglott, was made from the Syriac Peschito. Its date is uncertain, but it is later than the eighth century.

Saadias Haggaon, a Jew living in Egypt in the X. century, translated the Pentateuch from the Massoretic text into Arabic. In many places the work assumes the nature of a paraphrase. Translations by Saadias also exist of Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, the Psalter and Job.

The Arabic text of the Pentateuch by Saadias is published in Walton's Polyglott.

In 1662, Erpenius published an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch from a MS. belonging to Joseph Scaliger. This is called the *Arabs Erpenii*. It was made from the Massoretic text by a Jew in the VIII. century, and is of no critical value.

We know not the date or the author of the Arabic text of Joshua published by Walton. There are also Arabic fragments of Kings, and of Ezra whose origin is uncertain.

There is also a version of the Pentateuch made by Abou Said, a Samaritan at an uncertain date ranging between the X. and XIII. centuries. It was made from the Hebrew text in Samaritan characters of the Samaritan Codex.

The Arabic text of the Prophets which appears in Walton's Polyglott, was made from the Septuagint, and Theodotion's version of Daniel. The Arabic text of the other books which appears therein was made also from the Greek at uncertain dates, but all later than the X. century.

The Arabic text of the New Testament was made directly from the Greek. Its date is unknown, but the eighth century would be the earliest possible date.

The Persian Pentateuch of Walton was made by a Jew of the XVI. century. It follows the Massoretic text servilely, and is of small critical worth. The Persian text of the Gospels which was made from the Greek, is assigned to the XIV. century. Other versions may exist, but they have not been studied.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JEROME AND THE VULGATE.

We have sufficiently discoursed of the causes and movements which led up to Jerome's great translation, which, from its constant and universal use in the Church of God, has been aptly called the VULGATE.

It was in his cell at Bethlehem, about the year 389, that Jerome began his great work. His design was not favored by the clergy of Rome, who accused him of endeavoring to set aside the Septuagint and the *Vetus Itala*. He declares that such was not his intent, but only to furnish a translation that the Jews could not reject in controversy with the Christians. Jerome never foresaw the great results that were to follow from his labors. He began with the books of Samuel and Kings. In 393 he had completed these, together with the sixteen Prophets, the Psalter and Job. The work was then intermitted for some time. In 395 he translated Ezra and Chronicles. These were followed by a translation of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Canticle of Canticles. The work of translating the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges and Ruth was begun in 398 and terminated in 404. Some time in this period, Jerome translated Tobias and Judith from the Chaldaic text.

This translation of the Psalter was never received into common use by the Church. The probable cause was, the danger of scandal to the common people, who committed much of the Psalter to memory. Had Jerome's translation been substituted for the old text, the simple people would have been unable to reconcile the wide divergency of the two texts with their reverence for Holy Scripture.

What we have written of Jerome's life and labors, places in clear light his relation to our approved Vulgate.

Jerome was guided in his method of translation by two norms. 1.—The great and principal norm was to reproduce the sense, not binding himself to text, word for word. Whatever may be Jerome's declaration concerning his work, an examination of the Vulgate will reveal this general design running all through it. Thus, at times, he changes completely the order and form of the Hebrew sentence; again, he avoids the excessive minuteness of description and frequent repetitions of the same text. The following two examples will illustrate this:

Genesis XXXIX. 19—20. (Literal Hebrew).

"And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying: after this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was kindled. And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, a place where the King's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison."

Exodus XL. 12—15. (Hebrew).

"And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tabernacle of the covenant, and wash them with water. And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments, and anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. And thou shalt bring his sons, and clothe them with coats: And thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priests office: for their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations."

Jerome omits two whole verses, and condenses their import in the other two.

This is praised by some as a certain elegance in Latin diction, but I must confess I would prefer the quaint simplicity of the old text with no abridgment.

At times Jerome has failed to apprehend the sense of the Hebrew. The following is a notable example:

Gen. XLIX. 22. (Hebrew).

"Joseph is a fruitful son (bough), a fruitful son (planted) by the fountain whose branches run over the wall."

Genesis XXXIX. 19—20. (Vulgate).

"His master hearing these things, and giving too much credit to his wife's words, was very angry, and cast Joseph into the prison, where the King's prisoners were kept, and he was there shut up."

Exodus XL. 12—13. (Vulgate).

"And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons to the door of the tabernacle of the covenant, and having washed them with water, thou shalt put on them the holy vestments, that they may minister to me, and that the unction of them may prosper to an everlasting priesthood."

Gen. XLIX. 22. (Vulgate).

"Joseph is a growing son, a growing son and comely to behold: the daughters run to and fro upon the wall."

It is evident that the holy text likens Joseph to a vine planted in well irrigated soil; and Joseph's prosperity is likened to the healthy growth of this vine which sends forth its shoots upon the wall. It is easy to see that this is more congruous to the grave sense of Scripture, than the picture of maidens running about on an eminence to see the beautiful Joseph.

Again when Jerome essays to translate proper names into their supposed signification, he also errs.

The following text will illustrate this assertion :

Joshua XIV. 15. (Hebrew.)

Joshua XIV. 15. (Vulgate.)

"And the name of Hebron before was Kirjath-Arba (the city of Arba) who was a great man among the Anakim. And the land had rest from war."

"The name of Hebron before was called Cariath-Arbe; Adam, the greatest among the Enacim was laid there; and the land rested from wars."

The sense is simply that Hebron was called the city of Arba, who had been a great hero of the Anakim. How far Jerome has departed from this sense, we leave the reader to judge. Again :

II. Ezra IX. 7. (Hebrew.)

II. Ezra IX. 7. (Vulgate.)

"Thou art the Lord God, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur, the Chaldeans, and gavest him the name of Abraham."

"Thou, O Lord God, art he who chocest Abram, and broughtest him forth out of the fire of the Chaldeans, and gavest him the name of Abraham."

It is plain that the inspired text wishes to state, that Abram was called by God out of the Chaldean city Ur. Jerome's love for Hebrew led him to accept much from the rabbis, and here they have deceived him.

Sometimes, in things relating to the substantial sense, he has failed to catch the meaning. An example of this is the following passage :

Exodus XXXIII. 13. (Literal Hebrew.)

Exodus XXIII. 13. (Vulgate.)

"And in all things that I have said unto you, be circumspect : *and make no mention of the name of other gods*, neither let it be heard out of your mouth."

"Keep all things that I have said to you. *And by the name of strange gods thou shalt not swear*, neither shall it be heard out of your mouth."

The precept is against idolatry, not against profanity.

A similar serious defect occurs in the well known passage of Isaiah XI. 10, wherein Jerome translates the close of the verse : "—and his peace will be glorious," by : "—and his

sepulchre will be glorious." The Prophet predicted the glorious reign of Christ, which succeeded to his period of suffering, and not, as the Vulgate leads some to believe, the honor that is paid to the Holy Sepulchre.

Although these and certain other such defects occur in the Vulgate of Jerome, it remains, in the main, the best of all the versions of Scripture. This is even admitted by rationalists and protestants.*

A translator is not an inspired agent, and these few defects simply show that the translation was a human work. The world has been studying languages, studying the Scriptures, thinking, and writing for a decade and a half of centuries since Jerome lived, and it is not strange that in a few cases some slight betterment could be now wrought in his translation, but considering the time and circumstances in which it was done, the translation of Jerome must ever remain one of the great works of man.

The labors of Jerome met with much opposition, both during his life and after his death. Jerome's character was one to antagonize a certain element of mankind. He was a man of power, high-minded, noble, intolerant of baseness and pettiness. By his talents he had outstripped his fellows, and then had to look down upon the envy of those of a lower plane. His prefaces to the several books, and his letters to friends, show that he was not of a temper of mind to conciliate his opponents by bland words.

These opponents decried Jerome and his work on the plea that he was attacking the Septuagint, which had been practically adopted by the Church. But there was another element in the opposition, composed of good men, who, actuated by zeal for the Church, feared that the people would be scandalized by this new presentation of the truths of Scripture, with which, in the old form, they were now familiar. St. Augustine

**Haevernick* Einl. I. p. 444: "Seine im Ganzen sehr wahren hermeneutischen Principien * * * Machen seine Arbeit zu einer der ausgezeichnetsten Leistungen des kirchl. Alterthums." *Keil* Einl. p. 572: "Seine Uebersetzung * * * übertrifft alle alten Versionen an Genauigkeit und Treue." *Uti* "orthodoxi," ita rationalistae quoque, inter quos *De Wette-Schrader* Einl. p. 137: "Vermöge seiner Sorgfalt * * * brachte er vielleicht das Vortrefflichste zu Stande, was in dieser Art das ganze Alterthum aufzuweisen hat." *Bleek-Wellhausen* Einl. p. 598: "Die Arbeit im Ganzen ist von unbefangenen Richtern allezeit als sehr gelungen anerkannt." *Diestel* Gesch. des A. T. p. 93: "Unmittelbar aus dem Hebr. Text geschöpft, meist in möglichst gewandter Sprache, mehr auf die Wiedergabe des rechten Sinnes als auf sklavische Wörtlichkeit gerichtet, erhielt sie mit vollem Recht den Rang einer *Vulgata*" etc. (Apud Cornely, op. cit.)

was of this number, but towards the end of his life, he was more favorably disposed to Jerome's translation, which he commended and used.

There was no sudden transition from the old to the new version. It was a gradual movement, sustained by the intrinsic excellence of the Vulgate.

The earliest and most universal endorsement of Jerome's translation came from Gaul. Cassian (†432), during Jerome's life, called it the more correct edition. Soon after his death, Eucherius of Lyon (†454), Vincent of Lerins (†450), Prosper (†450), Sedulius (†450), Avitus (†532), and Caesarius of Arles (†542) adopted it as the received text of Scripture.

At Rome, during the fifth and sixth centuries, the drift was decidedly in favor of the *Vetus Itala*. against the Vulgate. St. Leo the Great (440-461) and Pope Hilary (461-468) made some use of the Vulgate. With John III. (560-578) the tide set in strongly towards the Vulgate, and St. Gregory the Great (590-604), who considered the Vulgate the *truer* translation, is witness that only small use was made in his day of the *Vetus Itala*. From that time forth the *Vetus Itala* was neglected, and Jerome's translation became, in very deed, the Vulgate. St. Isidore of Seville (†636) declares that Jerome's translation "is universally used, for the reason that it is truer in its sense, and clearer in its diction." (*De Off.* I. 12). Ven. Bede, (†735) made almost exclusive use of the Vulgate. Rhabanus Maurus and Walafrid Strabo declare, that "in the principal books the whole Church of Rome uses the translation of Jerome." (*Instit. Cler.* II. 54.) The ascendancy of the Vulgate was accomplished, not by any official decree, but by the steady growth of the recognition of its excellence.

The mode of diffusion of written data of those days made them greatly liable to corruption. When a book is printed, it is fixed and unchangeable. But in the old days, when the publishing of a book was by means of manuscripts written by men who were ever prone, either by ignorance or negligence, to permit errors, or by active, arbitrary design, to insert certain judgments of their own into the text, the more a book was copied the more it was corrupted; for it was made to reflect something of every one through whose hands it had passed. This was augmented, in the case of the Vulgate, by the contemporaneous existence for centuries of the two Latin versions. Passages were copied from one into the other. There was much revision, and re-revision, remodeling, and sciolism, till the two texts were well mixed and corrupted. Hugh of St.

Victor, testifies of this state as follows: "It has come about by a perverse usage, since different ones follow different translations, that both are now so mixed that no man knows what is proper to each text." (Pat. Lat. Migne, 175, 17.)

Learned men arose in the Church and strove to remedy this evil. CASSIODORUS emended the text for his monks. Alcuin, at the bidding of Charlemagne, revised the entire Latin version, and presented the corrected copy to Charlemagne in 801. From this text were made the *Bibles of Alcuin*, or of Charlemagne, as they are sometimes called. They were much in use up to the thirteenth century. Many of the codices of the Vulgate are of this recension.

Other corrections were made by St. Peter Damian (†1072), St. Lanfranc of Canterbury (†1089), and the Cistercian St. Stephen (†1134).

As the corruption was universal in character, these private efforts were inadequate to remedy the evil. Hence, in the thirteenth century, theologians formulated a design for an APPARATUS CRITICUS, which should serve as a norm to correct all texts. The data of the Apparatus Criticus were taken from the old codices, from the writings of the Fathers, from the commentaries of Jerome, from the Glossary of Strabo, and the interlinear Glossary of Stephen Langton. Some collation was also made with the original texts. The results of these labors were, in 1226, embodied in the *Correctorium of Paris*.

This work afterwards received the approbation of the Archbishop of Sens, Primate of Gaul, for which cause it is sometimes called the *Correctorium Senonense*. This work of the University of Paris in no wise benefitted the text. It was simply the multiplication of a poor text, with some additional corruption, so that Roger Bacon said of it: "Textus pro majori parte horribiliter corruptus est * * * et ubi non habet corruptionem, habet tantam dubitationem quae merito cadit in omnem Sapientem." (Apud Hody, *De Text. Orig.*)

The method employed by those who wrought the *Correctoria* of the thirteenth century was to note down on the margin of a manuscript copy of the text the judgments concerning individual passages. Hence, we find in the margin: "est de textu," "non est de textu," "vera est litera," "falsa est litera," etc. Sometimes, also, the margins contain different readings from other manuscripts. The critical worth of these *Correctoria* is to us considerable.

The Dominican Chapter of France in 1256, condemned the *Correctorium of Sens*, and proscribed its use in the Order.

Some efforts had been made by the Dominicans to have a corrected and uniform text, but the first work worthy of note was executed by Hugh de St. Cher, general of the Order. As Hugh knew Hebrew, he essayed to remove all glosses from the Vulgate, and restore it to its pristine state. He made no use of old MSS., but corrected it according to the Hebrew and Greek. It is more a second translation than a critical recension of the Vulgate.

There were some other minor Correctoria executed by the Dominicans, of which but little is known. Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas, and other theologians employed the texts of Scripture as found in the Correctorium of the Dominicans. Although great erudition and labor was expended on this work, it failed through a defective critique. They had, in a measure, substituted their work for the work of Jerome, and Jerome's work was the better. They had also placed in the margin many readings judged to be erroneous, underlining them in red, or affixing to them some other sign, that readers might be warned against them. In time the indications were unobserved, and the readings crept into the text. Roger Bacon, with a certain element of hatred against the Dominicans, said of this text: "*Eorum correctio est pessima corruptio, et destruitur textus Dei; et longe minus malum est uti exemplari Parisiensi non correcto quam eorum correctione.*" (*Apud Hody, l. c.*)

The Correctorium of the Franciscans has been erroneously termed the Correctorium of the Sorbonne, from the fact that it became known from a manuscript of the Sorbonne, which is at present in the National Library in Paris (Latin 15554). Its method was similar to that of the Dominicans, but of its value I know nothing. The Correctorium of the Vatican, so called from its MSS. in the Vatican, was executed about the beginning of the fourteenth century by William DeMara, a Franciscan of Oxford. The man was a disciple of Bacon, and his work shows much erudition and critique. He made use of Hebrew and Greek, not to supplant the version of Jerome, but to perfect it. His Correctorium is the best of all. He fails sometimes, especially in Greek, of which he knew less than of Hebrew.

Many other Correctoria existed which merit no mention here.

We insert here some mention of a few of the principal manuscripts of the Vulgate.

Chief among these is the CODEX AMIATINUS.

This manuscript, the most celebrated, if not the oldest of the Vulgate of Jerome, belongs to the Laurentian Library at Florence. It is registered Amiatinus I., because it is one of the manuscripts, which were brought from the Abbey of Mount Amiato, near Sienna, to the aforesaid monastery, at the time of the Abbey's suppression in 1786. The Script is the uncial lettering of Italian calligraphy. The parchment is divided in cahiers of sixteen pages each. Every page has two columns of text, and each column forty-four lines. The whole width of the initial letters of the verses or stichs is displayed on the margin of the MSS. There is no punctuation. The text is divided into stichs. It has no adorned initials, such as the beautiful ones we see in the manuscripts of the Carolingian epoch. Its height is fifty centimetres, its width thirty-four. The manuscript forms only one volume of one thousand and twenty-nine leaves. It contains the whole text of the Vulgate, every book prefaced by an introduction or prologue by St. Jerome.

On the back of the first page of the manuscript is read the following inscription in verse:

“Cœnobium ad eximii merito venerabile Salvatoris,
 Quem caput Ecclesiae dedicat alta fides,
 Petrus Langobardorum extremis de finib. abbas
 Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei,
 Meque meos optans tanti inter gaudia patris
 In coelis memorem semper habere locum.”

The meaning of this dedication is: “Peter, Abbot at the boundaries of the country of the Lombards, sends this pledge of his tender devotion to the venerable monastery of the Saviour, which faith looks upon as the head of the Church.”

The Abbot Peter is unknown. The expression, head of the Church, applied to the monastery of Mt. Amiato is very strange. Moreover, the words “Coenobium”, “Salvatoris”, and “Petrus Langobardorum” are words written by a second hand upon an erasure. Evidently the dedication of the manuscript was defaced at the time of the change of ownership. The question has engaged many to ascertain for whom the manuscript was originally intended. Bandini of the last century, in drawing up a catalogue of the Laurentian manuscripts, proposed to correct the first verse as follows: “Culmen *ad eximii merito venerabile* Petri.” The hexameter is restored at the same time, and the first verse is made to agree with the second: “Quem caput Ecclesiae dedicat alta fides.”

Thus it would result that the manuscript were one offered to the Roman Church, *caput Ecclesiae*. For the “*Petrus Langobardorum*”, Bandini proposed to substitute “*Servandus Latii*.” In fact, at the beginning of Leviticus, we read the name of such copyist, who labored at the production of the manuscript. We know of an Abbot Servandus of the sixth century, a friend of St. Benedict of the neighborhood of Alatri, on the boundaries of Latium. The Codex Amiatinus was thus considered a manuscript of the sixth century, of Italian origin: it has been accepted as such by Tischendorf.

The finding of the authentic original, and the age of the Codex Amiatinus, is one of the most brilliant discoveries of M. de Rossi. In a memoir on the sources of the library of the Holy See, published in 1886, which memoir is used as a preface to the catalogues of the Vatican library, he relates how in the seventh or eighth century, the bishops and the abbots outside of Italy desired much to receive manuscripts from the Popes, so that Pope Martin (649—653) could write: “*Codices jam exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca, unde ei (the carrier of the letter) dare nullatenus habuimus; transcribere autem non potuit, quoniam festinanter de hæc civitate egredi properavit.*”

Benedict Biscop, the founder of the Abbeys of Wearmouth and Yarrow, was one of those prelates of the seventh century, devout to the things and books of Rome. Five times (in 653, 658, 671, 678 and in 684), he made pilgrimages to Rome, bringing back every time, according to Bede's testimony, “*innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam.*” At his death he left to his two Abbeys “*bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque advexerat.*”

His successor was Ceolfrid, who was the master of Bede, of whom Bede tells us, that he took a great care of Benedict Biscop's library, and had three manuscripts of the Holy Scripture executed according to a copy brought from Rome, and that he gave a copy to each of his two Abbeys, Wearmouth and Yarrow, and then, when he started for Rome, he took the third copy, in order to offer it to the Holy See. Ceolfrid died on the way, at Langres, Sept. 25, 716. But the monks, who accompanied him, proceeded towards the Eternal City, and it is to be supposed, that they accomplished their Abbot's intentions, thus expressed by Bede: “*Inter alia donaria quae afferre disposuerat misit Ecclesiae sancti Petri pandectem a Beato Hieronymo in Latinum ex Hebræo vel Graeco fonte translatum.*”

M. de Rossi based a conjecture upon those facts, that we should read in the dedicatory of the Codex Amiatinus, neither "*Petrus Langobardorum*" nor "*Servandus Latii*", but "*Ceolfri-
dus Britonum*." The two words proposed by M. de Rossi fitted exactly the place of the erasure. The poetical quantity only was still defective. M. Samuel Berger proposed "*Ceolfri-
dus Anglorum*". While the English reviewers were theorizing for and against this conjecture, which brought down to the eighth century the most important manuscript of Jerome's Vulgate, and made of it an Anglo-Saxon work. M. Hort pointed out in an anonymous *Life of Ceolfri-
dus*, very likely Bede's work, published for the first time in 1841, a passage in which it is related, in the same terms as above, how Ceolfri-
dus had made three copies of the Roman Bible in his possession; that he intended to offer one of those three copies to the Church of St. Peter at Rome; that he died during his pilgrim-
age; and that the Bible destined for St. Peter's bore the fol-
lowing verses:

"Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri
Dedicat Ecclesiae quem caput alta fides,
Ceolfri-
dus, Anglorum extimis de finibus abbas,
Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei, etc."

We could not wish for a conjecture a more perfect verification. The Codex Amiatinus, therefore, was executed between 690, date of Benedict Biscop's death, and 716, and rather about 690 than towards 716, in Northumberland, either at Yarrow, or at Wearmouth, and it is the copy of a manuscript of Jerome's Vulgate brought from Rome.

Men have endeavored to come to still more precise judgments concerning the Codex. As it has a prologue on the divisions of the Bible in books, almost identical with that found in "*De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*" of Cassiodorus, some believe that the Amiatinus had been taken from Cassiodorus' library. The problem had been proposed by M. Corssen, *Die Bibeln des Cassiodorius und der Codex Amiatinus*, in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 619—633. The question was examined again in England, in 1887, by Wordworth, Hort, Browne, etc.

It can be considered as certain, that the Codex Amiatinus is absolutely independent from Cassiodorus, and also that the prologue on the divisions of the Bible, which fills up the first sheets of the Amiatinus is of Cassiodorian origin, but was not made for the Amiatinus. (See the article of Mr. Corssen in the "*Academy*" of April 17, 1888.)

The Codex Amiatinus is at present held to represent the most ancient condition of Jerome's Vulgate, that is to say, it approaches closest to the text executed by Jerome. It played a considerable part in the history of the Vulgate in the middle age.

"It is from Northumberland that the good texts of the Vulgate have been spread, not only in Italy, to whom England paid thus its debt, but moreover, in France, for Alcuin came from York and was selected by Charles the Great (Charlemagne), for correcting the text of the Bible."—Samuel Berger, *De l' Histoire de la Vulgate en France*, Paris, 1887, p. 4.

Again, it is known that the Codex Amiatinus has been made use of for the constitution of the text of the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate.

Tischendorf published the text of the New Testament of the Codex Amiatinus, C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum ex Codice Amiatino*, Leipzig, 1890—1894. See Bandini, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana*. Florence, 1891. t. I., p. 701—732; Wordsworth, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, p. XI., Oxford, 1889; De Rossi, *La Biblia offerta da Ceolfrido abate al sepolcro di S. Pietro*. Rome, 1888; J. White, *The Codex Amiatinus and its birth-place in the Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1870. t. II, p. 273—308. (P. Batifol in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*.)

The next great Codex of the Vulgate is the CODEX FULDENSIS. It contains only the entire New Testament, and can not be made equal to Codex Amiatinus. Its colophon declares that it was made under the supervision of Victor, Bishop of Capua. Victor ascended the Episcopal throne in 541. From the Roman dates affixed to the instrument, chronographers establish that it was finished in 546.

St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, is believed to have carried the Codex into Germany, and it is not improbable that he had the Codex with him when he was martyred in Frisia in 755.

The Codex bears certain explanatory notes from the hand of Boniface.

It is preserved at Fulda. It has been published and accurately described by E. Reinke, Marbourg, 1868.

THE CODEX TOLETANUS contains all the books of both Testaments, except Baruch. It is written in Gothic capital characters, hence it is sometimes called the Gothic Codex. It was used in the Sixtine and Clementine correction of the Vulgate. Its date is placed in the eighth century. It is the present property of the metropolitan Church of Toledo.

THE CODEX BOBBIENSIS is more ancient than either of these. It belongs to the National Library of Turin; it is designated in the Latin Apparatus Criticus by the minuscule letter *h*.

The Codex forms a quarto volume of 96 leaves of fine parchment. The leaves measure 185 millimetres by 165. The pages contain one column of 14 lines. The Script is uncial, without ornament. Its date is placed in the fifth century; and it must thus be considered as one of the most ancient of the New Testament. Traces of two correctors are recognizable in the text. One of these was contemporary with the original scribe; the other more modern, is believed from the Irish characters used to be St. Columban.

The Codex in its present state only contains the following fragments of Matthew and Mark: Math. I. 1 to III. 10; IV. 2 to XIV. 17; XV. 26—30; Mark VIII. 8—11, 14—16, and from VIII. 19 to XVI. 9.

It is estimated that the MS. originally consisted of 415 leaves. The first 256 leaves are lost. The fragment that remains is believed to be a portion of the 33d cahier; the following twenty are lost. It originally contained only the Gospels, written in the following order: John, Luke, Mark, Matthew. This order also obtains in the Codex Monacensis X of the Gospels.

A modern note that Tischendorf read on the Codex, but which has since disappeared, made known that the Codex, according to tradition was one that St. Columban used to carry in his wallet. St. Columban was born about the year 543, in Leinster. In 613 he passed the Alps, and founded at a short distance from Piacenza, the monastery of Bobbio, where he died in 615. The Irish pilgrims were wont to carry the Scriptures in leathern wallets, "sacculi pellicei", and the celebrated Irish Bible known as the Book of Armagh is enclosed in its leathern case. The identification of the Codex Bobbiensis with St. Columban is a possible hypothesis but not an established fact. After the Renaissance, the MSS. of Bobbio were distributed in the great libraries of Europe, and this Codex found its resting place at Turin. It was edited by Fleck in 1837; by Tischendorf in 1847; and by Wordsworth and Sanday in 1886.

The Latin versions before the time of Jerome can be reduced to three groups: 1.—The African, conformable to the citations of Scripture of St. Cyprian; 2.—The European, which circulated in Western Europe during the IV. century;

3.—The Italian, whose use is represented by St. Augustine. The Codex of Bobbio is a faithful exemplar of the African text. See Codex Bobbiensis in Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible.

The Codex Cavensis is a MS. of Jerome's Vulgate, the property of the Abbey of La Cava, near Salerno. It consists of 303 leaves, in three columns of 54 and 55 lines. The titles and prologues are in uncial characters; the body of the text is in minuscule Roman characters. M. Berger advances the theory that the Codex is a production of the Visigoths of Spain, in the IX. century, if not of the end of the VIII. It contains all the books of both Testaments.

THE CODEX F'OROULIENSIS of the VI. century, formerly contained the four Gospels, but now is mutilated in Mark.

THE CODEX OTTOBONIANUS contains the Octateuch complete, but is of slight worth.

THE CODEX PAULINUS OR CAROLINUS, and THE CODEX STATIANUS OR VALLICELLIANUS of the IX. century, contain all the books of both Testaments of the recension of Alcuin. They were much prized by Sirleti and others in the emendation of the Vulgate.

After the invention of printing in the fifteenth century, the first book ever printed was the Vulgate printed at Mainz, in 1450. From that time up to the close of the century, great activity was exercised in the printing of the Latin Vulgate, and more than a hundred different editions were printed in that period.

But little critical care was bestowed on these early editions, and the best MSS. were not employed, so that they are of no critical worth.

The Dominican Castellanus issued an edition at Venice in 1506, in which he printed some marginal readings, collected principally from other printed editions. The first real critical edition of the Vulgate text was the Complutensian, whose text is excellent for that time.

After the rise of protestantism, the protestants threw off all reverence for the Vulgate. They changed its readings at will, and made to themselves new editions from the original texts.

Catholics also engaged in this movement. Pagninus and Card. Cajetan made new Latin editions from the original texts.

The Dominican Sanctes Pagninus (†1541) and Cajetan made new Latin versions. Augustine Steuchus, and Isidore Clarius,

revised the text of the Vulgate in conformity with the original texts. Hittorp endeavored, in his edition of Cologne in 1530, to restore the text of Jerome to its original purity.

Robert Etienne collected at Paris a considerable number of codices and spent upwards of twenty years, from 1528 to 1528 and beyond, in emending the text of the Vulgate. His labors were profitable to the study of the text, but he unwisely inserted certain of Calvin's annotations in some of his editions, and drew upon his work the censure of the University of Paris. The best of Etienne's editions is that of 1540, and the faculty were unwise in extending their censure to this excellent text, wherein was naught of calvinism or other error.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE VULGATE BY THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

On the 17th of March, 1546, in the general session, the Fathers who had been charged to investigate the status of the Latin text of Scripture reported four abuses. Only the first two are relevant to our present theme.

The first abuse was the existence of many Latin versions of the Scriptures, which were used as authentic in public readings, disputations, and discourses. The remedy suggested was to have the old Vulgate as the sole authentic edition which all should use as authentic in all public reading, and in the exposition and preaching of Holy Scripture; and that no one should reject it or impugn its truth; and not thereby to detract aught from the genuine and true version of the Seventy Interpreters, which the Apostles sometimes used, nor to reject other editions which help to find the source of the authentic Vulgate.

The second abuse was the corruption of the codices of the Vulgate.

The remedy was to expurgate and amend the codices and restore to the Christian world the genuine text of the Vulgate free from error. And the Fathers petitioned the Pope to cause this great work to be done and also to bring it about that the Church of God might also have a correct Greek and Hebrew text.*

*“*Primus abusus* est: habere varias editiones S. Scripturae, et illis velle uti pro authenticis in publicis lectionibus et praedicationibus. Remedium est: habere unam tantam editionem, veterem scilicet et Vulgatam, qua omnes utantur pro authentica in publicis lectionibus, expositionibus et praedica-

Several particular assemblies and three general sessions discussed this proposition, and finally, the Council promulgated its famous decree.

"The same thrice holy Synod, believing that much benefit may accrue to the Church of God, if from among all the Latin versions of the Holy Scriptures which are in circulation, an authentic one be recognized, decrees and declares that the old edition of the Vulgate, which has been approved by the Church by the usage of so many centuries, shall be held authentic in all public readings, disputations, and in the public exposition and preaching of Scripture, and that no man may reject it upon whatever pretext * * * And having in mind to establish also a rule for printers * * * The Council decrees and establishes that, hereafter, the Holy Scripture, especially this old Vulgate, shall be most carefully printed."*

The decree of the Council of Trent set in motion a turbulent movement especially in Spain. The power was in the hands of those who defended the absolute infallibility and absolute sanction of the Vulgate. These by violence and the power of the law prevented any expression of honest thought which came short of adoration of the Vulgate. Men were cast into prison for attempting to explain the legitimate sense of the great Council's decree. Others, through fear of the Inquisition, either adopted the views of the party in power or

tionibus, et quod nemo illam reiicere audeat aut illi contradicere; non detrahendo tamen auctoritati purae et verae interpretationis Septuaginta interpretum, qua nonnunquam uti sunt Apostoli, neque reiiciendo alias editiones, quatenus authenticæ illius Vulgatae intelligentiam iuvant.—*Secundus abusus* est corruptio codicum qui circumferuntur Vulgatae huius editionis. Remedium est, ut expurgatis et emendatis codicibus restituatur christiano orbi pura et sincera Vulgata editio a mendis librorum, qui circumferuntur. Id autem munus erit Sini. D. N., quem S. Synodus humiliter exorabit, ut pro ovibus Christi Suae Beatitudini creditis hoc onus ingentis fructus et gloriae sui ipsius animi magnitudine dignum suscipiat; curando etiam, ut unum codicem Graecum unumque Hebraeum, quoad fieri potest, correctum habeat Ecclesia sancta Dei."

*"Eadem sacrosancta Synodus considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse Ecclesiae Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus, quae circumferuntur, sacrorum librorum, quatenam pro authentica habenda sit innosceat, statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et Vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur et ut nemo illam reiicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat. . . . Sed et impressoribus modum in hac parte, ut par est, imponere volens. . . . , decernit et statuit, ut posthac S. Scriptura, potissimum vero haec ipsa vetus et Vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur."

kept a prudent silence. "I know," says Bannez, "what I would respond by word of mouth, if asked by the Church; meanwhile, I maintain a prudent and religious silence." (In I. S. Thom.)

The position of these extremists was that the Council had defined the absolute infallibility of the Vulgate, even in the least details; that no error of whatever nature was to be found in the Latin Vulgate; that since the Greek Schism, the Latin Church had remained the sole depository of the truth, and hence her Scriptures alone were authentic, and absolutely authentic. Of this movement Richard Simon truly wrote: "There were but very few persons who accurately comprehended the sense of the decree of Trent which pronounced the Vulgate authentic * * * The greater number of those who agitated this question scarcely understood anything of it, and they were moved more by prejudice and passion, than by sense and judgment. "Periit judicium postquam res transiit in affectum." (Hist. Crit. du V. T. II. 14.)

We find an accurate and dispassionate description of these causes and effects in the Disputation on the Vulgate of John Mariana.* What he has written of Spain, could be affirmed in less degree of other countries in that period.

"Opus molestum suscipimus, multâque difficultate impeditum, periculosam alcam, ac quâ nescio an ulla disputatio his superioribus annis inter theologos, in Hispaniâ præsertim, majori animorum ardore et motu agitata sit, odioque partium magis implacabili, usque eò, ut à probris et contumeliis, quibus se mutuò fœdabant, ad tribunalia ventum sit; atque quæ pars sibi magis confidebat, adversarios de Religione postulatos gravissimè exercuit, quasi impios, superbos, arrogantes, qui divinorum librorum auctoritatem, atque ejus interpretationis

*John Mariana, S. J. was born in the diocese of Toledo in Spain, in 1537. He was endowed with great mental power and uprightness of character. He studied in the Complutensian Academy, and in 1554 entered the Society of the Jesuits. In 1561, he came to Rome and taught Scripture for four years. In 1569, he went to Paris and expounded the Summa of St. Thomas, in the great Academy for five years. His character was honest and severe, and his insight into truth profound. Through failing health he was forced to remit some of this study, and in 1574 he returned to Spain, and in a studious retirement at Toledo, he lived to an extreme old age, dying in 1624. Mariana was a man of unblemished life, and intolerant of evil. He was no time-server, and attacked evil wherever he found it. Having attacked some abuses of the State, in a treatise *De Monetæ Mutatione*, he was judged guilty of *læsæ majestatis*, and in his 72nd year was imprisoned in a Franciscan Monastery. His writings consist of numerous short treatises on various subjects, several being on the Scriptures.

fidem, quâ Ecclesia utitur passim, et quæ *vulgata editio* nuncupatur, audacter elevarent, novis interpretationibus prolatis invectisque contrâ divinas leges et humanas, concilii Tridentini decreta non itâ pridem promulgata. Tenuit ea causa multorum animos suspensos expectatione, quem tandem exitum habitura esset, cùm viri eruditionis opinione præstantes, è vinculis cogerentur causam dicere, haud levi salutis existimationisque discrimine: miseranda virtutis conditio, quandò pro laboribus, quos susceperat maximos, compellebantur eorum à quibus defendi par fuisset, odia, accusationes, contumelias tolerare, quo exemplo multorum præclaros impetus retardari, viresque debilitari atque concidere necesse erat. Omnino fregit ea res multorum animos alieno periculo considerantium, quantum procellæ immineret liberè affirmantibus quæ sentirent. Itaque aut in aliorum castra transibant frequentes, aut tempori cedendum judicabant. Et quid facerent, cùm frustrâ niti neque fatigando (ut ille ait) aliud quàm odium quærere, extremæ dementiæ sit? Plerique inhærentes persuasioni vulgari, libenter in opinione perstabant, iis placitis faventes, in quibus minùs periculi esset haud magnâ veritatis curâ. Quidam enim editionem vulgatam sugillant, quasi multis vitiis fœdam, ad fontes identidem provocantes, undè ad nos ii rivi manârunt, ac contendentes, Græcorum Hebraicorumque codicum collatione castigandam videri, quoties ab illis discrepârit, linguarum peritiâ tumidi, ecclesiasticam simplicitatem ludibrio habentes; quorum profectò audacia ac temeritas pronuntiandi meritò frænanda est. E contrario, alii majori numero adversariorum odio nefas putant vulgatam editionem attrectare, atque in impiorum numero habent, si quis vel levem vocem castigare tentet, si locum aliquem aliter explicare contendat, quàm vulgata interpretatio præ se ferat (quos imitari profectò non debemus) pusillo homines animo, oppleti tenebris, angustèque sentientes de Religionis nostræ majestate, qui dùm opinionum castella pro fidei placitis defendunt, ipsam mihi arcem prodere videntur, fraternam charitatem turpissimè violantes. Ergò extremâ et deviâ vitatâ, quæ in præcipitia desinit, mediam viam tenere constituimus, quâ ferè in omni disputatione vitatis erroribus ad veritatem pervenitur."

The protestants, taking the statements of the Spanish theologians for the position of the Church, loudly proclaimed that the Council had bound Scriptural science with chains of iron, and condemned it to a sterile immobility.*

*Cfr. ex. gr. *Keil* Einl. p. 579: "Mit diesem Deeret war zwar der Grundtext nicht ausdrücklich verworfen, aber doch für ganz überflüssig er-

The labors of Catholic theologians in establishing the real sense of this decree, have removed the cause for this calumny, and it is only the envelopment of a dense veil of ignorance, that in our days permits a repetition of this old falsehood.

The Church was not responsible for the course of thought in Spain. The best institutions of God and man have been, and will be abused. The Council spoke the truth, and men, in an inconsiderate zeal, misunderstood its words. Some misunderstand them yet, but the current of thought in this regard is better now than then.

We place, therefore, as a thesis: That the Council of Trent, in declaring the Vulgate the authentic text of Scripture, did not place the excellence of the Vulgate above the original texts of Scripture, nor above the old versions of Scripture which had been in use in the Church, neither did it deny the authenticity of these texts.

A sufficient argument for this position is in the very words of the decree, and in the nature of the abuse which it was intended to remove. There was no mention of original texts or versions other than the Latin. A multiplicity of Latin versions created confusion, and the Council chose one Latin version, which should be the official text of Latin Scriptures for the Latin Church. The original texts and old versions have the same merit as before, and are as authentic as when they formed the Scriptural basis of the decisions of councils, prior to the Council of Trent. Cardinal Pole and others demanded that a text in Greek and Hebrew might also be declared authentic. Although this was not done, we have every reason to believe that it would have been done if the need existed. In the Greek Church no great variety of translations existed. The Greeks used their authentic text, which had been always sanctioned by the Church's use, even before the Latin existed. No one denied its authenticity, and the Council left it in the peaceful possession of what it always had. The Hebrew text was not in use as a practical text of Scripture by any Christian Church, and there was no need to declare it authentic. It is characteristic of the Catholic Church not to indulge in superfluous legislation. Her decisions are few, and framed to meet actual needs.

klärt und die Uebersetzung kanonisirt worden". *De Wette-Schrader* Einl. p. 145: "Was man auch zur Milderung dieses Decretes sagen mag, immer ist damit der exegetischen Forschung der Eingang in die öffentliche Kirchenlehre verschlossen". *Alii alio modo eadem repetunt.* (Cornely op. cit.)

The deliberations of the Fathers, as related to us by Pallavicini (*Storia del Conc. di Trento*), show plainly that the Fathers wished to save the credit of the original texts and the old versions: "It was the common opinion that the Vulgate edition should be preferred to all other (Latin) editions; but Pacheco petitioned that these others should be also condemned, especially those made by heretics; and he extended this afterwards to the Septuagint. Bertram opposed this, maintaining that there was always a diversity of versions in use with the faithful, which usage the Fathers had approved. And who would dare, he said, condemn the translation of the Septuagint which the Church uses in her psalmody? * * * Let one version be approved, and the others be neither approved nor condemned."

After the expression of these views, Card. Del Monte, one of the presidents of the Council, closed the disputation in these words: "The matter has been discussed and prepared. We come now to the form. The majority holds that the Vulgate should be received, but care must be taken lest the others should be thought to be tacitly rejected." The "others" are evidently the original texts and the old versions. Could anything be clearer? The Fathers took thought lest their action might seem to be the tacit repudiation of the other texts.

This sense is confirmed by the express declarations of some of the principal theologians of the Council. Salmeron, S. J., who was one of the Pope's theologians in the Council, declares: "We shall show that the approbation of Jerome's translation imported, in no way, the rejection of the Greek or Hebrew texts. There was no question of Greek or Hebrew texts. Action was only taken to determine which was the most excellent of the many Latin versions. The Council left every man free to consult the Greek and Hebrew texts, that he might thereby emend its errors, or elucidate its sense, hence, without infringement on the authority of the Council, where the texts differ, we may make use of the text from the Greek or Hebrew copy, and expound it as a text of Scripture. We may use such text, not alone for moral instruction, but also use it as a Scriptural basis for the dogmas of the Church."

The same testimony is rendered by the Franciscan, Andrea Vega, whose wisdom was held in great repute by the Fathers of Trent. In his work, *De Justificatione* XV. 9, he thus addresses Calvin: "Lest thou shouldst err, O Calvin, regarding the approbation of the Vulgate, give ear to a few things, which I would wish Melancthon also might hear, who also, before

you, arraigned the Fathers for this. The Synod did not approve the errors which linguists and those moderately versed in Holy Scripture find in the Vulgate. Neither did they ask that it be adored as though it had descended from Heaven. The Fathers knew that the interpreter was not a prophet, * * * and, therefore, the Synod did not restrain, nor wish to restrain, the labors of linguists, who teach us that certain things might be better translated, and that the Holy Ghost could signify many things by one and the same word, and, at times, a sense more apt than can be obtained from the Vulgate. But considering the Vulgate's age, and the esteem in which it was held for centuries by Latin Councils which used it, and in order that the faithful might know—which is most true—that no pernicious error can be drawn therefrom, and that the faithful can read it safely without danger to faith, and to remove the confusion caused by a multitude of translations, and to modify the tendency to continually produce new versions, the Council wisely enacted that we should use the Vulgate in all public readings, disputations and expositions of Scripture. And it declared it authentic in this sense, that it might be known to all that it was never vitiated by any error from which any false doctrinal or moral teaching might result; and for this reason it decreed that no one should reject it on whatsoever pretext. And that this was the mind of the Council, and that it wished to decree nothing further than this, you may draw from the words of the Council. And lest you should doubt of this, I am able to invoke a veracious witness, his Eminence the Cardinal of Holy Cross (Card. Cervini, afterwards Pope Marcellus II.), who presided over all the sessions. Both before and after the decree, more than once, he testified to me that the Fathers wished nothing more for the Vulgate. Therefore, neither you nor anyone else is hindered by the approbation of the Vulgate from recurring, in doubt, to the original texts, and one may bring forth out of them whatever he may find, in order that the sense of the Latin may be cleared and enriched, and that he may purge the Vulgate from errors, and arrive at those things most consonant with the sense of the Holy Ghost and the original texts." (Mariana, l. c.)

We come in possession of two truths in this testimony: first, that Vega has the mind of the Council of Trent, and, secondly, that the action of the Fathers was just and temperate. While Mariana was teaching at Rome, question arose relating to the real sense of the decree of Trent. The General of the

Jesuit order at that time was James Laynez, a man of great erudition and judgment, who had himself taken part in every session of the Council of Trent. He was petitioned to explain to the order the real sense of the decree, and on the testimony of Mariana, his response was substantially the same as the testimony of Vega.

Didacus de Andrada deserves to rank among the first theologians of the Council.*

He was not in the fourth session, in which the Vulgate was approved, but as a subsequent member of the Council he certainly knew the mind of the Fathers. He approves the declaration of Vega and declares "that we are to so defend the excellence and dignity of the Vulgate, that we in no way obstruct the Hebrew founts whence the saving streams of truth have flown forth to us. And on the other hand we are to so venerate the old Hebrew text that we reject not the authority and majesty of the Vulgate." (Andrada, *Defens. Trid. Fidei* IV. p. 257).

The excellence which the Fathers of Trent attested of the Vulgate is well expressed by Sixtus of Sienna: "Although errors are found in the Vulgate, it is certain that neither in the old edition nor in the new was anything ever found which is dissonant from Catholic faith, or false or contrary to doctrine or morality, or interpolated, or changed to disagree with truth or omitted to the prejudice of truth, or so corrupted that it would furnish occasion of pernicious error, or occasion and incite to heresy, or thus obscurely and ambiguously translated that it would obscure the mysteries of our faith, or in which the saving truth is not sufficiently explained." (Sixt. Sen. *Biblioth. Sancta*.)

The opponents of the Catholic faith sometimes allege as the Catholic position, the opinion of Basil Poncius (+1626), the

*Didacus de Paviade Andrada, was born at Coimbra in Portugal, in 1528. He entered the Church at the age of thirty, was sent by King Sebastian of Portugal to the Council of Trent. He was both profound and eloquent. While at Trent he wrote the following edifying words: "While in the Council of Trent, I was wont to say that even if the authority of Councils were not authorized and confirmed by Christ, I could easily give assent to their definitions, being moved by such an excellent method of ascertaining truth." While at Trent, he wrote *An Explanation of the Orthodox Faith*, an excellent polemic apologetic work. It was especially directed against Chemnitz. The heretic responded, and Andrada wrote against him his most celebrated work, *A Defense of the Tridentine Catholic Faith*. This work has now become very rare. The work was much esteemed by the Roman theologians and by the Pope himself. In this work he defends the Council's decree concerning the Vulgate. He died in 1578.

Chancellor of the University of Salamanca. He declares: "In my judgment it must be affirmed according to the Council's decree, that not only are all things in the Vulgate true, but that they are also in strict conformity with the original text, and their sense faithfully rendered by the interpreter, so that he has, neither by ignorance nor negligence, erred in the least thing, but that all things, even the most minute, are, as regards the sense, faithfully translated. * * * * And this is the common opinion of our time." Migne, *Cursus S. S. I.*, p. 878).

From the fact that Poncius prefaced this declaration by a long chapter wherein he gives numerous examples of erroneous translations of the Vulgate, we are led to suspect that he is here defending the current opinion of Spain somewhat after the manner that Galileo defended the Ptolemaic system in his dialogues. It is a certain fact that the fear of the Inquisition in Spain was unduly reactionary on theological opinion in Spain in those days. At all events, the common opinion of Spain could not have been what he says, for we have adduced the testimonies of her best theologians, which are directly opposed to his position. The only argument which he adduces in support of his opinion is, that the Council declared the Vulgate authentic. Now, in the first place, we deny that the Council promulgated a dogmatic definition that the Vulgate was authentic. It made it of faith, that the Books of the Catholic Canon with all their parts, as they were found in the Vulgate, were sacred and canonical. This is of faith, and an anathema was fulminated against any one who should gainsay such truth. This certainly implies that the Vulgate has preserved the substance of all these books, so that the element which made them sacred and inspired as they came from the writer's hand has persevered in them. This is of faith. But the decree concerning the use of the Holy Books is DISCIPLINARY. The very words of the decree warrant this. When a Council binds men's faith by dogmatic decree, the words clearly imply such design. But here, on the contrary, in the clearest terms the Council maps out the discipline of the Church, as regards the reading of the Latin Scripture. Of course in this matter dogma and discipline are correlated. The Council, acting by the Spirit of God, could not and did not authorize a substantially defective version of Scripture. So that this disciplinary decree rests on the dogmatic status of the books, established in the preceding decree. Now the Fathers, in making the books authentic in the discipline of the Church, based their action on a dogmatic authenticity, which they by former decree

had declared of the books. The motive of this declaration of authenticity was not the strict conformity between the Vulgate and the original text. The Fathers never examined such conformity. The motion to do so was submitted, but it was lost. The Fathers based their action on the fact that the Church had used for well nigh a thousand years this edition of the Latin Scriptures. It had, for all these ages, been the great scriptural deposit of the Church, and the Fathers infallibly judged that it was not compatible with God's relation to the Church, that he should allow her to thus adopt a version of Scripture, which did not accurately contain the substance of God's written message to man. The Fathers, therefore, understood by authenticity that the version contained the substance of that message.

This clear and well warranted position at once does away with the opinion of Poncius, and it establishes the real basis upon which we may examine the actual state of the Vulgate.

The truth of our position is corroborated by the history of the decree. When, during the existence of the Council, the decree was sent to Rome for the Pope's approbation, the Roman theologians protested against it, affirming that there were many errors in it that could not be attributed to the copyists, but which were certainly due to the translator himself. In fact, such a storm was raised, that there was thought of delaying the printing of the decree till changes might be made. When this was made known to the Papal legates in the Council they made answer that nothing was alleged by the Roman theologians that the Council had not maturely weighed. The Tridentine Fathers had adverted to the errors of the Vulgate, but they were warranted in declaring it not substantially erroneous. (Pallavic. Hist. Conc. Trid. VI.)

The dullest mind must see that there was no question of absolute conformity with the original text, or of immunity from errors which affected not doctrine and morals.

Our position is strengthened by this final consideration. The Council approved the then existing Latin Vulgate, at the same time that it was informed by the particular congregation that all the Latin texts were defective, though the Vulgate was the best of them. And the work of emending this same approved Vulgate was taken up immediately by the authority of the Pope himself. This shows clearly that the Council merely declared that the truths of God had persevered in the Latin version with all its faults, and that it was the mind of the Church that these errors should be reduced to a minimum.

And even in the preface to the Clementine edition of the Vulgate, we are told that certain things which deserved to be changed were left, to avoid the scandal of the people.

Even during the authorized revision of the Vulgate, Salmeron, who was one of the theologians of the Council, declared : " In the meantime, while the Vulgate is being revised, nothing prevents one from correcting the evident errors, either by means of the Hebrew and Greek text, or from the various readings of the Fathers, or by a clearer understanding of the text itself, provided such a one in such a grave matter is prepared to submit himself to the Church if she should decide otherwise." (Salmeron, *Proleg.* III. p. 24.) This is the golden rule for all theologians. Relying on this, a theologian can freely conduct any research, sustained by the thought that if he speaks true things, the Church will commend him, and she will safeguard him from error.

The opponents of our position are of two classes. The protestants insist on an absolute approbation of the Vulgate, that they may thence move an objection against the Church ; Some Catholics interpret the Council's word in a like manner through mistaken zeal for orthodoxy. From one or the other of these motives they adduce the three following arguments :

1.—Richard Simon (*Hist. Crit. du V. Test.* 7, p. 268) cites the following decree : " On the 17th of January, 1576, the General Congregation, through S. L. A. S. Montald. Sixt. Caraffa, declares that nothing can be asserted which is not in conformity with the Vulgate, even though it be one sentence, or a phrase or clause, or a word, or a syllable, or even an iota." Richard Simon found this declaration reproduced by Leo Allatius. It appears to be a plain forgery. Its original was never found, though diligent search was made in the archives of Rome. Franzelin declares that Father Perrone had informed him that Pius IX. had declared, by word of mouth, that even if the declaration did exist, nothing more was commanded thereby than that one should not reject the Vulgate in matters of faith and morals. (Franz. *De Trad.* p. 563.)

And in any case, this congregation had naught to do with matters of faith. The decree is either a forgery, or a disciplinary ruling of a council, and avails naught in the present question.

2.—They insist on the former decree, which binds us to receive the books with all their parts. Now, they say, every word is a part.

The very enunciation of this proposition shows its absurdity. Every word is a mathematical part of the books, but it is not a moral part in the sense that the Council spoke. They were legislating against those who rejected the deuterocanonical parts of the Holy Books and certain passages of the Gospels, and, in virtue of their decree, every integral part of the books is sacred and canonical. And they meant not by this to imply that there was an absolute conformity between these parts and the original inspired text, but that the inspired truths had substantially endured in all the parts of the books. The Holy Ghost only guided them in the truth of the proposition, and in a general supervision of the words of their decree, so that in clothing their thoughts with words, the Fathers spoke as human agents, and their diction may at times come short of absolute clearness. The history of the several decrees and the scope of their legislation aid us in seizing the real sense of the decrees. Hence, we hold simply the divinity and canonicity of *the parts*, as that term was taken in the mind of the Fathers. Hence, the decree only contemplates the substantial integrity of all the books. This allows that even whole sentences should be wanting from the Vulgate that are genuine in the original, and that there may be whole sentences in the Vulgate which never were in the original, provided no error is in them contained. And there may be sentences in the Vulgate of dogmatic import, whose sense is not that of the original, provided in the same way that nothing contrary to faith or morals could result therefrom. The Vulgate reproduces sufficiently the substance of God's written message, and leaves a legitimate field to the science of textual criticism.

Hence, we are not prevented by the decree of the Vulgate from correcting the Latin of the Vulgate: "Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur," (I. Cor. XV. 5.), in accordance with the Greek, to: "Omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur."

The text is dogmatic, and although the Vulgate has not brought out Paul's idea, it contains no error, for all men shall arise, and all shall not put on the incorruption of the elect. We maintain also that the character of the famous verse I. Jo. V. 7. must be treated independently of the Council's decree. That it contains no error we know from the authority that they gave to the book. Whether it was in the genuine Epistle of St. John or not, must be decided by means of the data of textual criticism.

3.—The third argument of the adversaries hardly deserves mention. They maintain that if we are not to reject the Vulgate on any pretext, it results that we can not reject any verse or word of it.

This is mere cavil. The Council's decree here is only disciplinary, and relates to the rejection of passages wherein is contained some substantial truths of Scripture. The very conception of the argument of the opposition is an insult to the intelligence of the Fathers of Trent.

We shall not speak of the many errors recognizable in the Vulgate. We have built a basis, and in our exegesis of the Holy Text we shall judge the several passages in accordance with the data here explained.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CORRECTION OF THE VULGATE.

The second abuse which the Council of Trent was to remedy was the corruption of the Latin codices, and the remedy was that by the authority of the Pope a correct edition of the Vulgate might be submitted to the Council, and approved by the Pope. The work of emending the Vulgate was judged by the Fathers of Trent to be so easy in execution that a corrected copy might be sent to them while yet assembled in council. On the 24th of April, 1546, Card. Cervini had written to Rome: "*Staremo adunque aspettando che voi ci mandiate presto una bella Bibbia corretta et emendata per poter stamparla.*" (Vercellone, l. c. p. 84.) But it took forty years to execute the correction recommended by the Council of Trent.

In the present work we can only treat briefly of the immense labor that was expended on this emendation. Ungarelli and Vercellone have ably written the history of the correction of the Vulgate.

The first movement to execute the Council's recommendation was made by the University of Louvain. The Dominican, John Henten (†1566) was appointed by the faculty to revise the Vulgate. Henten brought to the task a fair knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. The work appeared at Louvain in 1547, under the title: *Biblia Latina ad Vetustissima exemplaria recenscastigata*. Henten collated about twenty codices in the preparation of this work, but none of his codices go back beyond the tenth century, so that the edition can not be con-

sidered a great critical work. The work of Henten was very favorably received, and many editions of it were issued by the press at Louvain.

After the death of Henten, the faculty of Louvain selected Lucas of Bruges to revise the work. He was assisted by Molanus, Hunnaeus, Reinerius and Harlem. Henten's text was allowed to stand, but the revisers added an *Apparatus Criticus* from upwards of sixty codices. The edition was printed by Plantin. These Bibles enjoyed great authority, and were of service to the Roman correctors of the Vulgate.

The Council of Trent closed on the fourth of December, 1563. Immediately after its close, Pius IV. commissioned four Cardinals to restore the text of the Vulgate to its pristine purity. The Cardinals were Mark Antony Colonna, William Sirleti, Louis Madrutius, and Antony Caraffa. Sirleti was considered the greatest linguist of his age.*

The first of their labors was the accurate collation of the Codex Paulinus, which Sirleti held in high esteem.

Under Pius V. the correction of the Vulgate was hindered for the reason that the learned men were occupied in correcting the Breviary, Missal and Martyrology. Pius V. was by no means negligent in the great work of correcting the Vulgate, and for this reason appointed the most learned men of Rome to cooperate in the work. Principal among the theologians

* Sirleti was born in Calabria in Italy in 1514. He studied at Naples, and acquired such a command of Hebrew, Greek and Latin that they became as his mother tongue. He studied mathematics, philosophy and theology in Greek, and was considered one of the most learned men of his age. He was held in great esteem by Pope Marcellus II. Pius IV. thought so highly of him that he committed to his care his nephew Charles Borromeo, and at Charles' request he created Sirleti Cardinal. After the death of Pius IV., there was thought of creating Sirleti Pope, but the judgment prevailed of those who thought that the drift of his mind was too much given to letters, to permit a strong practical administration in those stormy times. He was chosen as one of the revisers of the Vulgate by Pius IV. and continued on that Congregation under his successor Pius V. He assisted in revising the Missal and Breviary under Paul V. and was also at the head of the Vatican Library. He enriched the Library by many valuable works in the Oriental, Greek, and Latin languages. He was beneficent in character, and greatly assisted needy students. He died in 1583. His contemporaries, without reserve, place him as the first scriptural scholar of his age. One of them declared "that the dreams of Sirleti were more learned than the waking creations of many learned men; for often in sleep he was heard to discourse in Greek and Latin of some difficult theme." (Eggs, *Purpura Docta*, I. 5, 11). Latinus Latinus declared in a letter to Masius (*Op. Latini Tom. II. p. 134*) that from personal knowledge he judged Sirleti alone to equal all the others who were associated with him in correcting the Vulgate. This remarkable man has left nothing of importance in writing.

were Antonio Agellius and Emmanuel Sa. The commission proceeded slowly, and with great labor. From the 28th of April to the 7th of December of the year 1569, they spent in revising Genesis and Exodus. The theologians had held twenty-six general conferences before the Cardinals to confer on this portion of their labors. The fundamental error of the time was to consider the work easy, and to be performed quickly. Without doubt those men had selected the right method, and if vexation over the delay had not obstructed their labors, we might have had a much better text.

Card. Buoncompagno succeeded Pius V. in 1572, and took the name of Gregory XIII. He was one of the first canonists of his age, and as such had sat in the Council of Trent. He brought to completion the correction of the liturgical books, and then turned his attention to the correction of the Calendar and the revision of the Corpus Juris. His claim to immortality in history rests mainly on the correction of the Calendar, a work much needed and well wrought.

At this juncture a remarkable man came into important relations in the Church. This was Card. Peretti.*

He moved Gregory XIII. to add to the body commissioned to revise the Vulgate, certain consulting theologians, chief among whom were Robert Bellarmine, Peter Morini, and Flaminius Nobilius. The design of Peretti was to correct first

*Felix Peretti was born in 1521, in a small village of the Marches of Ancona. His father was a vine-dresser, and being unable to rear the boy, gave him to a farmer, who set him to herd sheep and swine. While thus engaged, a Franciscan monk passed that way, who was at a loss to find the road to Ascoli. Felix directed him and accompanied him to the convent. The Franciscans, recognizing the natural endowments of the youth, instructed him. He entered the Order, and became an able philosopher and theologian. He was ordained priest in 1545, and soon after, was created doctor and appointed professor at Sienna. It was at this juncture that he took the name of Montaltus, by which he is sometimes known. He became famous as a preacher, was made consulter of the Inquisition and procurator-general of his Order. Pius V. made him general of his Order and then Cardinal. We are informed by Gregory Leti that during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. Peretti aspired to the Papal throne, and that to promote his design, he withdrew somewhat from public affairs, affected feeble health, and seemed intent only on preparing for death. On the death of Gregory XIII. there was a deadlock in the conclave, and they finally agreed on Card. Peretti and elected him Pope on the 24th of April, 1585. He took the name of Sixtus V.

As soon as he was assured of his election, he threw away his cane, stood erect, and intoned the *Te Deum* in a voice that shook the chapel walls. Whether we accept this account or not, it is certainly true that often, when men are called to elect a man for an office which they themselves ambition, in their inability to place themselves in the coveted place, they will be disposed to favor the candidacy of one whose condition of health and period of

the Septuagint, which was then to be used to revise the Vulgate. When Peretti succeeded Gregory XIII., he prosecuted this design with his usual energy, and in the second year of his pontificate (Oct. 8, 1856), published the best edition of the Septuagint that we have ever received. See page 490. With equal energy, he next took up the revision of the Vulgate. He placed at the disposition of the commission the best codices that he could obtain. He even took active part in the collation of these codices. The number of the members of the commission was increased. Antonio Agellius († 1608) who was very capable in Hebrew and Greek, compared dubious readings with the Greek and Hebrew texts. Card. Caraffa presided over the whole work, and at the end of two years of assiduous labor, the completed correction was delivered to the Pope. The scope of the revisers was simply to restore the text of Jerome to its pristine state. They did not contemplate the removal of the errors which Jerome committed. At times, however, where the reading of Jerome could not be determined with certainty, they employed the original text to establish the genuine sense of Scripture. The method of these men, their reputation for learning and the care and labor that they bestowed on the Vulgate, warrant that the result of their labors was excellent. But the action of the

life foreshow a short incumbency, for the reason that they may thus again be allowed to contend for the coveted place. It is certain that such causes have been active in the election of more than one Pope.

The election of Sixtus V. was providential. He was a man of great energy of character, and a man of action. The land was a prey to libertinage, brigandage, and all sorts of violence. Sixtus met this state of things by a terrible rigor. He caused to be erected special gallows to punish immediately those guilty of licentiousness during the carnival. Before his time a maiden dared not walk the streets without fear of violence. The nobles had been unrestrained in their treatment of the daughters of the plebeians. Sixtus made adultery punishable by death. Even a husband who refused to denounce an adulterous wife was condemned to death. Brigands and robbers of every sort were hunted down and hanged. By these measures, Sixtus restored the sanctity of law among a people who can only be held to law by fear. He erected the famous obelisk in the Piazza of St. Peter's, enlarged and embellished the Vatican Palace, enriched the Vatican Library, reorganized the Congregation of the Holy Office and the Congregation of Rites, and decreed that the number of Cardinals should not exceed seventy. This number has been observed by his successors. Excess of labor wore him out, and he died in 1590, after a pontificate of five years. The Roman people broke his statue in pieces in testimony of their hatred of his severity, but this very fact entitles him to our greater commendation. By his very rigor, he was able to disband the soldiers, and uphold the law by the force of his own character. All things considered, Sixtus V. must be considered as a credit to the Papacy.

Pope entered to frustrate, in large part, this result. The commission had made much use of the Codex Amiatinus which the Pope held in little esteem. Moreover, the corrected text differed much from the Bibles of Louvain which Sixtus prized. He, therefore, read carefully their work, approved what he pleased of it, and rejected a great part. Card. Caraffa protested, but in vain.

Sixtus, to his energy of character, added a certain stubborn, excessive trust, in his own judgment. His action here is inexcusable, and rendered void the conscientious labors of the best talent of Italy. After thus inducing these changes, Sixtus committed the printing of the work to Aldo Manuzio, who had succeeded his father as printer at the Vatican press. The Augustinian Angelo Bocca and Francis Toleti, S. J., were appointed to see the work through the press. The Pope himself read every page as it came from the press. The work appeared in a magnificent volume in 1590.

The text is preceded by the famous Bull, "Aeternus ille", of Sixtus V. The text of the Bull is given in full in Cornely, *op. cit.*, p. 465, et seqq.

Protestant's allege the bull as an evidence of the Pope's fallibility in doctrine. Wherefore, we shall examine some of its salient points. The bull bears the date of the Kalends of March 1589, and, as Sixtus testified to the Venetian Legate on the third of the following July that the Book of Wisdom was then in press, and as numerous typographical errors were corrected before the edition was given to the public, we must infer that Sixtus wrote the bull in view of a future fact, and it is probable that the bull never was promulgated. But our defense of papal infallibility rests not on this data. The bull contains doctrinal import and disciplinary measures. These latter were unwise, and were prudently set aside by his successor. But in matters doctrinal, no man can find aught that is repugnant to Catholic faith in the bull. The constitution opens with a prolix description of the origin, and history of the Holy Scriptures. The Pope speaks of the various readings of the codices and their causes. And then declares that in these many various readings nothing was ever found which could injure faith or morals. This position no man can shake. The pontiff commends the Council of Trent for its remedial measure, and regrets that its execution has been deferred. He next speaks of the active part which he had taken in the revision, in which he states that he had expended many hours every day in judging of the labors of others, and selecting what seemed

good. He had founded a fine printing press for the express work of printing these editions, and he had read the press-proofs of the work. He declares, moreover, that it was not his mind to edit a new translation of the Vulgate, "*sed ut Vulgata Vetus ex Tridentinae Synodi praescripto emendatissima, pristinaeque suae puritati, qualis primum ab ipsius interpretis manu styloque prodierat, quoad fieri potest, restituta imprimatur.*" He declares at times that, where the Latin data was hopelessly defective, the sense had been sought from the Hebrew and Greek text. Sixtus testifies of his great veneration for Jerome, and insists repeatedly that care was taken not to change that which had grown venerable in the Church. He also declares that he had cut off the Third and Fourth book of Ezra, the Third of Maccabees and the prayer of Manasseh, and certain other passages which were interpolated in the Vulgate.

At length the pontiff comes to this point: "With certain knowledge, and in plenitude of our apostolic authority, we establish and declare that the Latin Vulgate which was received by the Council of Trent is without doubt or controversy this very edition which we have now corrected as best we were able and caused to be printed in the Vatican press, and we publish it to be read in the universal Christian world, and in all the Christian churches, declaring that this edition, which was sanctioned by the use of the Christian people, by the consensus of the holy Fathers, by the decree of Trent, and which is now approved by the authority of the apostolic power given us by the Lord, is to be received as true, lawful, authentic, and undoubted, in all public and private disputations, and the public reading, preaching, and exposition of Scripture. And we strictly forbid for all future times any one to print the text of this edition of the Vulgate without the express permission of the Holy See; and let no one even privately make for himself another edition; and let no one during the next ten years dare to print this our corrected Vulgate elsewhere than in the Vatican press. And after the lapse of ten years, we order that no one shall dare print the Holy Scriptures except in accordance with the exemplar from the Vatican press, and having the authorization of the Inquisitor, or, if there be no deputy of the inquisition in the place, of the ordinary of the place, and we order that there shall be no change in anything."

The pontiff then forbids all marginal readings in the text, orders that all liturgical books be corrected in accordance with his edition, and declares to be without authority all other Latin

texts. The constitution closes with the usual formula of promulgation, with an excommunication upon those who should dare infringe the bull, and is signed: "Rome, at S. Maria Maggiore, A. D. 1589, the Kalends of March, the fifth year of our pontificate."

The only affirmation that is here contained is that his edition was the Vulgate of Trent. This is true, and could have been made of faith. The Vulgate, even before he or any other man corrected a word of it, was the Vulgate of Trent, and contained the substantial word of God. God had not permitted the Latin Scripture to become substantially corrupt. He did not permit them to become thus corrupt in the Sixtine edition. While we deny that the bull was ever promulgated, and though it finds no place in the Roman *Bullarium*, there is no doctrinal falsehood in it.

As to its disciplinary enactment, all must agree that it was unwise and excessive. It was never imposed on the faithful, and the Providence of God brought it about that the Church suffered not from this Pope's unwise use of power. In fact, it seems that Pope Sixtus V. was unduly prone to exercise his power.

Sixtus' work was done when order had been restored, and the law upheld in Italy. In times of peace he was not equally valuable to the Church. He died before his edition of the Vulgate was given to the public. After his death, by universal consent, it was judged necessary to correct the edition. The typographical part was poorly done. Waxed paper was pasted over certain errors, and in other places cancelations in ink were apparent.

The immediate successor of Sixtus V., Urban VII., died thirteen days after his election. Gregory XIV. succeeded in 1590, and immediately consulted with the Congregation as to what action was to be taken on the Vulgate of Sixtus. The tide of feeling ran high against Sixtus V., and the members of the Congregation moved that the work of Sixtus be proscribed. Bellarmine more wisely moved that the edition be corrected with all possible haste and then published, that the credit of the defunct Pope might be saved, and the scandal of the people averted.

The counsel of Bellarmine prevailed and Gregory at once instituted a congregation of seven cardinals and twelve theologians to revise the sixtine edition. Card. Mark Antony Colonna presided over all the deliberations of the congrega-

tion; and principal among the theologians were Agellius, Bellarmine, Morini, Toleti, and Rocca. The Pope was consulted on the most difficult passages.

The congregation proposed as a leading canon in the work not to make a change from the accepted reading unless necessity required it.

The congregation spent forty days in the examination of Genesis.

It became evident that, in this mode of procedure, years would be required for the revision.

Moved by this consideration Pope Gregory dissolved the congregation, and organized a new body. He placed at the head of the new organization two cardinals, Antony Caraffa, Sr., and William Allen.*

Under the direction of these two Cardinals, eight theologians worked, principal among whom were Bellarmine, Morini, Agellius, Rocca, and Valverde. They withdrew to the palace of the Colonna at Zagarolo, and, according to the inscription placed in the palace in 1723, they finished their labors in nineteen days. The great work had been done by those who had labored before them in the correction, and they had only to select the best of what others had collected. In October of 1591 they offered the corrected copy to Gregory XIV. In the same month Gregory XIV. died. Innocent X., who succeeded him, died on the 30th of the following December.

In January of 1592, Clement VIII. was created Pope, and his first care was to complete the correction of the Vulgate. He appointed the two Cardinals, Frederick Borromeo and Augustus Valerius, to supervise the work, and commissioned Toleti, S. J., to cooperate with them. The Cardinals confided the whole work to Toleti. This eminent man wrote upon the wide margins of the Sixtine edition, the corrections which had been recommended by the Gregorian Congregation, and also, in certain places, recommended certain readings which he had

*William Allen was born at Rossal in England in 1532. He completed a brilliant course of study at Oxford, but was exiled from England for adherence to the Catholic faith. He fled to Louvain, and thence to Malines, where he was ordained priest in 1565. After a journey to Rome in 1567, he fixed his abode at Douay, where he founded the English Catholic College to prepare priests for England. He was ever intent in aiding his exiled compatriots, and in laboring for the conversion of England. His biographer, Fitzherbert, declares of him: "*Homo natus ad Angliæ salutem.*"

He executed the famous Catholic translation of Scriptures, called the Douay version. He was created Cardinal in 1587 by Sixtus V., and appointed a member of the Sixtine Congregation to revise the Vulgate. He died at Rome in 1594.

approved by collation of the best MSS. On the 28th of August, 1592, Toleti's work was submitted to the Cardinals and approved by them, and Rocca was commissioned to write them on the margin of a copy of the Sixtine edition for the printer.

At this point Valverde interposed an objection. Being an able Hebraist, he bore it ill that the Vulgate had not in all places been rendered conformable to the Massoretic text. He presented to the Pope a libellus, wherein were over two hundred passages in which the Vulgate differed from the Hebrew. The Pope took counsel, and after mature deliberation, forbade Valverde ever, in word or writing, to treat of this difference. Such treatment of a man seems to us harsh, and subversive of human liberty, but we must consider the nature of the fact and the circumstances. The proposition of Valverde was against the first design in all the corrections, which was not to re-translate the Scriptures from the Hebrew, but to restore the pristine text of the Vulgate. The divergencies were not in matters of faith or morals; in many cases the Massoretic text has no more claim to purity than the Vulgate; the people were waiting for the Bible, and prone to ugly rumors regarding the delay; to put into execution Valverde's proposition, would have necessitated a long period of toil, for they could not adopt his readings on his sole authority; scholars can always collate the two texts, so that no real necessity existed for the change; and finally, had Valverde been allowed to speak his views to the public, the protestants would have raised a great cry against the Latin text of the Catholic Church, and faith would have suffered thereby. There were but two ways, either to do what he advised, or restrain him from speaking. The former was not possible at that time; the latter was wisely adopted.

If it be not presumption, I express here a regret, that the authorities of the Church did not at that time, by the labors of those great linguists and theologians, make a translation of the entire Scriptures, as far as possible, from the original texts, employing in the work the Vulgate only for reference, and inasmuch as it helped to the full meaning of the original text. They may have thought that such a move would be interpreted to signify that the text of the Latin Scriptures had been unreliable, but a comparison of the two texts would have convinced all that the substantial truths of God's covenants were safely contained in the Vulgate, and this would have repelled the false accusation.

Clement VIII. appointed Toleti to supervise the printing of the Vulgate; and Angelo Rocca to correct the proofs. The edition was pushed rapidly forward, and completed before the end of 1592. And thus, at last, the design formulated in 1546 by the Fathers of the Council of Trent, and approved by the Pope, was put in effect, and the Church received an authentic version of Scripture.

The edition differed not in external form from the Sixtine edition. It was printed by Aldo Manuzio, who had printed the edition of Sixtus. Moreover, it bore at first the name of Sixtus in its title: "*Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita.*" It was not till 1641 that the name of Clement VIII. was placed in the title page, and the honor of the work was given to whom it by right belonged. Since that time it is called the Clementine edition. It differs from the Sixtine edition in over three thousand texts.

The preface of the Clementine edition, which is supposed to have been written by Bellarmine and Toleti, candidly admits that certain things "*quae mutanda videbantur*" were left unchanged to avoid the scandal of the people, and because there was some doubt whether the original texts had remained in such passages free from corruption.

The edition, therefore, does not lay claim to absolute perfection, but it is, without doubt, the best translation of the Scriptures in any language. Yet, we still think that the Church with her immense resources, human and divine, could prepare a better edition, and we look forward to future times to add this glory to the works of the Catholic Church.

The difference between the Sixtine and Clementine editions was made the subject of a fierce attack on papal infallibility by Thomas James, in a work entitled "*Bellum Papale*," London, 1600. He has been ably refuted by Henry Bukentop, in the excellent work "*אור מאור, Lux de Luce*," Brussels, 1710. The line of defense is the same as we have pointed out in treating of Pope Sixtus' work.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MODERN ENGLISH VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

The calumny is often put upon the Church that she withheld the Scriptures from the people.

We live in an age of universal shallow enlightenment. Nothing is more subversive of faith than this smattering of

knowledge. The general tendency of varied superficial knowledge is to make people irreligious. Broad, deep, true knowledge would lead to God, but the great number never attain this. The knowledge obtained by many is just sufficient to destroy reverence, generate intellectual pride, and make the man intolerant of all restraint. Even the man of the humblest intellectual attainments imbibes the superficial philosophy of those with whom he comes in contact, and loses some of his faith and his reverence.

I am speaking especially of America, and I endorse heartily the following description of American thought by Wendell Phillips: "The most objectionable feature of our national character is self-conceit,—an undue appreciation of ourselves, an exaggerated estimate of our achievements, of our inventions, of our contributions to popular comfort, and of our place, in fact, in the great procession of the ages. We seem to imagine that, whether knowledge will die with us or not, it certainly began with us. We have a pitying estimate, a tender compassion, for the narrowness, ignorance and darkness of bygone ages. We seem to ourselves not only to monopolize, but to have begun the era of light. In other words, we are all running over with a fourth-day-of-July spirit of self-content. I am often reminded of the German, whom the English poet, Coleridge, met at Frankfort. He always took off his hat with profound respect when he ventured to speak of himself. It seems to me, the American people might be painted in the chronic attitude of taking off its hat to itself."

The only thing that is valuable in human life is the service that comes to the Creator out of it, and certainly the so-called spread of enlightenment has not augmented this. It is not to be said that religion thrives in ignorance, and hates the light, but she hates that false light which travesties her real nature. It would be better that a people should be ignorant of this shoddy education, and well taught the truths of God and his law, where full, deep knowledge is unattainable. "Shallow draughts of knowledge intoxicate the brain, but drinking largely sobers us again."

Now the Church, with a wisdom greater than man's, wisely regulated the reading of the Bible by the masses. Many things in the Bible are hard to understand, and the man of little knowledge would often wrest these to his own destruction. Large use was always made in the Catholic Church of the Scriptures of God. They were explained to the people, and those portions which they could understand, mainly the

Gospels and the Psalms, were put into their hands, but the Church never misunderstood Christ, that she should convert the world by placing the text of the Bible in the vulgar tongue in the hands of the people. The Church has yielded to the exigencies of the times to prevent greater evil, and has made more concessions in this regard than is good for man. I believe to-day that the indiscriminate reading of the Bible in the vernacular is not for the best interests of man. Hence we see that in England some parts of Scripture, which were adapted to the people's use, were translated centuries before the whole Bible was translated.

It is very doubtful whether the entire Scriptures have ever been translated into Anglo-Saxon. We have no traditionary account of a complete version, and all the biblical MSS. in Anglo-Saxon now in existence contain but select portions of the sacred volume. The poems on sacred subjects usually attributed to Cædmon, afford the first feeble indications of an attempt being made by the Saxons to convey the truths of Scripture in their vernacular tongue. Cædmon lived in the seventh century; he was a monk in the monastery of Streonshalch in Northumbria. His poems have been strung together so as to form a sort of metrical paraphrase on some of the historical books of Scripture. He commences with the fall of the angels, the creation and fall of man, and proceeds to the history of the deluge, carrying on his narrative to the history of the children of Israel, and their wanderings in the desert. He also touches on the history of Nebuchadnezzar and of Daniel. The authenticity of this work has been doubted, some writers being of opinion that it was written by different writers at different periods; the striking similarity between some of the poems and certain passages in Milton's *Paradise Lost* has been repeatedly noticed. Two editions have been printed; the first by Francis Junius at Amsterdam in 1655, and the second, with an English translation and notes, by Mr. Thorpe, in London, in 1832.

The literal versions of such portions of the Scripture as have been translated into Anglo-Saxon have chiefly been transmitted to us in the form of interlineations of Latin MSS. A Latin Psalter, said to have been sent by Pope Gregory to Augustine, is still preserved among the Cottonian MSS., and contains an Anglo-Saxon interlinear version, of which the date is unknown. Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, and Guthlac, the first Anglo-Saxon anchorite, translated the Psalms soon after the commencement of the eighth century, but their MSS. are

lost, and nothing is known with certainty respecting them. The same may be said concerning the portions of Scripture reported to have been translated by the Venerable Bede. At the time of his death, this renowned historian was engaged in a translation of the Gospel of St. John, and almost with his latest breath he dictated to his amanuensis the closing verse of the Gospel. Alfred the Great also took part in the translation of the Scriptures. He translated the commandments in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and part of the three following chapters, which he affixed to his code of laws. He likewise kept a "hand-boc," in which he daily entered extracts from various authors, but more especially verses of Scripture translated by himself from Latin into Anglo-Saxon.

There are three different versions of the Four Gospels at present known to be in existence. The most ancient of these is the famous Northumbrian Gloss, or Durham Book, preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. This MS. is one of the finest specimens extant of Saxon writing. The Vulgate Latin text of the Four Gospels was written by Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, about A. D. 680; his successor in the See adorned the book with curious illuminations, and with bosses of gold and precious stones; and a priest named Aldred added an interlinear gloss or version, probably about the year 900. The second Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels belongs to the tenth century, and was written by Farmen and Owen at Harewood, or Harwood, over Jerome's Latin of the Four Gospels. The Latin text was written about the same period as that of the Durham Book, having been made during the seventh century. This valuable MS. is in the Bodleian Library, and is called the Rushworth Gloss, from the name of one of its former proprietors. The other translation of the Gospels was made by an unknown hand, apparently not long before the Norman conquest, and is thought to have been translated from the Latin version which was in use before Jerome's time.

Two editions of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter have been published. The first appeared in 1640; it was printed in London under the care of Spelman, from an ancient MS. by an unknown translator, and collated with other MSS. of equal antiquity. This version was undoubtedly made from the Latin Vulgate, which interlines with the Anglo-Saxon. A splendid edition of the Psalms was published in 1835 at Oxford: the MS. which forms the text formerly belonged to the Duc de Berri, the brother of Charles V., king of France, and was preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. Mr. Thorpe, the editor

attributed this MS. to the eleventh century; and by some it is supposed to be a transcript of the version executed by Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, in the early part of the eighth century. It is, however, rather a paraphrase than a version, and is written, partly in prose, and partly in metre.

A partial interlinear translation of a Latin version of Proverbs, made in the tenth century, is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. To the same century belong the celebrated translations of Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury: they consist of the Heptateuch, or first seven books of the Bible, and the book of Job. An edition of this version was published by Mr. Thwaites, at Oxford, in 1699, from an unique MS. belonging to the Bodleian Library; the book of Job was printed from a transcript of a MS. in the Cottonian Library. Ælfric in some portions of his version adheres literally to the text; but in some parts he appears to aim at producing a condensation, or abridgment, rather than a translation of the events related by the inspired historian. Like the other Anglo-Saxon fragments, his translation was made from the Latin version.

A few MSS. of the Psalms, written shortly before, or about the time of the Norman Conquest are extant, and show the gradual decline of the Anglo-Saxon language. The history of the language may still farther be traced in three MSS. yet in existence, which were made after the arrival of the Normans. They are MSS. of the same translation, and two of them are attributed to the reign of Henry the Second: but the language in which they are written is no longer pure Anglo-Saxon; it has merged into what is designated the Anglo-Norman.

The exact period of the transmutation of Saxon into English has been disputed, but it seems most reasonable to believe that the process was gradual. A fragment of the Saxon Chronicle, published by Lye, and concluding with the year 1079, exhibits the language in the first stage of its transition state, no great deviation having then been made from Anglo-Saxon. But in the continuation of the same chronicle, from 1135 to 1140 A. D., the commencement of those changes may be distinctly traced, which subsequently formed the distinctive peculiarities of the English language. The principal change introduced about this period was the gradual substitution of particles and auxiliary words for the terminal inflections of the Anglo-Saxon. The English has happily retained the facility of its parent language in compounding words, the only difference in this respect being, that, in the formation of its com-

pound terms, the Anglo-Saxon drew only from its own resources, whereas the English has had recourse to the Latin, the Greek, the French, the Italian, and other languages. It has been remarked by a distinguished foreigner, that "everywhere the principle of utility and application dominates in England, and constitutes at once the physiognomy and the force of its civilization." This principle is certainly legible in its language, which although possessed of remarkable facility in the adaptation of foreign terms and even idioms to its own use, is at the same time free from the trammels with which the other languages of its class are encumbered. In the gender of nouns, for instance, we meet with no perplexity or anomaly, every noun being masculine, feminine, or neuter, according to the nature of the object or idea it represents; and as the adjectives are all indeclinable, their concordance with the noun is at once effected without the apparently useless trouble of altering the final letters. This perfect freedom from useless encumbrance adds greatly to the ease and vigor of expression.

After the gradual disappearance of the Anglo-Saxon and evolution of the English language, the Anglo-Saxon versions became useless from the alteration in the language, and until the fourteenth century the efforts made to produce a new translation were few and feeble. An ecclesiastic named Orm, or Ormin, supposed from his dialect to have been a native of the North of England, composed a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels and Acts, in lines of fifteen syllables, during the latter part of the twelfth century. This work is entitled the *Ormulum*, from the name of its author, and is preserved in the Bodleian Library. A more extensive metrical paraphrase, comprising the Old and New Testaments, is to be found amongst other poetry of a religious nature in a work entitled *Sowle-hele* (Soul's health), belonging to the Bodleian Library: it is usually ascribed to the end of the twelfth century. Another metrical version, probably of the same date, is preserved in *Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge: it comprises only the first two books of the Old Testament, and is written in the dialect then spoken in the north of England. In the same College, a metrical version of the Psalms, apparently written about the year 1300, has been deposited: this version adheres to the Latin Psalter, corrected by Jerome, as closely as the nature of the composition will admit. Several other MSS. of the old English Psalter, preserved in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, are supposed to be exemplars of the same version,

with the orthography altered in conformity with the state of the language at the periods in which they were written. A translation of the Psalms from the same text (the corrected Latin of Jerome), was executed by Richard Rolle, of Hampole, near Doncaster, during the early part of the fourteenth century. This version is remarkable as being the first portion of the Scriptures ever translated into English prose. Rolle, or Hampole as he is more generally called, also wrote a paraphrase in verse of a part of Job. Two other versions of the Psalms, belonging to the same period, are likewise extant. In Bene't College, Cambridge, there is a version of Mark, Luke, and the Pauline Epistles, but the translator and the date are unknown; and in the British Museum there is a translation of the Gospels appointed to be read on Sundays, written in the northern dialect.

A version has been commonly ascribed to John de Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley in Gloucestershire, who flourished toward the close of the fourteenth century; but he only translated a few detached passages, which he introduced in certain parts of his writings. Some texts translated by him were painted on the walls of the chapel belonging to Berkeley Castle.

During the years from 1378 to 1380, John Wiclif translated the entire Scripture from the Latin Vulgate.*

Although Wiclif's version of the English Bible was the earliest in point of execution, yet, as the art of printing was unknown during the age in which it was produced, it was among the latest of the English versions in being committed to the press. The first printed edition was published in 1731, by Mr. Lewis. This edition, which was preceded by a history of the English biblical translations, by the editor, included only the New Testament. The same version of the New Testament was re-edited in 1810 by H. H. Baber, with prolego-

*John Wiclif was born in York in 1324. He studied at Oxford, and by intrigues afterwards obtained the position of master in Balliol College from which post the friars had been ousted. The friars appealed to the Pope, and he restored them. Wiclif then raised his voice against Rome and the temporal power.

The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned Wiclif to defend himself before a Council held at London in 1377. The powerful Duke of Lancaster defended him, and he was absolved by the Council. Wiclif was in grace with the State because he advocated the giving of church property to the State. He was again summoned to a Council at Lambeth, and escaped condemnation. The bishops of England, servile to the State, winked at heresy. Those were the days of the Schism at Rome between Urban VI. and the antipope. Clement VII. The time was apt for the theories of Wiclif. He preached much, and his writings were spread through the realm. In 1382 the Arch

mena. It was again published with extreme accuracy in 1841, as a portion of the English Hexapla, the best MSS. having been most carefully collated for this purpose by George Offor, Esq.; a MS. then in the possession of the Duke of Sussex was used as the basis of this edition. Another edition was published by Pickering in 1848: it is printed from a contemporary MS. written about A. D. 1380, formerly in the monastery of Sion, and now preserved in the collection of Lea Wilson, F. S. A. The Old Testament of Wiclif's version remained in MS. till within the last few years; but a complete edition of both Testaments was published at Oxford, in 1850, under the editorship of J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden.

The first printed edition of portions of the English protestant Bible was that of William Tyndale, an apostate priest, hanged and burnt at Vilvoorde near Brussels in 1537.

Tyndale fled from England, and went to Hamburg, where in 1524, he printed an English version of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, consisting of thirty-one leaves.

From Hamburg he proceeded to Cologne, where he arrived in the end of April or in the beginning of May 1525, accompanied by his amanuensis, William Roye. Here he completed the New Testament, which was printed in quarto by Peter Quentel. A fragment of this, which was not discovered until the year 1834, is in the library of the Honorable Thomas Grenville, in England. It comprises "The Prologge" in part of the Gospel of St. Matthew. From Cologne, Tyndale proceeded to Worms, where, in the same year, he completed what has hitherto been usually termed his first edition of the New Testament. It was printed by P. Schoyffer in 18mo. A copy of this New Testament, wanting only the title page, (the only copy in this state now known) is in possession of the Baptist Museum at Bristol. From this edition the London reprint

bishop of Canterbury condemned, in a Council held at London, 24 propositions of Wiclif, in which among other errors he denied the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist; affirmed that priest or bishop in state of mortal sin could not baptise, consecrate or ordain; declared that confession was useless to a contrite man; denied that Christ instituted the Mass; declared that, if the Pope were in sin, he had no authority over the faithful; that it was against the Scriptures for the ecclesiastics to have property; and declared that after Urban VI. the primacy of Peter had failed, and the nations should be free in the government of the national church. Wiclif died at Lutterworth in 1384.

The opinions of Wiclif invaded Bohemia and gave rise to the heresy of John Huss. The remarkable success of these heresiarchs is due to the fact that they extend the power of the state, and flatter the pride and independence of the human heart.

of 1836 was executed. In this undertaking Tyndale was assisted by John Fryth, who was afterwards burnt in Smithfield, and by John Roye, already mentioned, who suffered death in Portugal, on a charge of heresy. Le Long calls this edition of Tyndale's New Testament, printed in 1526, "The New Testament translated into English, from the German Version of Luther." Many copies of this translation having found their way into England, in order to prevent their dispersion among the people, and the more effectually to enforce the prohibition published in all the dioceses against reading them, Tonsal, Bishop of London, purchased all the remaining copies of this edition, and all which he could collect from private hands, and committed them to the flames at St. Paul's cross. The first impression of Tyndale's translation (as it is usually termed), being thus disposed of, a surreptitious edition of it was printed at Antwerp in 1526. Of this no copy has yet been identified in any collection. A second surreptitious edition appeared also at Antwerp in 1527, and a third in 1538-39.

In 1529 Sir Thomas More published a dialogue in which he convicts Tyndale of having mistranslated two words of great importance, viz., the words priests and church, calling the first seniors, and the second congregation.

He also charges him with changing commonly the term grace into favor, confession into knowledge, penance into repentance, and a contrite heart into a troubled heart. The Bishop of London had, indeed, in a sermon, declared, that he had found in it no less than 2000 errors, or mistranslations; and Sir Thomas More discovered about 1000 texts falsely translated. In 1530, a royal proclamation was issued, by the advice of the prelates and priests, and of the universities, for totally suppressing the translation of the Scripture, corrupted by William Tyndale. The proclamation set forth, that it was not necessary to have the Scriptures in the English tongue, and in the hands of the common people; that the distribution of them, as to allowing or denying it, depended on the discretion of their superiors; and that, considering the malignity of the time, an English translation of the Bible would rather occasion the continuance or increase of errors, than any benefit to their souls. However the proclamation announced the king's intention, if the present translation were abandoned, at a proper season to provide that the Holy Scriptures should be by great, learned, and Catholic persons, translated into the English tongue, if it should then seem convenient. In the mean time, Tyndale was busily employed. In 1530, he printed

at Marburg in Hesse (as it is supposed) his own second edition of the New Testament. He was also occupied in translating into English the five books of Moses, in which he was assisted by Miles Coverdale. The books of Genesis and Deuteronomy appeared also at Marburg in separate books. In 1531 he published the Pentateuch, with a general preface and a second edition of the book of Genesis. This was printed at various places and by various printers; its rarity is almost equal to that of the New Testament of 1525. The *only* perfect copy of it known to exist, is now in the library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville. The same year Tyndale published his translation of the Prophet Jonah, with a long prologue.

As Tyndale was ignorant of Hebrew, he made us of Luther's version in his translation of the Old Testament.

This first English translation of the entire Bible was made from the Latin and German, and dedicated to King Henry VIII. by Myles COVERDALE. It bore the following title: "The Bible, that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament faithfully and truly translated out of the Douche and Latyn into Englishe. M. D. XXXV. folio." Soon after this Bible was finished, in 1536, Lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal, and the king's vicar-general and vice-regent in ecclesiastical matters, published injunctions to the clergy by the King's authority, the seventh of which required that every parson, or proprietary of any parish church within the realm, should, before the first of August, provide a book of the whole Bible either in Latin or English, and lay it in the choir, for every man that would, to look and read therein; and should discourage no man from reading any part of the Bible either in Latin or English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read it, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of a man's soul, &c.

In 1537 appeared Matthew's Bible, under the following title:

"The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture: In whych are containyd the Olde and Newe Testament, truely and purely translated into Englysh. By Thomas MATTHEW."

It was edited by Coverdale, though it bears the name of Thomas Matthew, and it was published with the royal license, which was granted in consequence of Cranmer's application to Lord Cromwell. The Old Testament is Tyndale's to the end of the second book of Chronicles; it then becomes

a mere copy of Coverdale's Bible, with a few corrections, and continues so to the end of the Apocryphal Books, which last are inserted from Coverdale's Bible. The New Testament is wholly a transcript of Tyndale's version, as contained in his last published edition of the New Testament. In the year 1538, an injunction was published by Cromwell, as vicar-general of the kingdom, ordaining the clery to provide, before a certain festival, one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume, in English, and to set it up in some convenient place within their churches, where their parishioners might most commodiously resort to it. A royal declaration was also published, which the curates were to read in their several churches, informing the people, that it had pleased the king's majesty to permit and command the Bible, being translated into their mother-tongue, to be sincerely taught by them, and to be openly laid forth in every parish church.

In 1538, an edition in 4to. of the New Testament, in English, with Erasmus's Latin translation, was printed, with the king's license, by Redman. In this year it was resolved to revise Matthew's Bible, and to print a correct edition of it. With this view Grafton went to France, where the workmen were more skilful, and the paper was both better and cheaper than in England, and obtained permission from Francis I., at the request of King Henry VIII., to print his Bible at Paris. But, the Inquisition interposed, and issued an order, dated December 17, 1538, summoning the French printers, their English employers, and Coverdale, the corrector of the work, and prohibiting them to proceed; and the impression, consisting of 2500 copies, was seized, confiscated, and condemned to the flames. Some chests, however, of these books escaped the fire, and the English proprietors, who had fled on the first alarm, returned to Paris as soon as it subsided, and not only recovered some of these copies, but brought with them to London the presses, types, and printers, and resuming the work, finished it in the following year.

As soon as the papal power was abolished in England, and the king's supremacy settled by parliament in 1534, Cranmer was very assiduous in promoting the translation of the Holy Scripture into the vulgar tongue; well knowing how much the progress of the reformation depended upon this measure. Accordingly, he moved in convocation, that a petition should be presented to the king for leave to procure a new translation of the Bible. This motion was vigorously opposed by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and his party;

but Cranmer prevailed. The arguments for a new translation, urged by Cranmer, and enforced by Queen Anne Boleyn, who had then great interest in the king's affections, were so much considered by him, that, notwithstanding the opposition, public and private, on the part of Gardiner and his adherents, Henry gave orders for setting about it immediately. In April, 1539, Grafton and Whitchurch printed the Bible, under the following title: "The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the contents of all the holy scripture bothe of y^e olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by y^e dilygent studye of diuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. Printed by Rychard Grafton & Edward Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." From its containing a prologue or preface by Cranmer, as well as from its size, it is commonly called "Cranmer's Great Bible." A magnificent and probably unique copy of it, on vellum (bound in three volumes), which formerly belonged to Henry VIII., is preserved in the Library of the British Museum.

In 1539 Richard Taverner endeavored to revise in some measure the very corrupt Bible of Matthew. His *correction* was a further corruption.

After the death of Cromwell, King Henry was brought to see that in truth the English translations were erroneous and heretical, and although the wily Cranmer strove to defeat such project, Parliament forbade Tyndale's version, and the King soon afterward prohibited, by royal proclamation, the having and reading of Wiclif's, Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions, and forbade the use of any other than that made by Parliament.

Edward VI. revoked this decree.

In November, 1539, the king, at the intercession of Cranmer, appointed Lord Cromwell to take special care that no person within the realm should attempt to print any English Bible for five years, but such as should be admitted by Lord Cromwell; and assigns this reason for the prohibition, that the Bible should be considered and perused in one translation, in order to avoid the manifold inconveniences to which human frailty might be subject from a diversity of translations, and the ill use that might be made of it. In the year 1540, two privileged editions of the Bible, which had been printed in the preceding year, issued from the press of Edward Whitchurch. Lewis mentions three other impressions of the "Great Bible," which appeared in the course of this year; two printed by Whitchurch, and one by Peyt and Redman.

Cranmer wrote a preface for the editions of the year 1540, from which we learn the opinions and practice of those times. In May of this year, the curates and parishioners of every parish were required by royal proclamation, to provide themselves with the Bible of the largest volume before the feast of All Saints, under the penalty of 40s. for every month during which they should be without it.

During the course of this reign, that is, in less than seven years and six months, eleven impressions of the whole English Bible were published, and six of the English New Testament; besides an English translation of the whole New Testament, paraphrased by Erasmus. The Bibles were reprinted, according to the preceding editions, whether Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Cranmer's or Taverner's; that is, with a different text, and different notes. But it is doubted by the writer of the preface to King James's translation, whether there were any translation, or correction of a translation, in the course of this reign.

In 1557 William Whittingham published at Geneva the New Testament under the following title:

"The Newe Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approued translations. With the arguments as well before the chapters, as for euery Boke & Epistle, also diuersities of readings, and most proffit-able annotations of all harde places: whereunto is added a copious Table. At Geneva. Printed by Conrad Badius. 1560. 8vo."

It is the first in the English language which contains the distinction of verses by numerical figures. When Queen Elizabeth passed through London from the Tower to her coronation, a pageant was erected in Cheapside, representing Time coming out of a cave, and leading a person clothed in white silk, who represented Truth, his daughter. Truth had the English Bible in her hand, on which was written "*Verbum veritatis*." Truth addressed the queen, and presented her with the book. She kissed it, held it in her hand, laid it on her breast, greatly thanking the city for their present, and added, that she would often and diligently read it.

We could say verily that this Bible was much like Elizabeth, false and unholy.

In 1560 a translation of the entire Bible appeared at Geneva under the following title:

"The Bible: that is, the Holy Scriptures, conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the

Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages, with most profitable annotations upon all the harde places, and other things of great importance, as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. At Geneva. Printed by Rouland Hall. MDLX. 4to."

A second edition of this translation appeared in folio at London, in 1561; a third in quarto, at Geneva, in 1563; a fourth, at Geneva, in 1569. It was reprinted at London in 1575, by Thomas Vautrollier; in 1576, by Christopher Barker, in folio, and also in quarto, and many times consequently by him and by other printers. The translators are commonly said to have been Miles Coverdale, pseudo bishop of Exeter, Anthony Gilby, and William Whittingham. Besides the translation, the editors of the Geneva Bible noted in the margin the diversities of speech and reading, especially according to the Hebrew; then inserted in the text, with another kind of letter, every word that seemed to be necessary for explaining any particular sentence; in the division of the verses, they followed the Hebrew examples, and added the number to each verse; they also noted the principal matters, and the arguments, both for each book and each chapter; they set over the head of every page some remarkable word or sentence, for helping the memory; they introduced brief annotations for ascertaining the text, and explaining obscure words; they set forth with figures certain places in the books of Moses, of Kings, and Ezekiel, which could not be made intelligible by any other description; they added maps of divers places and countries mentioned in the Old and New Testament; and they annexed two tables, one for the interpretation of Hebrew names, and the other containing all the chief matters of the whole Bible. Of this translation, numerous editions were printed in folio, 4to., or 8vo., between the years 1560 and 1616.

This version is sometimes called the "Breeches Bible," because the translators rendered the תַּנְּרוֹת of Genesis III. 7, by "breeches."

In the year 1598, the Bible, proposed by the pseudo Archbishop Parker three years before, was completed. In this edition, distinct portions of the Bible, at least fourteen in number, were allotted to select men of learning and ability, appointed, as Fuller says, by the Queen's commission; but it still remains uncertain who, and whether one or more, revised the rest of the New Testament. Eight of the persons employed were pseudo bishops; whence the book was called the "Bishops' Bible," and the "Great English Bible." In a letter addressed

by Parker to Queen Elizabeth, on the publication of this edition of the Bible, we meet with the following account of what had been attempted in it:—"Amonge divers observations which have bin regarded in this recognition, one was, not to make yt vary much from that translation which was commonlye used by publicke order, except wher eyther the verytie of the Hebrue and Greke moved alteration; or wher the Text was, by sum negligence, mutilated from the originall; so that I trust your loving subjected shall se good cause, in your Majesties dayes, to thanke God, and to rejoyce to see this His Treasor of His Holy Worde so set oute, as may be proved (so far as mortall man's knowledge can attaine to, or as far forth as God hath hitherto revealed) to be faithfully handeled in the vulgar Tongue." This translation was used in the churches for forty years; though the Geneva Bible was more read in private houses.

The Bishops' Bible did not satisfy the *bishops*, and soon after King James ascended the throne, in 1602, he was moved to give orders for a new version.

Fifty-four learned men were appointed to this important labor: but, before it was commenced, seven of the persons nominated were either dead or had declined the task; for the list, as given us by Fuller, comprises only forty-seven names. They were divided into six classes. Ten were to meet at Westminster, and to translate from the Pentateuch to the end of the second book of Kings. Eight, assembled at Cambridge, were to finish the rest of the Historical Books and the Hagiographa. At Oxford, seven were to undertake the four greater prophets, with the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and the twelve minor prophets. The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse, were assigned to another company of eight, also at Oxford: and the Epistles of St. Paul, together with the remaining Canonical Epistles, were allotted to another company of seven, at Westminster. Lastly, another company at Cambridge were to translate the remaining books, including the Prayer of Manasseh.

Of this Horne testifies as follows:

"Each book passed the scrutiny of all the translators successively. In the first instance, each individual translated every book which was allotted to his division. Secondly, the readings to be adopted were agreed upon by the whole of that company assembled together, at which meeting each translator must have been solely occupied by his own version. The book, thus finished, was sent to each of the other companies to be

examined ; and at these meetings it probably was, as Selden informs us, that "one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault, they spoke ; if not, he read on." Further, the translators were empowered to call to their assistance any learned men, whose studies enabled them to be serviceable, when an urgent occasion of difficulty presented itself. The translation was commenced in the spring of 1607, and the completion of it occupied almost three years. At the expiration of that time, three copies of the whole Bible, thus translated and revised, were sent to London,—one from Oxford, one from Cambridge, and a third from Westminster. Here a committee of six, two being deputed by the companies at Oxford, two by those at Cambridge, and two by those at Westminster, reviewed and polished the whole work : which was finally revised by Dr. Smith (afterwards bishop of Gloucester), who wrote the preface, and by Dr. Bilson, bishop of Winchester. This translation of the Bible was first published in folio in 1611 : the expense attending it was wholly defrayed by Robert Barker, patentee of the office of King's printer.

After the publication of the present authorized translation, all the other versions gradually fell into disuse, with the exception of the Psalms, and the Epistles and Gospels in the Book of Common Prayer, which were still continued, the former according to the translation of Cranmer's Bible, and the latter according to that of the Bishops' Bible, until the final revision of the Liturgy, in 1661 ; at which time the Epistles and Gospels were taken from the present version, but the Psalms are still retained according to the translation of Cranmer's Bible."

King James' version possessed considerable literary excellence, and were it purged from doctrinal incorrectness, would be valuable for English readers. It often reproduces the sense of the original tongues better than any other modern version.

King James' version has very recently been revised by British and American scholars, but it is certain that this revision has robbed the English text of much of its excellence. Rev. Daniel R. Goodwin, a protestant divine, has ably shown the abortion of the revision of the New Testament. (Notes on the Late Revision of the New Testament Version : New York, 1883.)

In the year 1582, William (afterward Cardinal) Allen, Gregory Martin and Richard Bristow made a translation of the New Testament at the English Catholic college of Rheims, under the following title:

The New Testament of Iesvs Christ, translated faithfvly into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke, and other editions in diuers languages: Vvith Argvments of bookes and chapters, Annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discoverie of the Corrvptions of diuers late translations, and for cleering the Controversies in religion, of these daies: In the English College of Rhemes. Printed at Rhemes by Iohn Fogny. 1582. 4to.

Thomas Worthington affixed the notes to the text. From the place of its origin it was called the Rheims version. After the college was removed to Douay, the same scholars translated the Old Testament under the title:

The Holie Bible faithfvly translated into English ovt of the Avthentical Latin. Diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other Editions in diuers languages. With Argvments of the Bookes, and Chapters: Annotations: Tables: and other helpes for better vnderstanding of the text: for discoverie of corrvptions in some late translations: and for clearing Controversies in Religion. By the English College of Doway by Lavrence Kellam. 1609-10. 2 vols. 4to.

These being united form the Rheims-Douay Bible, the "editio princeps" of all English Catholic versions. In 1750 it was revised by Dr. Challoner, and this revision is the one usually in use.

The Rheims-Douay version is not of high critical worth. As it agrees with the Vulgate in nearly everything, it enjoys, in a certain sense, the doctrinal immunity from error of the Vulgate. This can not be said of any other existing English translation. But it also largely contains the imperfections of the Vulgate. The work of making a new translation has often been spoken of, but owing to the vastness of the enterprise, has never been put into effect. Catholic scholars recognize the need, and let us hope that ere long some ripe and good scholar may take it up and finish it. This work can not be done as a business enterprise. To execute it well, will require the true student, and the sustained study and labor of a lifetime.

The annexed plates exhibit specimens of the early English translations.

ENGLISH.

SPECIMEN, FROM ST. JOHN, CHAP. I. v. 1 to 12.

WICLIȚ, 1380.

¹ IN the bigynnyng was the word and the word was at god, and god was the word, ² this was in the bigynnyng at god, ³ alle thingis weren made bi hym: and withouten hym was made no thing, that thing that was made ⁴ in him was liif, and the liif was the list of men, ⁵ and the list schyneth in derknessis: and derknessis comprehendiden not it.

⁶ A man was sente fro god to whom the name was Ion, ⁷ this man cam in to witnessynge, that he schulde bere witnessynge of the list, that alle men schulden bileue bi hym, ⁸ he was not the list, but that he schulde bere witnessynge of the list, ⁹ ther was a verri list: whiche list-neth eche man that cometh in to this world, ¹⁰ he was in the world, and the world was made bi him: and the world knewe hym not.

¹¹ he cam in to his owne thingis: & hise resceyueden hym not: ¹² but hou many euer resceiueden hym: he gaf to hem power to be made the sonnes of god, to hem that bileueden in his name.

TYNDALE, 1534.

¹ IN the begynnyng was the worde, and the worde was with God: and the worde was God. ² The same was in the begynnyng with God. ³ All thinges were made by it, and with out it, was made nothinge, that was made. ⁴ In it was lyfe, and the lyfe was the lyght of men, ⁵ and the lyght shyneth in the darcknes, but the darcknes comprehended it not.

⁶ There was a man sent from God, whose name was Iohn. ⁷ The same cam as a wytnes to beare wytnes of the lyght, that all men through him myght beleue. ⁸ He was not that lyght: but to beare wytnes of the lyght. ⁹ That was a true lyght, which lyghteth all men that come into the worlde. ¹⁰ He was in the worlde, and the worlde was made by him: and yet the worlde knewe him not.

¹¹ He cam amonge his (awne) and his awne receaued him not. ¹² But as meny as receaued him, to them he gave power to be the sonnes of God in that they beleued on his name.

COVERDALE, 1535.

IN the begynnyng was the worde, and the worde was with God, and God was y^e worde. The same was in the begynnyng with God. All thinges were made by the same, and without the same was made nothinge that was made. In him was the life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shynaeth in the darcknesse, and the darcknesse comprehended it not.

There was sent from God a man, whose name was Iohn. The same came for a witnessse, to beare wytnesse of y^e light, that thorow him they all might beleue. He was not that light, but that he might beare witnessse of y^e light. That was the true light, which lighteth all men, that come in to this worlde. He was in the worlde, & the worlde was made by him, and y^e worlde knewe him not.

He came in to his awne, and his awne receaued him not. But as many as receaued him, to them gaue he power to be the children of God: euen soch as beleue in his name.

MATTHEW, 1537.

IN the beginninge was the worde, and the worde was with God: and the worde was God. The same was in the begynnyng wyth God. All thinges were made by it, and wythout it, was made nothinge that was made. In it was lyfe, and the lyfe was the lyght of men, and the lyght shyneth in y^e darcknes but the darcknes comprehended it not.

There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same cam as a wytnes to beare wytnes of the lyght, that all men through him myght beleue. He was not that lyght: but to beare wytnes of the lyght. That was a true lyght whych lyghteth all me that come into the worlde. He was in the worlde, and the worlde was made by hym: and yet the worlde knewe hym not.

He cam amonge hys awne, and hys awne receaued hym not. But as many as receaued hym, to them he gaue power to be the sonnes of God in that they beleued on hys name:

CRANMER, 1539.

¹ IN the begynnyng was the worde, and the worde was wyth God: and God was the worde. ² The same was in the begynnyng with God. ³ All thynges were made by it, and without it, was made nothyng that was made. ⁴ In it was lyfe, and the lyfe was the lyght of men, ⁵ and the lyght shyneth in darcknes, and the darcknes comprehended it not.

⁶ There was sent from God a man, whose name was Iohn. ⁷ The same cam as a wytnes to beare wytnes of the lyght, that all men through hym myght beleue. ⁸ He was not that lyght: but was sent to beare wytnes of the lyght. ⁹ That lyght was the true lyght, whych lyghteth euery man that cometh into the worlde. ¹⁰ He was in the worlde, and the worlde was made by hym: and the worlde knewe hym not.

¹¹ He cam amonge hys awne, and hys awne receaued him not. ¹² But as many as receaued hym to them gaue he power to be the sonnes of God: euen them that beleued on hys name.

GENEVA, 1557.

¹ IN the begynnyng was the word, and the word was with God, and that worde was God. ² The same was in the begynnyng with God. ³ Althinges were made by it, and without it was made nothing that was made. ⁴ In it was lyfe, and the lyfe was the light of men. ⁵ And the light shineth in darckenes, and the darcknes comprehended it not. ⁶ There was a man sent from God, whose name was Iohn. ⁷ The same came for a wytnes, to beare wytnes of the light, that all men through hym might beleue. ⁸ He was not that light, but was sent to beare wytnes of the light.

⁹ That was that true lyght, which lyghteth all men that come into the worlde. ¹⁰ He was in the worlde, and the worlde was made by hym: and the worlde knewe him not. ¹¹ He came among his owne, and his owne receaued him not.

¹² But as many as receaued hym, to them he gaue power to be the sonnes of God, euen to them that beleue in his name.

BISHOPS, 1568.

¹ IN the begynnyng was the worde, and the worde was with God: and that worde was God. ² The same was in the begynnyng with God. ³ All thynges were made by it: and without it, was made nothing that was made. ⁴ In it was lyfe, and the lyfe was the lyght of men. ⁵ And the lyght shyneth in darckenesse: and the darckenesse comprehended it not.

⁶ There was a man sent from God whose name was Iohn: ⁷ The same came for a witnessse, to beare witnessse of the lyght, that all men through hym myght beleue. ⁸ He was not that lyght: but was sent to beare witnessse of the lyght. ⁹ That [lyght] was the true lyght, which lyghteth every man that commeth into the worlde. ¹⁰ He was in the worlde, and the worlde was made by hym, and the worlde knewe hym not.

¹¹ He came among his owne, and his owne receaued hym not. ¹² But as many as receaued hym, to them gave he power to be the sonnes of God, euen them that beleued on his name.

RHEIMS, 1582.

¹ IN the beginninge was the WORD, and the WORD was with God, and God was the WORD. ² This was in the beginninge with God. ³ Al thinges were made by him: and without him was made nothing. That which was made, ⁴ in him was life, and the life was the light of men: ⁵ and the light shineth in darckenesse, and the darckenesse did not comprehend it. ⁶ There was a man sent from God, whose name was Iohn. ⁷ This man came for testimonie: to giue testimonie of the light, that al might beleue through him.

⁸ He was not the light, but to giue testimonie of the light. ⁹ It was the true light, which lighteneth euery man that commeth into this vvorlde. ¹⁰ He was in the vvorlde, and the vvorlde was made by him, and the vvorlde knew him not.

¹¹ He came into his ovne, and his ovne received him not. ¹² But as many as receiued him, he gaue them povver to be made the sonnes of God, to those that beleue in his name.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

In the acquisition of all knowledge, man should order all its different branches to one grand scope: namely, to develop the powers of the soul, and make the being of man godlike. Now in that cultivation of the soul, the science of Holy Scripture is most immediate to the end of all study. The other departments of human knowledge contain but the faint and broken accents of nature; the Holy Scriptures contain the clear voice of God from Heaven. Hence there should also be this order in the human knowable, that all the sciences should be subservient to the study of God in the Holy Code.

Man should study the different sciences with the view of coming closer to the Creator through the consideration of his works. The man, then, who essays to interpret the word of God, should bring to his task the possession of vast and varied knowledge, that truth may beget truth, and the message of the Creator may be received in its fulness, in the mind made receptive by careful preparation. The student of Scripture takes up the grandest and sublimest system of philosophy, the truest and best system of ethics, and the grand basis of dogmatic truth. The human mind is limited, the compass of its cognitions is never vast, and it would be presumption in it to undertake to find the sense of the Holy Code without much laborious preparation. A man with some happy faculty of expression may treat of many themes of human knowledge without great mental application. He may be able to spend his time in visiting and social converse, and yet be able to treat indifferently well the aforesaid themes; but if a man would draw anything more than pious generalities out of the Scriptures, he must *study*.

In the words of Jerome: "Agricolae, caementarii, fabri, metallorum lignorumve caesores, lanarii quoque et fullones, et ceteri, qui variam suppellectilem et vilia opuscula fabricantur, absque doctore, esse non possunt quod cupiunt. Quod medicorum est,

Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilis fabri.

Sola Scripturarum ars, quam sibi omnes passim vindicant:

Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi praesumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant. Alii adducto supercilio grandia verba trutinantes inter mulier-

culas de sacris literis philosophantur. Alii discunt, proh dolor, a feminis, quod viros doceant : et ne parum hoc sit, quadam facilitate verborum, imo audacia edisserunt aliis, quod ipsi non intelligunt . . . Puerilia sunt haec et circulatorum ludo similia, docere quod ignores, imo, ut cum stomacho loquar, ne hoc quidem scire, quod nescias." (St. Hier. ad Paulin. Ep. 53, 6, 7, Migne, P. L. 22, 544.)

The student of Scripture should study everything, and order the fund of knowledge thus acquired to obtain the greatest of all acquisitions, the science of God.

He should study natural science to see the design of the Creator in his works, and the evidences of his wisdom in Nature's laws ; and also to defend the truths of God against the puny and inflated sophists, who speak in the name of science. He should study philosophy that by the possession of the truths of one order, the mind may expand and rise by the right laws from one order of truth to another, in its upward course towards the Infinite Truth.

He should study the languages, for the resources of human thought is shut up in the different languages of the races of man. No man can well come at the thought of the world through the knowledge of any one tongue.

He should study the tongues in which the Holy men of God spoke, for the fulness and the clearness of the thought remains in the original tongue in which it was first delivered. It will not suffice to say : Jerome translated the Hebrew for me, and as I can not equal Jerome's knowledge of Scripture, I shall desist from fruitless toil. Neither Jerome nor any other man, put into the translation the fulness and the clearness of the original. Only he who draws directly from the original fount, can open up the full sense of the Sacred Text.

He should study dogmatic theology, that he may be guided by the analogy of faith in all interpretations. It may be safely stated that no man ever became an able interpreter of Scripture, who was not a profound dogmatic theologian.

He should study archæology, that he may know the customs and modes of life of ancient people ; for a knowledge of these will throw light on certain expressions of such people.

He should study textual criticism, that he may be able to judge of the sense of various readings, and intelligently handle the different codices.

Finally, he should read and ponder much upon the Holy Code, for it does not reveal its depths of truths to the casual reader.

Some writers at this point formulate rules of criticism. I believe, however, that the science is not promoted by these rules. A mind well stored with knowledge, acting with judgment and prudence, and with a teachableness of heart will naturally move in the lines which these rules endeavor to systematize.

The use of these data is ordered to find the SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.

When we speak of the sense of a writing, we mean not the mere signification of the words. The signification of a word is the power that it has from its own nature, and the institution and use of man to convey a determinate idea. Hence one term can have many significations. But the sense of a word is the actual value that the term has in a particular predication; and the sense in a right ordered proposition can be but one.

The old writers divided the sense of Scripture into various species. Many of these species serve no practical purpose. They arose out of that general drift of the ancients to seek always something mystic in the Scriptures, and to multiply divisions in every science. Setting aside then the systems of the ancients, we shall found our classification of the senses of Scripture, on the nature of the text itself.

The first and greatest of the senses of Scripture is the LITERAL SENSE.

The literal sense is that, which results immediately from the ordinary force of the words, as when I say: "The Word was made flesh." This is sometimes called the historical sense. It is the basic sense in all Scripture, and in all the expressions of the creations of mind. The older writers included under one head both the literal and the metaphorical sense. We reject this mode of division, and place as a distinct species the METAPHORICAL SENSE.

The metaphorical sense of Scripture is a deviation from the ordinary application of words, in which we predicate concepts of objects, not proper to them in their essential nature, but founded in some wide general similarity. Thus we speak of the "arm of the Lord" not to predicate the corporal member of God, but to assert of him the power of action.

We include under the heading of metaphorical sense of Scripture, all figurative sense, whether it consist in simile, parable, personification, allegory, synecdoche, metonymy, apostrophe, irony, hyperbole, or other figure. The main office of figurative speech in Scripture is to heighten the force of the

enunciation, to give clearness to abstract ideas, and to express ideas with something of the fulness and vividness of the objects of sense.

The state of a man perplexed by many thoughts, could scarcely be better expressed than by saying:

"I scarcely understand my own intent;
But silkworm like, so long within have wrought,
That I am lost in my own web of thought."

Some of the figures of the Scripture are very bold. It is a bold figure to represent God as walking in the Garden of Eden, or to bid the Apostles salute no man in the way, or to bid a man hate his father and mother, brother and sister.

The allegory is a common form of Scriptural figure. It is a form of expression in which the real subject is not mentioned but described by a consistent, intelligible statement, and the subject is left to be inferred by the aptly suggestive likeness. A fine allegory is in Isaiah V. 1—2.

"My beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill; and he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a wine-press therein; and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes."

The parable was much used by the Lord. This figure of speech is properly a species of allegory, in which a religious truth is exhibited by means of facts from nature and human life. The statements are not historically true, but are offered as a means of conveying a higher general truth. But the propositions are always true to nature; the laws of the nature of the different beings introduced, are strictly observed, and the events are such as might have taken place. The Prodigal Son, The Sower, The Ten Virgins, Lazarus and Dives, are good examples of this form of expression.

The knowledge of the sense of Scripture, has been much obscured by the addition of what is called the *sensus consequens*.

Such is the nature of the human mind, that it evolves truth from truth by logical process. The truths which are by logical deduction drawn from other truths of Scripture, are by some writers classed under the *sensus consequens*. Since God endowed man with the reasoning faculty, it is natural and right for him to proceed in syllogistic process from truth to truth. And if the fundamental position be the sense of the Holy Ghost, and the logical process be legitimate, the conclusion will be equally the sense of the Holy Ghost, and reducible

to the species of the fundamental position. While, therefore, we justify the process, we see no need of multiplying entia by placing this division of the sense of Scripture.

As the infinite knowledge of God comprehends all future things and events, he alone can order a being or event to prefigure some future being or event. This prefiguring of future beings, actions, and events is called the typical or spiritual sense of Scripture. It is evident that it can only be properly verified in inspired writings, for no other being can thus comprehend and describe the future.

THE TYPICAL SENSE is therefore verified when some being, action, or event which has its own proper mode of being, is taken to signify some future ens. Therefore the typical sense is founded upon the literal sense. It leaves to the sentence its proper literal sense, and is formed upon it by applying the great leading concept of the present reality to future being. It is evident that it differs from the metaphorical sense, though it comes close to allegory. But it is distinguishable from allegory in this, that it imports as its basis some real existing being, whereas allegory is the application of an imaginary ens to signify present or future truth. Thus the ten virgins can not be called a type of the kingdom of Heaven, but an allegorical description of the different religious conditions of human life, in its journey towards eternity.

The typical sense is also different in nature from the sense of the symbolic actions of prophetic vision. The Vision of Ezechiel, I. 4—28, for example, was not a type of the Almighty, but a symbol of some of his attributes. Thus also the Woman seen by John in the Apocalypse, XII., is not a type of the Church, but the life of the militant Church there portrayed by symbolic vision.

The type is properly built on some ens in *rerum natura*; the symbol is only a creation of the mind.

Usage has determined that the ens adumbrating the future verity should be called the TYPE, while the future verity thus prefigured is called the ANTITYPE.

The old writers here again induce useless divisions, dividing types into prophetic, which relate to Christ, anagogic which regard man's supernatural destiny, and tropologic, which contain laws of morality. These divisions serve no useful purpose.

The existence of types in the Scripture is self-evident from the reading of the Holy Books. Adam is called a type of Christ, *τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος*, Rom. V. 14; the sacrifice of Melchisedech is a type of the Eucharist; Sara and Hagar are

types of the Old and New Testaments, Gal. IV. 24; the Paschal Lamb was a type of the Crucifixion, Exod. XII. 46, compared with Jo. XIX. 36; the Brazen Serpent was a type of the Vicarious Atonement, Num. XXI. 9; the Manna was a type of the Eucharist, Exod. XVI. 15, compared with Jo. VI. 49—50; Israel in the Exodus was a type of Christianity, *ταῦτα δὲ τυπικᾶς συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις*, I. Cor. X. 11. Such evident proofs render the existence of the typical sense as well founded as the existence of inspiration.

The sense of every proposition of Scripture must be found in these three classes. It is evident also that the typical sense presupposes the literal sense and is based upon it. Therefore in the typical sentences of the Bible there will be two senses, though not of the same order. This is the only case where there is more than one sense in a proposition of the Holy Text. Those old writers who defended a multiplex sense of Scripture confused issues, so that their opinions are not convincing. It is the nature of human speech that there be but one literal sense in a proposition, and the inspired writers acting under the influence of the Holy Ghost, are not to be supposed to have changed the nature of human discourse. In fact the understanding of the Scriptures would be much impeded, if more than one literal sense was contained in them, for one, after receiving one certain literal sense, would be ever uncertain whether there were not others yet to be explored.

The comprehensive sense of prophetic utterances may seem to us to be multiplex, but a careful examination will show that what was thought a multiplex sense, was simply a fuller comprehension of the literal sense. Thus, we can reconcile Isaiah LIII. 4, with St. Matthew, VIII. 17. Moreover, an agent may, notwithstanding our position, unconsciously utter an inspired prophecy, while giving utterance to a human judgment with its own proper sense. Thus Caiphas gave judgment favoring the death of Jesus, but as he was pontiff of that year, his words contained an unconscious prophecy of the Redemption of humanity by the death of Jesus. But there is only one *inspired sense* here, and moreover, Caiphas can not be made equal to the inspired writers.

From the express declarations of the inspired writers, and from the nature of the truths themselves, it is evident that the entire Old Testament with its history and its rites is a type of the New. Thus Moses and Joshua are types of Christ, the Ark of Noah, a type of the Church, the old sacrifices, a type of the Eucharist, etc., but it is absurd to seek this typology in

every individual proposition. This has been done even to the extent of finding a typical signification in the snuffers used to remove the snuff from the candles in the temple. The vanity of such position is very evident. There is much in the first Code that has only its plain historical sense, such as, for instance, the Decalogue.

The question has been moved by some, whether there are types in the New Testament. This question admits of a definite and certain answer.

There are no messianic types in the New Dispensation as there were in the Old, which was but the shadow of the perfect covenant. But still, as the Church was a future ens in the time of Christ, there were typical actions in his life, and certain events connected with his first coming, are typical of their counterparts in his second coming. Thus St. Paul finds a typical *ratio* in the fact that Christ suffered death outside the gate; the bark of the Apostles, tossed by the tempest, is a type of the Church, and the destruction of Jerusalem is most certainly a type of the dissolution of the world.

Now of the senses of Scripture, the greatest and most valuable is the literal sense. This should be first sought in every passage of Scripture, and recourse should only be had to the metaphorical sense, when the literal is plainly impossible. But in every proposition of Scripture, either the literal or metaphorical sense will be found. Care must be taken not to receive the error of Origen, who defended that at times only the typical sense was intended. The typical never stands alone, but is always built upon the literal. The Fathers have at times extolled the typical sense above the literal, on the assumption that it treated of higher concepts. This is erroneous. The typical sense is more sublime in those passages in which it is found than its type, but it is not more sublime than the literal sense in general. The typical sense of the passage relating to the Paschal Lamb is more sublime than its type, but it is not more sublime than the declaration of St. John: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us," or the Beatitudes; and these are to be accepted in their literal sense. Therefore, where there is a typical sense it is to be principally sought, because it was in such passage principally intended by the Holy Ghost; but the great body of the Scriptures especially of the New Testament contain their truths in the literal sense. The excessive looking wide of the literal sense in search of types, is one of the great defects of the use of Holy Scripture.

Finally the typical sense of any passage can only be certainly known, by some authentic declaration of the Holy Ghost. The ordering of one ens to signify another is the work of God, and can only be fully known to us through some manifestation of the mind of God. Therefore, we can only find things which are of faith on those types, whose typical signification has been opened up to us by some inspired writer. When this is done, it is evident that the sense is as certain as the literal sense.

In the liturgical offices of the Church, and in the writings of the Fathers, often a passage of Scripture is applied to an object, which was not in the mind of the inspired writer, nor comprehended in the scope of the Holy Ghost in the inspired writing. This is called the accommodated sense. It is based upon some resemblance between the two themes.

To speak properly, it is not a sense of Scripture, but the adaptation of the sense of Scripture to another theme of similar nature. This accommodation takes place in two different ways. The first species occurs where the passage retains its real signification, but is extended to another theme, which is analogous in nature and circumstances. Thus a man who falls in temptation may say: "*Serpens decepit me.*" Thus, the Breviary applies to the Holy Pontiffs, what was said by the Siracida of Noah: "*Inventus est justus, et in tempore iracundiæ factus est reconciliatio*". In the same manner, the Breviary extends to Holy Pontiffs, what was said by him of Moses: "*Similem fecit illum in gloria Sanctorum*"; and of Aaron: "*Statuit ei testamentum æternum.*"

This use of Scripture is legitimate and useful, provided always the first sense is not obscured, and the application is justly made, but it is never to be taken as the sense of Holy Writ; it can never prove a dogma. Even the material words of Holy Scripture possess a sort of divine virtue. And when they become the vehicles of even human thoughts, they are capable of moving the soul of man to piety.

The second species of accommodation is founded in no real similarity in nature or circumstances of the two themes, but in a mere ignorant distortion of scriptural words to express some human thought. Thus, when Jahve showed visible signs of his majesty in certain places, the Psalmist cried out: "*Deus mirabilis in Sanctis suis (in Sanctuario suo).*" "*O God, thou art terrible in thy holy places.*" It is not uncommon to apply this to the mysterious ways of God to his elect, or even to the idiosyncrasies of holy people. Again in Psalm XVIII. 26,

(Hebrew) the Psalmist declares the action of God towards man to be fashioned by the qualities of a man's own life: "*Cum sancto sanctus eris, et cum perverso perverteris.*" It is lamentable to hear a man tear this text to tatters, to prove the ill effect of evil associations.

It is related that after the Duke of Montmorency was executed by the order of Cardinal Richelieu, the sister of the Duke, passing the tomb of the Cardinal, directed to him an apostrophe in the words of Martha, the sister of Lazarus: "*Domine, si fuisses hic, frater meus non fuisset mortuus.*" It was much in vogue in the sixteenth century to apply the sacred words to profane subjects.

When St. Francis de Sales lay ill, his physician in compounding some medicine for him, addressed him thus: "*Quod ego facio, tu nescis modo; scies autem postea.*" Jo. XIII. 7. St. Francis reprehended him saying: "You profane the Scripture of God in applying it to profane things. The Scripture should only be used of holy themes, and with profound respect." So great was the abuse, that the Council of Trent in its fourth session formally forbade that the Scripture be applied to profane subjects. Of course, all species of such accommodation are not reprehensive in the same degree. In fact there is no evil in an occasional adaptation of the Holy Text to something refined and pure, even though it be not of the intent of the inspired writer. Thus one who had been rescued from a ruined coal mine, in speaking of his supplications to Heaven, could say without disrespect to the Scripture: "*De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine.*" One can inveigh against sinful waste in the words of Judas Iscariot: "*Ut quid perditio haec?*"

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

The interpretation of Scripture may be divided into AUTHENTIC and SCIENTIFIC.

The interpretation is authentic if the sense of some writer be enucleated for us, by some adequate authority. Thus, when a subsequent writer explains the sense of existing Holy Scripture such interpretation is authentic. In equal degree is the interpretation authentic when the Church authoritatively declares the sense of any passage.

The interpretation is scientific when it is based on human study and judgment. This interpretation is never independent

of the authority of the Church, and must be conducted by the just laws that she has enacted to regulate such province of human thought. Only a few passages have been authentically interpreted; hence the great body of the Scripture lies open to scientific interpretation, of which we shall now speak at some length.

In regard to this theme, writers give a complex system of rules which could be summed up in this: study the original languages, compare the best codices, compare the old versions, read the Scriptures intelligently, and endeavor to take the sense from the Scripture, not to bring one into it.

Parallel passages will also aid us to find the sense of obscure places.

“When, in any ordinary composition, a passage occurs of doubtful meaning with respect to the sentiment or doctrine it conveys, the obvious course of proceeding is, to examine what the author himself has in other parts of his work delivered upon the same subject; to weigh well the force of any particular expressions he is accustomed to use; and to inquire what there might be in the occasion or circumstances under which he wrote, tending to throw further light upon the immediate object he had in view. This is only to render common justice to the writer; it is necessary both for the discovery of his real meaning, and to secure him against any wanton charge of error or inconsistency. Now, if this may justly be required in any ordinary work of uninspired composition, how much more indispensable must it be when we sit in judgment upon the sacred volume; in which (if we acknowledge its divine original) it is impossible to imagine a failure either in judgment or in integrity.”

“God has been pleased, in sundry portions and in divers manners, to speak unto us in his word; but in all the books of Scripture we may trace an admirable unity of design, an intimate connection of parts, and a complete harmony of doctrines. In some instances the same truths are conveyed nearly in the same modes of expression; in other instances, the same sentiments are clothed with beautiful varieties of language. While we are interested in discovering some of the indications of mental diversity among the sacred writers, we clearly perceive that the whole volume of revelation is distinguished by a certain characteristic style and phraseology altogether its own, and which, for simplicity, dignity, energy, and fulness, must be allowed to have no parallel. Now, if there be in the various parts of Scripture such important

coincidences of sentiment, of language, and of idiom, it is evident that we proceed on just and rational principles, in comparing together passages that have some degree of resemblance, and in applying those, the meaning of which is clear, to the illustration of such as are involved in some degree of obscurity."

In seeking the sense of Holy Scripture, we must be ever mindful that the Scriptures are the word of God, that they contain the thoughts of a being whose ways are not our ways, and whose thoughts are not our thoughts. If we seek to make the Holy Text agree with our notions, we shall shut up the sense of the Scriptures of God. We should seek it with the same temper of mind in which it was written. The voice of God is heard through the Scriptures, and the voice of God is only heard by docile hearts.

Hence, we can not subject the Holy Books to the laws of hermeneutics as a mere literary production. Every interpretation which presupposes the possibility of error in the inspired writer, is to be rejected. The inability to find the sense of a passage must not be attributed to the error of the writer, but to the limitations of our comprehension. In the same way no real contradiction can be admitted between the different writers, or between the different statements of the same writer. The seeming contradictions in doctrinal and moral parts result from the dulness of our own minds. Some contradictions have come into the non-essential parts of Scripture, but these are not attributable to the authors, but to the defects of the agencies through which they have been transmitted to us.

The Council of Trent in its famous decree of the fourth session, "with a view to restrain the petulance of human minds, decreed: That no one relying on his own judgment, in the doctrinal and moral parts of Scripture, should distort the Holy Scriptures to conform to his opinions against the sense which our Holy Mother the Church has held and holds, whose office it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of Holy Scripture; and that no one shall dare interpret the same Holy Scriptures contrary to the unanimous consensus of the Fathers". This decree was again promulgated by the Vatican Council. The last clause relating to the Fathers does not really add any new element to the decree; for the Fathers when agreeing on a doctrinal or moral part of Scripture, are always at one with the Church. This consensus needs not be mathematical, but only moral; and when it is such, it is an authentic witness of what the Church held in past ages.

The sense of some texts has been directly defined by the Church. It was defined by the Council of Trent, that Paul spoke of Original sin, Rom. V. 12. (Conc. Trid. Sess. V. 2, 4.) It was defined in the same session, and again in the seventh session, that the sense of the text, John, III. 5, establishes the necessity of baptism by natural water. In the thirteenth session it is established, that the words of institution of the Blessed Eucharist prove the real presence of Christ in the Host. In the fourteenth session it is defined that the words of Christ in John XX. 23 convey the power of binding and loosing sin; and that James V. 11 promulgates the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

The indirect force of the Church's definitions pervades the whole body of the Scriptures. In condemning heresies, she shows us indirectly what is the sense of many passages; and her authentic teaching forms a general norm of interpretation which we call the analogy of faith.

We may define the analogy of faith to be *the constant and perpetual harmony of Scripture in the fundamental points of faith and practice*, deduced from those passages, in which they are discussed by the inspired penman, either directly or expressly, and in clear, plain, and intelligible language. Or, more briefly, the analogy of faith may be defined to be that *proportion which the doctrines of the Gospel bear to each other, or, the close connection between the truths of Revealed Religion.*

The *analogy of faith* is an expression borrowed from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, (xii. 6.) where he exhorts those who *prophesy* in the church (that is, those who exercise the office of authoritatively expounding the Scriptures), to *prophesy according to the analogy of faith.*

If we come to the Scriptures with any pre-conceived opinions, and are more desirous to put that sense upon the text which coincides with our own sentiments rather than the truth, it then becomes the analogy of *our* faith rather than that of the whole system of God's truths.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

JEWISH INTERPRETATION.

Through defect of documents, we know nothing of the exegetical systems of the Jews before the time of Christ.

Flavius Josephus declares (War I. 5, 2.) that the Pharisees interpret the Law accurately. We can only come at a knowledge of their system through the Talmud, which reflects the Jewish thought of the early ages.

The Talmud is a composite form of the Mishna and the Gemara. The Mishna, from מִשְׁנָה, has the radical signification of *Deuterosis*, a repetition of the Law, it being a repetition and explanation of the Law. In the Mishna itself we read:—“Why is it called the Mishna? Because it is the second Law. For the first Law which Israel received on Sinai, is the written Law. But Moses received the Mishna from the mouth of the Almighty the second time, and it is the oral Law. It is called Mishna because it is second to the first Law.” It is certain that the Mosaic origin of the Mishna is a fable. It is simply a collection of the opinions and legal decisions of the ancient Rabbis. Chief among those who collected the data of the Mishna, was Rabbi Jehuda Hakkadosh, or the Holy, born about the middle of the second century. The Mishna summed up all previous rabbinical labors, and moulded all the subsequent philosophy and theology of Judaism. Rabbinic interpretation is called by the generic term of מִדְרָשׁ, Midrash from דָּרַשׁ, to enquire. These Midrashim are of two kinds, the Haggadah, הַגָּדָה from נָגַד to narrate, was a free exposition inclining to allegory and mysticism, and generally aimed to console the saddened spirit. This was preferred by the Jews in the dreadful calamities which befell them. The other species is הַלְכָה, Halakah, from הָלַךְ to proceed. This interpretation keeps more strictly to the traditional acceptance of the Law.

“These traditional ordinances, as already stated, bear the general name of the *Halakah*, as indicating alike the way in which the fathers had walked, and that which their children were bound to follow. These *Halakoth* were either simply the laws laid down in Scripture; or else derived from, or traced to it by some ingenious and artificial method of exegesis; or added to it, by way of amplification and for safety’s sake; or finally, legalized customs. They provided for every possible and impossible case, entered into every detail of private, family, and public life; and with iron logic, unbending rigour, and most minute analysis pursued and dominated man, turn whither he might, laying on him a yoke which was truly unbearable. The return which it offered was the pleasure and distinction of knowledge, the acquisition of righteousness, and the final attainment of rewards.

The *Halakah* indicated with the most minute and painful punctiliousness every legal ordinance as to outward observances, and it explained every bearing of the Law of Moses.

Altogether, the Mishna comprises six 'Orders' (*Sedarim*), each devoted to a special class of subjects. The first 'Order' (*Zeraim*, 'seeds') begins with the ordinances concerning 'benedictions,' or the time, mode, manner, and character of the prayers prescribed. It then goes on to detail what may be called the religio-agrarian laws (such as tithing, Sabbatical years, first fruits, &c.). The second 'Order' (*Moed*, 'festive time') discusses all connected with the Sabbath observance and the other festivals. The third 'Order' (*Nashim*, 'women') treats of all that concerns betrothal, marriage and divorce, but also includes a tractate on the Nasirate. The fourth 'Order' (*Nezikim*, 'damages') contains the civil and criminal law. Characteristically, it includes all the ordinances concerning idol-worship (in the tractate *Abodah Zarah*) and 'the sayings of the Fathers' (*Aboth*). The fifth 'Order' (*Kodashim*, 'holy things') treats of the various classes of sacrifices, offerings, and things dedicated to God, and of all questions which can be grouped under 'sacred things' (such as the redemption, exchange, or alienation of what had been dedicated to God.) It also includes the laws concerning the daily morning and evening service (*Tamid*), and a description of the structure and arrangements of the Temple (*Middoth*, 'the measurements'). Finally, the sixth 'Order' (*Toharoth*, 'cleannesses') gives every ordinance connected with the questions of 'clean and unclean,' alike as regards human beings, animals, and inanimate things.

These 'Orders' are divided into tractates (*Massiktoth*, *Massektiyoth*, 'textures, webs'), of which there are sixty-three (or else sixty-two) in all. These tractates are again subdivided into chapters, (*Perakim*)—in all 525, which severally consist of a certain number of verses, or *Mishnas* (*Mishnayoth*, in all 4,187). Considering the variety and complexity of the subjects treated, the Mishna is arranged with remarkable logical perspicuity. The language is Hebrew, though of course not that of the Old Testament. The words rendered necessary by the new circumstances are chiefly derived from the Greek, the Syriac, and the Latin, with Hebrew terminations. But all connected with social intercourse, or ordinary life (such as contracts), is written, not in Hebrew, but in Aramæan, as the language of the people.

But the traditional law embodied other materials than the *Halakoth* collected in the Mishna. Some that had not been recorded there, found a place in the works of certain Rabbis, or were derived from their schools. These are called *Boraitas*—that is, traditions *external* to the Mishna. Finally, there were ‘additions’ (or *Tosephthoth*), dating after the completion of the Mishna, but probably not later than the third century of our era. Such additions are added to fifty-two out of the sixty-three Mishnic tractates. When speaking of the *Halakah* as distinguished from the *Haggadah*, we must not, however, suppose that the latter could be entirely separated from it. In point of fact, one whole tractate in the *Mishna* (Aboth: The Sayings of the ‘Fathers’) is entirely *Haggadah*; a second (*Middoth*; the ‘Measurements of the Temple’) has *Halakah* in only fourteen places; while in the rest of the tractates *Haggadah* occurs in not fewer than 207 places. Only thirteen out of the sixty-three tractates of the *Mishna* are entirely free from *Haggadah*.

In course of time the discussions, illustrations, explanations, and additions to which the Mishna gave rise, whether in its application, or in the Academies of the Rabbis, were authoritatively collected and edited in what are known as the two *Talmuds* or *Gemaras*. If we imagine something combining law reports, a Rabbinical ‘Hansard,’ and notes of a theological debating club—all thoroughly Oriental, full of digressions, anecdotes, quaint sayings, fancies, and legends, and too often of what, from its profanity, superstition, and even obscenity, could scarcely be quoted, we may form some general idea of what the Talmud is. The oldest of these two Talmuds dates from about the close of the fourth century of our era. It is the product of the Palestinian Academies, and hence called the *Jerusalem* Talmud. The second is about a century younger, and the outcome of the Babylonian schools, hence called the *Babylon* (afterwards also ‘our’) Talmud. We do not possess either of these works complete. The most defective is the Jerusalem Talmud, which is also much briefer, and contains far fewer discussions than that of Babylon. The Babylon Talmud, which in its present form extends over thirty-six out of the sixty-three tractates of the Mishna, is about ten or eleven times the size of the Mishna, and more than four times that of the Jerusalem Talmud. It occupies (in our editions), with marginal commentations, 2,947 folio leaves (pages *a* and *b*). Both Talmuds are written in Aramæan; the

one in its western, the other in its eastern dialect, and in both, the Mishna is discussed *seriatim*, and clause by clause."

Opposed to the Talmudists were the KARAITES, a sect formed in the seventh or eighth century. They rejected the oral traditions of the Talmud, and while seeking the literal sense, rejected the literalism of the Talmudists.

The ESSENES and the ALEXANDRIAN JEWS adopted a purely mystical interpretation of the Scripture. We may judge of the system of the Alexandrians from their representative Philo. According to him, although at times the literal sense must be developed for rude minds incapable of higher wisdom, the real sense of the Scripture was the occult understanding of the symbols which were contained in the letter. Thus Abraham is the symbol of the learning of virtue; Isaac, of the acquisition of virtue; Jacob, of its exercise. Adam, is a symbol of man in his rude state; Cain, of selfishness; Noah, of justice; Sara, of womanly virtue; Rebecca, of wisdom; Egypt, is a symbol of the body; the dove, of the divine wisdom, etc. He compares the literal sense to the body; the allegorical, to the soul, and in many places rejects entirely the literal sense. His work is worthless in exegesis.

THE CABALISTS surpassed Philo in mystic jugglery. The Cabalists derive their name from קַבָּל, to receive, since they fable that their system was secretly delivered to the elders on Sinai.

Of the Cabalistic theosophy, we shall say nothing. We shall only briefly indicate some of their artifices, by which they find foundation for their vain theories and beliefs.

The first artifice is called Gematria, in which occult senses are drawn from the text, by the numerical value of the letters. For example, the first verse of Genesis and the last verse of the Hebrew Bible, II. Chron. XXXVI. 23. contain six א. The letter א is the first letter of אֶלֶף, a thousand; therefore, the world will endure six thousand years. The first two words of Genesis בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא by the numerical value of the letters, make 1116; the name number, results from the numerical value of the phrase בְּרֵאשִׁית הַשָּׁנָה נִבְרָא, "in the beginning of the year it was *created*": therefore, the world was created at the autumnal equinox, which is the beginning of the Jewish year.

By another artifice, they accept the several letters of a word for signs of complete words, and thus build a sentence

from the letters of one word. For example the first word of Genesis בְּרֵאשִׁית is by this method made to signify the sentence: ב = בָּרָא, he created, ר = רָקִיעַ, the firmament, א = אֶרֶץ, the earth, ש = שָׁמַיִם, the heavens, י = יָם, the sea, ת = תְּהוֹם, the abyss: he (God) created the firmament, the earth, the heavens, the sea, and the abyss.

Some Christians have resorted to Cabalistic methods to find the mystery of the Trinity in the same term: ב = בֵּן, the Son, ר = רוּחַ, the Spirit, א = אָב, the Father, ש = שְׁלֹשָׁה, three, י = יְחִידָה, unity, ת = תְּמִמָּה, perfect: the Son, the Spirit, and the Father, the threefold perfect unity.

By adopting just the reverse, from the initial letters of מִי יַעֲלֶה לָנוּ הַשְּׁמַיִמָּה, who shall lead us to Heaven? they formed מִלָּה, the rabbinic form of מוֹלָה, circumcision.

The third artifice, called *Themurah* from מוֹר to change, is founded in a metathesis of the letters.

This may be wrought in various ways. 1.—The transposition may be wrought of the letters themselves of any word, so that it may change its signification. Thus the מַלְאָכִי, my angel, of Exod. XXIII. 23, by the *Themurah* becomes מִיכָאֵל, Michael, the name of the angel.

The second species of the *Themurah* consists in a substitution of letters, and may be wrought in two ways. It is אַתְבַּשׁ, where the last letter of the alphabet is substituted for the first letter, ת for א; the second last letter for the second, ש for ב, hence its name אַתְבַּשׁ. The second species is called אֶלְבַּס, and differs from the preceding only in that they divide the alphabet in two equal halves, and substitute the first letter of the second half, ל, for the first letter of the first half, א, and so through both halves. Some believe that the Massoretic text has suffered an interpolation from the Cabalists in Jer. XXV. 26, and LI. 41, where we read מְלִיכָה שֶׁשָּׁךְ.

No such kingdom is known in history. Jerome informs us that we should read by Athbasch בְּבַל, and he believes that Jeremiah with design concealed the real name, leaving it to the Cabalists to interpret. It is far more probable, that if בְּבַל should be read there, that the text has been corrupted from בְּבַל to שֶׁשָּׁךְ by the Cabalists.

The most famous Cabalistic treatise is the Book of Sohar, *i. e.* the Book of Splendor. Though the Cabalists assign its origin to the second century, it is most probably not more ancient than the thirteenth century.

Though purporting to explain the Law, it is simply a Cabalistic treatise on their occult doctrines concerning God, the Messiah, the Angels, etc. Two minor works of similar argument are the Books Bahir, and Jezira.

After the eleventh century of our era a new school of scriptural interpretation arose among the Jews. The doctors of Judaism began to discard the old fables, and to seek the literal sense of the Scripture. Of course, as they refused to recognize Christ as the Messiah, they could not come at the full sense of the Old Testament. But still their labors are useful to us in giving us a fuller knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. The following are the most famous among these late Talmudists:

RABBI SALOMON BEN ISAAC, frequently called Jarchi, or Rashi, was born at Troyes in Champagne in 1040. He commented the entire Scripture and the Talmud. He obtained great fame among the Jews, and the first Hebrew book ever printed was his commentary on the Pentateuch. His hatred of Christianity is evident in many places in his works. His style is obscure, and he has received many of the fables of the early Talmudists. He died in 1105.

2.—RABBI ABRAHAM BEN MEIR BEN EZRA, commonly called ABENEZRA, was born at Toledo, in Spain, in 1093. He distinguished himself in philosophy, astronomy, medicine, poetry, mathematics, the languages, and exegesis. He travelled much, visited the principal cities of Europe, Egypt, and other parts of the East. He died in 1167, on his way from Rhodes to Rome.

He is one of the greatest of the Talmudists. He commented the entire Old Testament except Chronicles. In this commentary he seeks the literal sense of the text, and breaks away from the old fables. He was infected with a certain rationalistic turn of mind, and was most inconstant in his opinions. Though his commentary on the Scriptures is free from the fables of the Cabalists, in other works he indulges his genius in this species of jugglery. He was endowed with prodigious memory, which made him easy master of the Jewish thought of his time.

RABBI MOSES BEN MAIMON, commonly called Maimonides, and sometimes Rambam, was born at Cordova, in Spain, in 1135. Cordova was at that time a Mussulman stronghold,

and the vernacular tongue of Maimonides was Arabic. He is styled Rabbi Abram, the last of the sages as regards time, and the first in worth. His life is enveloped in a web of fable. The few certain data attainable are, that he studied medicine, and made such progress in it, that he was made court-physician to Saladin of Egypt. He was versed in the Arabic philosophy, and in mathematics, but his greatest claim to fame, is founded on his Talmudic labors. He wrote partly in Hebrew and partly in Arabic. His greatest work is his *Mishneh Torah*, a systematic codification of the whole Jewish Law, as found in the Bible, the *Mishnah*, the *Talmud*, and minor books. The Jews have held this book in great esteem, and declare that by it Maimonides merits a place next to Moses the Lawgiver. It remains a great source of rabbinic learning, even to this day. Some Jews have even neglected the *Talmud*, to concentrate their study on *Rambam*. It forms a sort of tournament for all later Talmudists, and to explain a difficult "*Rambam*", is a test of learning with the Talmudists. A MS. of the work is in the library of Cambridge. Various editions have been printed of it; the last and most complete is that of Leipsic in 1862.

The most important of Maimonides' other works is the *Dalālatu 'l-Hāirin* in Arabic, in Hebrew *מורה הנבוכים*, *The Guide of the Perplexed*.

This work essays to explain the difficult passages of the Bible. Maimonides was conversant with Aristotle, and made much use of his philosophy in this work. The work is a curious medley of symbolism, mysticism, Greek philosophy, and rationalism. Maimonides left several other works, which merit no special mention here. He died at Cairo in 1204.

The next great Talmudist of the middle ages is *RABBI DAVID KIMCHI*, sometimes called *Radak*. He was born at Narbonne after 1155, and died probably in the same city about 1235. His father Rabbi Yoseph, or his grandfather Rabbi Isaac (Yishak) Ibn Kimchi, had immigrated into Provence from Spain, whence Arab fanaticism had compelled the Jews to flee. In Provence the family took the Gentile surname of *Petit*. Rabbi David lost his father (who was himself a grammarian, Bible commentator, and poet of no mean order) very early; but his elder and only brother, Rabbi Mosheh (a fair scholar, but famous chiefly through his younger brother), was his principal oral teacher. The valuable literary treasures of his father, however, falling into his hands, *Radak* grew strong by studying them, and, as we know, eclipsed them completely,

although he lacked his father's originality. But, if Rabbi David lacked originality, he had abundance of instinct for finding out the best in the works of his predecessors, and abundance of genius for digesting and assimilating it till it became his own in a peculiar way. Although preceded by Hayyúj, Ibn Janáh, and others, and succeeded by Abraham de Balmes, Elias Levita, and others, Kimchi has maintained the position of the greatest Jewish grammarian and lexicographer. And, although much inferior as a Biblical scholar and talmudist to Rashi, and as a critic and philosopher to Abraham Ibn Ezra, he has outstripped both in the eyes, not only of the Christians, but to some extent even of the Jews, and thus reigned supreme for more than half a millennium, as a commentator on the Bible. From the fact that he was master of the Targums and Haggadoth as few before or after him, that he had Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek philosophy at his fingers' ends, and that he was endowed with a truly poetical soul, the mystery is explained how the merely reproductive scholar could cause original scholars of the highest eminence, but who were one-sided, to be all but forgotten. Not only have his works, in whatever field they are to be found, been printed and reprinted, but the most important of them are translated into Latin, into Judæo-German, and even into English.

Kimchi has commented all the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch, and of that he commented the greater part of Genesis. His most valuable contribution to Hebrew literature is his Grammar and Lexicon. All subsequent Hebrew lexicographers have drawn from his **סֵפֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל**, the Book of Roots. Of course comparative philology has amplified these data, but it has by no means superseded the work of this Rabbi. He died at Narbonne about 1235.

ISAAC BEN JUDA ABARBANEL, or ABRAVANEL, was born at Lisbon in 1437. His family was opulent, and he received a liberal education. He entered the political career, and became Minister of Finance to Alphonsus V. of Portugal, and afterwards to Ferdinand the Catholic of Castile. A decree of expulsion in 1492 forced him to leave Spain, and he withdrew to Naples, where he occupied an eminent post at the Court of Ferdinand I. and his successor Alphonsus II. At the French invasion, he fled to Sicily, and finally fixed his domicile at Venice, where he died in 1508.

During his wanderings, he composed numerous works treating of Holy Scripture. The principal works are Commentaries on Deuteronomy, Josue, Judges, Kings, on the other four books of the Law, on Daniel, Isaiah, on the other Prophets, and two Dissertations on the Messiah. He has also other treatises on special passages of Holy Scripture. Richard Simon regards him as the most useful of the Rabbis, and makes him equal in Hebrew to Cicero in Latin. This is excessive praise. Like all his class, he hated the Christians, and gives evidence of this hatred in his use of Scripture. At times he is more of a rhetorician than an exegete. Long digressions are often found in his works, made up chiefly of dry, stupid subtilties, and attacks on Christianity.

Other Jewish doctors of minor note are R. Levi ben Gerson, R. Elias Levita, R. Salomon ben Melech, R. Moses Nachmanides, called Ramban, R. Chajim, R. Jacob ben Ruben, R. Aaron ben Joseph, R. Aaron ben Elia, R. Abraham de Balmes ben Meir, R. Abraham Halévi, and Abraham Usque.

It is usual for writers on Scriptural Introduction to place at the end of their works, a list of the principal exegetes of all ages. We refrain from this, lest we should make the present volume too bulky. Brief biographical notes have been placed at proper places through the work, so that the reader who has reached this point will scarcely need such a conspectus of writers.

And thus we terminate our present work, feeling with the Maccabean historian, that, if we have written well, we have achieved our purpose; but, if poorly, it must be pardoned us, for it was the best that we could do.

THE END OF THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

APPENDIX.

THE ORIGIN OF ALPHABETICAL WRITING.

We designate by ALPHABET the series of characters of the different peoples, which represent the sounds and articulations of their language.

The first representations of thought by characters were ideographic hieroglyphics, in which the pictures of animals or other objects of nature or of human industry were symbols of ideas, without any of the connecting links of language. The written language of the Indians of North America was largely ideographic. This mode of representing thought was very imperfect. It could represent only a limited number of ideas, and that by great labor and much inexactness. It was limited to the material order of things; it could not represent an abstract idea, nor could it join thought to thought in logical sequence. The imperfection of this mode of writing gradually moved the inventive mind of man to improve it, so that the pictures of similar objects should stand as conventional signs of the different sounds of the voice, and thus the ideographic evolved into the phonetic. In the Assyrian cuneiform writing, the conventional signs were taken to represent syllables; they did not carry the analysis of the voice further. But the Egyptians analyzed the voice into its radical sounds, and invented symbols for all. This mode of writing existed with the Egyptians more than 3000 years before our era. It was of three kinds, Hieroglyphic, Hieratic and Demotic.

The Hieroglyphic proper represented the sound by the correct outlines of some object, in whose name the initial sound corresponded to the sound of which it was to be a symbol. The Eagle, whose initial letter is A in Egyptian, was a symbol for the letter A.

The Hieratic mode of writing, employed for state papers, differed from the Hieroglyphic only inasmuch as the outlines of the objects were not observed with such fidelity, but were simplified to accelerate the writing.

The Demotic is a further abbreviation and simplification of the Hieratic, made use of by the common people. The Hieroglyphic proper appears on the monuments; the other two in papyrus MSS.

Together with these phonetic symbols they retained certain ideographic signs, and others that represented syllables.

The Egyptian hieroglyphics by no means constituted a perfect system. They were rather a confused medley of different kinds of signs. The Phenicians came upon this chaos of language symbols, and catching the idea of the Egyptians, they eliminated what was useless, and built upon the original idea the alphabet properly so called :





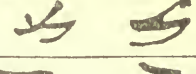






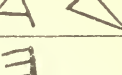




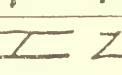





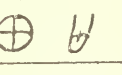



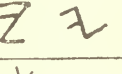















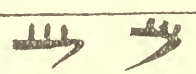
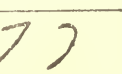



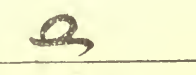
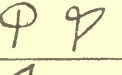




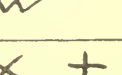







“ Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.”

—Lucan, *Pharsalia*, III. 220—221.

The remarkable genius of this people appears in the fact that they chose only the necessary characters from the confused mass of the Egyptians. They chose twenty-two consonant letters, and rejected the rest as superfluous. The one imperfection of the Phenician alphabet, was the absence of vowel signs. We find the first invention of vowels with the Greeks. But the Phenicians had really invented that which was principal, and were the first among the races of men to employ a purely phonetic mode of writing. The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia are not properly alphabetical. Excepting these, all the alphabets of the globe, of which we have knowledge, are derived from the characters of the Phenician merchants of the world. M. de Rougé and M. Lenormant have demonstrated that the Phenicians based their alphabet not on the hieroglyphic symbols, but on the hieratic characters, as they were more adapted to cursive writing. The date of the Phenician invention can not be fixed with certainty, but it is placed before the period of Moses in Egypt. The Egyptians, though a people of great culture and wise institutions, were not a commercial people. The Phenician merchants at an early date entered into commercial relations with this people, and from this came the evolution of the rude symbols of the Egyptians into the perfect alphabet of the Phenicians.

The annexed plates, from M. Vigouroux's *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, illustrate the development of alphabetical writing from the Hieroglyphics of the Egyptians.

The decipherment of the hieroglyphics of Egypt is the achievement of Jean François Champollion the younger (1790—1832). This gifted scholar in his short life accomplished one of the greatest of human discoveries, and with his dying voice he delivered to his fellow-man the discoveries of his genius. The importance of his discovery is very great. Egypt was a

Valeurs	EGYPTIEN			SEMITIQUE	Lettres équivalentes		
	Hieroglyphes		Hieratique	Phénicien	Hébreu	Grec	Romain
'	aigle					A	A
b	héron					B	B
k (g)	siège					Γ	C
t (d)	main					Δ	D
h	plan de maison					E	E
f (v)	céraste					Y	F
z	petit oiseau sans plumes					I	Z
h	crible?					H	H
t	corde avec nœuds					Θ
y	parallèles?					י	I
k	corbeille ou vase à anneau					K	K.
l	lionne					Λ	L
m	hibou					M	M
n	eau					N	N
s	verrou					Ξ	X
c	o		O	O
p	natte					Π	P
s	serpent				
q	coin?					Φ	Q
r	bouche					P	R
š	jardin					Σ	S
b	bouffe (?) bras offrant un pân.					T	T

Noms	Inscription de la Stèle de Mésa IX ^e S ^{cl} e. av. J.C.	Phénicien des Monnaies et des Inscriptions	Inscription de Siloé vers le VIII ^e S ^{cl} e. avant J.C.	Ancien Hébreu des Monnaies et des Gemmes	Samaritain	Hébreu des Inscriptions I ^{er} S ^{cl} e. après J.C.	Hébreu Ecriture carrée
<i>Aleph</i>	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂	𐤀 𐤁	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄	𐤀 𐤁	א א	א
<i>Beth</i>	𐤅 𐤆	𐤅 𐤆 𐤇	𐤅	𐤅 𐤆 𐤇	𐤅	ב ב	ב
<i>Chimel</i>	𐤈 𐤉	𐤈 𐤉 𐤊	𐤈	𐤈 𐤉 𐤊	𐤈		ג
<i>Daleth</i>	𐤌 𐤍	𐤌 𐤍 𐤎	𐤌	𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏	𐤌	ד ד	ד
<i>Hé</i>	𐤐 𐤑	𐤐 𐤑 𐤒	𐤐	𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓	𐤐	ה ה	ה
<i>Vav</i>	𐤔 𐤕	𐤔 𐤕 𐤖	𐤔	𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗	𐤔 𐤕	ו ו	ו
<i>Zain</i>	𐤘	𐤘 𐤙 𐤚	𐤘	𐤘 𐤙 (𐤛)	𐤘	ז ז	ז
<i>Heth</i>	𐤛 𐤜 𐤝	𐤛 𐤜 𐤝	𐤛	𐤛 𐤜 𐤝 𐤞	𐤛 𐤜	ח ח	ח
<i>Teth</i>		𐤟 𐤠 𐤡		𐤟	𐤟 𐤠		ט
<i>Iod</i>	𐤢 𐤣	𐤢 𐤣 𐤤	𐤢	𐤢 𐤣 𐤤 𐤥	𐤢 𐤣	י י	י
<i>Caph</i>	𐤦 𐤧	𐤦 𐤧 𐤨	𐤦	𐤦 𐤧 𐤨	𐤦 𐤧	כ כ	כ
<i>Lamed</i>	𐤬 𐤭	𐤬 𐤭 𐤮	𐤬	𐤬 𐤭 𐤮 𐤯	𐤬 𐤭	ל ל	ל
<i>Mem</i>	𐤮 𐤯	𐤮 𐤯 𐤰	𐤮	𐤮 𐤯 𐤰 𐤱	𐤮 𐤯	מ מ	מ
<i>Nun</i>	𐤱 𐤲	𐤱 𐤲 𐤳	𐤱	𐤱 𐤲 𐤳 𐤴	𐤱 𐤲	נ נ	נ
<i>Samech</i>	𐤴 𐤵	𐤴 𐤵 𐤶		𐤴 𐤵	𐤴	ס ס	ס
<i>Aïn</i>	𐤶	𐤶 𐤷 𐤸 𐤹	𐤶	𐤶 𐤷 𐤸 𐤹	𐤶 𐤷	ע ע	ע
<i>Pé</i>	𐤿 𐁀	𐤿 𐁀 𐁁	𐤿	𐤿	𐤿 𐁀	פ פ	פ
<i>Tsade</i>	𐁁 𐁂	𐁁 𐁂 𐁃	𐁁	𐁁 𐁂 𐁃 𐁄	𐁁 𐁂	צ צ	צ
<i>Qoph</i>	𐁅 𐁆	𐁅 𐁆 𐁇	𐁅	𐁅 𐁆 𐁇	𐁅 𐁆	ק ק	ק
<i>Resch</i>	𐁈 𐁉	𐁈 𐁉 𐁊	𐁈	𐁈 𐁉 𐁊	𐁈 𐁉	ר ר	ר
<i>Schin</i>	𐁋 𐁌	𐁋 𐁌 𐁍	𐁋	𐁋 𐁌 𐁍	𐁋 𐁌	ש ש	ש
<i>Thar</i>	𐁎	𐁎 𐁏 𐁐 𐁑	𐁎	𐁎 𐁏 𐁐	𐁎 𐁏	ת ת	ת

land of great culture and civilization in the remotest times. The Lawgiver of Israel was taught by them. Their institutions were wise, and their laws were just. Moreover, it was the nursery of the Hebrew people, and the sojourn in Egypt stamped a certain characteristic on the religious and civil life of Israel.

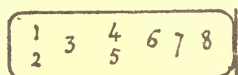
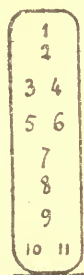
But the key to Egypt's lore had been lost, and the message of the hieroglyphs was locked in mystery. M. Brugsch Bey, estimates the number of these hieroglyphs to be more than three thousand.

M. Champollion, after a successful study of the Coptic tongue, entered upon the great task of unraveling the Egyptian mystery.

In 1799, the French lieutenant of artillery, M. Bouchard, while establishing the Fort St. Julian at Rosetta in Egypt, discovered what has since become famous as the Rosetta stone. This stone is of Egyptian basalt, about ten feet in height by three and a half in width. It is mutilated about the angles. The stone is at present in the British Museum. It was translated by Birch in *Records of the Past*, Vol. IV.

The Rosetta stone bears an inscription in three columns. The first column is hieroglyphic, the second demotic, the third Greek. The inscription contains a decree of the priests of Egypt, in honor of Ptolemy Epiphanes, directing that a statue be erected in his honor in the temples, and that he should receive divine honors. At the same time in the Isle of Philae, near Assouan, in Upper Egypt, a smaller inscription in hieroglyphics and Greek had been found, which aided Champollion in his decipherment. It was the usage of the Egyptians to write the name of the royal personages on Cartouches. In the Greek column of the bilingual monument of Philae, the name of Cleopatra was engraven in Greek, in the Greek column of the Rosetta stone, the name of Ptolemy existed in similar mode of writing. Champollion also observed that corresponding to these two names were two cartouches in the hieroglyphs, and he drew the conclusion that the signs in these cartouches corresponded to the Greek letters. This illation was confirmed by the fact, that there are five letters in ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ and ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ which are identical. The five letters corresponded to five signs which are identical in the cartouches.

The annexed plate reproduces the cartouches of Cleopatra and Ptolemy with Champollion's system of interpretation. We are indebted for this plate to M. Vigouroux in *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes*.



1. Triangle.....K.
2. LionL.
3. Roseau.....A.
4. Corde.....O.
5. Rectangle.....P.
6. Aigle.....A.
7. Main.....T.
8. Bouche.....R.
9. Aigle.....A.
- 10, 11. Déterminatifs des noms de femmes.

1. Rectangle.....P.
2. Demi-cercle.....T.
3. Corde.....O.
4. Lion.....L.
5. Coudée.....M.
- 6, 7. Double roseau.....AI.
8. Dossier.....S.

1.—Cartouche de la reine Cléopâtre.

2.—Cartouche du roi Ptolémée.

Starting from this position, he compared the two cartouches. Conjecturing that the triangle in the cartouche of Cleopatra represented the letter K, he found that the second figure was that of a lion which corresponded to the fourth figure in the cartouche of Ptolemy. He thence concluded that it was a phonetic sign for L, which also is the first letter of the name of lion in Coptic, $\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\omega$. By similar method with the other signs he proceeded as far as the sixth hieroglyph, the Eagle. This does not occur in the other cartouche, but as it occurs again in Cleopatra in the ninth place, the illation was plain that it represented A. Some difficulty was experienced by Champollion with the seventh hieroglyph of the cartouche of Cleopatra. To justify his theory, it ought to correspond to the T of the cartouche of Ptolemy. But while the hieroglyph of Cleopatra was a hand, the corresponding one in the cartouche of Ptolemy was a semicircle. Concerning this he came to the conclusion, which has since been confirmed by experience, that the letter T was represented by both, the semicircle and the hand, there being perhaps some slight modification in its sound in different positions.

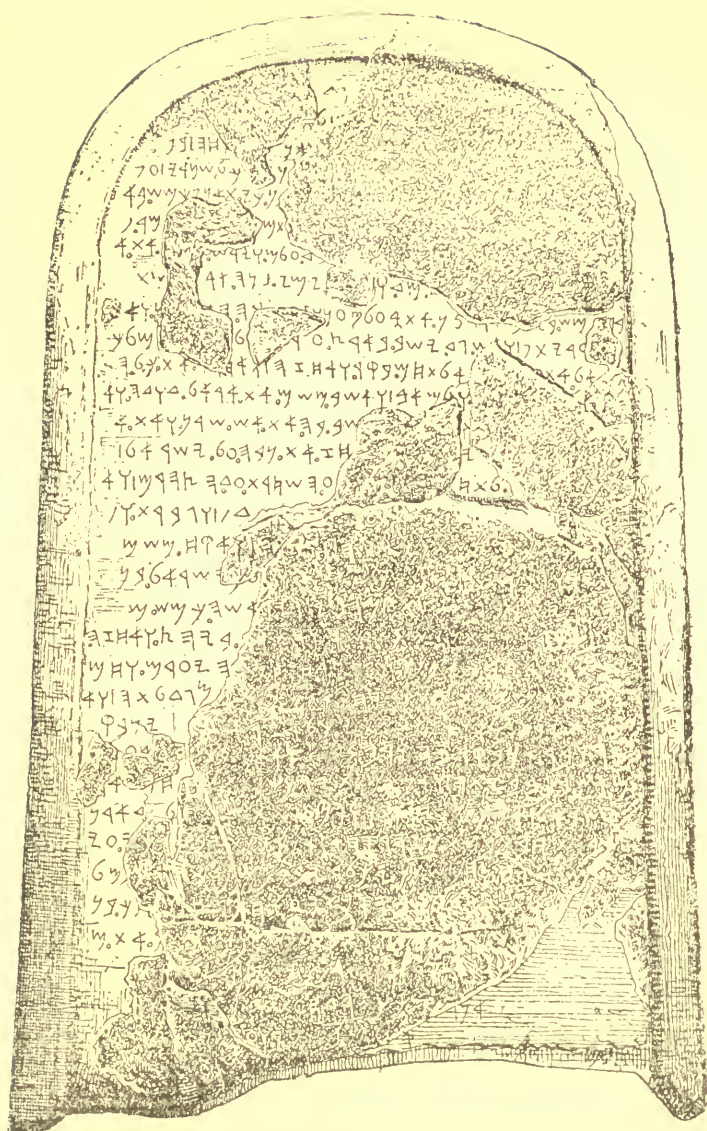
Champollion applied his theory successfully to the cartouche of Alexander, and then to other monuments, till he was able to publish in 1824 his *Précis du Système Hieroglyphique*. Before his death he had found the keys of 260 hieroglyphics. Others have made use of his discovery to compare the hieroglyphics and the hieratic and demotic characters, and to open up the literary resources of the valley of Nile.

Distinguished scholars have worked upon the theory of Champollion. Lenormant, Nestor l'Hôte, Salvolini, Rosellini, Ungarelli, Leemans, Osburn, Birch, Hincks, Lepsius, de Rougé, de Saulcy, Mariette, Chabos, Deveria, de Horrack, Lefébure, Pierret, Grebaut, Brugsch, Dümichen, Louth, Eishor, Ebers, Stern, Pleyte, Lieblein, Goodwin, and Lepage-Renouf have perfected Champollion's system so that the language of the hieroglyphs is as open as the works of Cicero and Livy.

A discovery of considerable importance was accomplished in 1869 by M. Clermont-Ganneau, the dragoman of the French Consulate at Jerusalem. It is at present in the Louvre at Paris. It is called the Moabitic stone or the Stela of Mesa.

It was originally a Monolithic block of black basalt, dotted with bright spots. M. de Vogue declares that the Stela of Mesa has no equal among the antiquities of the Hebrews.

The annexed plate shows the restored stone.



On account of the hardness of the stone, the inscription on the face of this famous stone was not deeply engraven. It contains thirty-four lines of Moabitic writing, a form of speech having close affinity with the Hebrew of the Bible. The writing is in the Phenician characters used by the ancient Samaritans and Hebrews.

The Stela is one metre in height and about sixty centimetres in breadth. Its anterior face is without writing. The date of its writing is about nine hundred years before Christ; and since that time up to the time of its discovery it has lain at the base of a little hill near Dhiban, a little east of the Dead Sea.

When the Bedouins became aware that the stone possessed value, and was to be taken from their country, they broke it in pieces. Luckily a reproduction of the inscription had been made by M. Ganneau, before the stone was broken. He was able to gather about twenty of the pieces, and he has restored the stone with these and a plaster-cast. The clearer portions of the inscription are those parts which were engraved on the plaster-cast. The restoration is faithful, as it was made from the facsimile made of the stone before it was broken.

The Stela of Mesa is the most ancient known monument of alphabetical writing.

King Mesa, the author of the inscription, according to II. (IV.) Kings III. 4, "was a possessor of sheep, and rendered unto the King of Israel, a hundred thousand lambs and a hundred thousand rams, with the wool." After the death of Achab, Mesa rebelled against the King of Israel. He made war upon the Ammonites, Idumeans, and the Israelites, and took several cities of Israel. These victories are the theme of the famous inscription.

He says naught of his subsequent defeat and the destruction of his kingdom by the allied armies of Jehoram of Israel, and Jehoshaphat of Judah. Mesa being reduced to the last extremity, offered his eldest son as a holocaust to the god Chamos. At this spectacle, the Israelites were filled with horror, and returned with great booty to their own country. The Stela recounts only the victories of Mesa.

As the stone is mutilated, a part of its data will never be known, but in its mutilated state it is of great worth to biblical exegesis.





BS 475 .B74 1897 SMC
Breen, A. E.
A general and critical
introduction to the study of
47235487





